JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

January 23, 1957

RECEIVED JAN 24 1957

Mr.Harold C.Fleming,Exec.Director
Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue,NE.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

My dear Mr.Fleming:

Pursuant to my promise of several weeks ago I am enclosing herewith the Table of Contents of the forthcoming summer 1957 Yearbook issue of the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, with the names and official titles of the contributors. I would appreciate it very much if you would scrutinize carefully the spelling of your name, and the indication of your official title to be sure that we have listed them correctly. If I do not hear from you to the contrary, I shall assume that the listing indicated here is correct.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

Enc.

P.S. I wonder if you have completed the summary of your survey of Negro suffrage as you anticipated? If so, I would appreciate it very much if you wpuld let me know because I have told some of our contributors that the material would be made available at an early date.

You will note that I have listed you under what I understand if your new title.

CHT

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION

TENTATIVE OUTLINE OF THE 1957 YEARBOOK

Section I: Introduction

Chapter I. Introductory Note: The Negro Voter in the South

Chapter II. The Negro Vote in the Presidential Election of 1956
Henry Lee Moon, Director, Public Relations, NAACP, New York City

Section II: Historical Background

Chapter III. The Political Legacy of Reconstruction
C. Vann Woodward, Professor of History, Johns Hopkins University

Chapter IV. "Legal" Disfranchisement of the Negro
John Hope Franklin, Professor and Head, Department of History, Brooklyn College

Chapter V. The Rise and Collapse of the "White Democratic Primary"
Thurgood Marshall, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, New York City

Chapter VI. Some Legislative Consequences of Negro Disfranchisement
Robert C. Weaver, Commissioner, Temporary State Housing Rent Commission, New York City

Section III: The Negro Voter Outside the South

Chapter VII. The Negro Voter in the North and Midwest
Earl Brown, Assistant Editor, Life Magazine, New York City

Chapter VIII. The Negro Voter in the Far West
Loren Miller, Attorney-at-Law, Los Angeles, California

Chapter IX. The Negro Voter in the Border States
Louis C. Kesselman, Chairman, Department of Political Science, University of Louisville

Section IV: The Negro Voter in the South

Chapter X. The Negro Voter in Alabama
C.G.Gomillion, Dean of Students, Tuskegee Institute

Chapter XI. Expansion of Negro Suffrage in Arkansas
Tilman C. Cothran, Chairman, Department of Sociology, Arkansas A. M. and N. College

Chapter XII. Expansion of Negro Suffrage in Florida
Elston E. Broady, Associate Professor of Political Science, Florida State University

Chapter XIII. The Negro Voter in Georgia
C.A.Bacote, Professor of Political Science, Atlanta University

Chapter XIV. The Negro Voter in Louisiana
John H.Fenton, Professor of Political Science, Tulane University

Chapter XV. The Negro Voter in Mississippi
Earl M.Lewis, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Prairie View A. and M. College

Chapter XVI. Expansion of Negro Suffrage in North Carolina
I.G.Newton, Professor of Political Science, North Carolina College at Durham

Chapter XVII. The Negro Voter in South Carolina
James T.McCain, Associate Director, South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Chapter XVIII. Expansion of Negro Suffrage in Tennessee
Preston Valien, Chairman, Department of Social Science, Fisk University

Chapter XIX. Expansion of Negro Suffrage in Texas
H.A.Bullock, Professor of Sociology, Texas Southern University

Chapter XX. The Negro Voter in Virginia
Henry J.McGuinn, Professor of Sociology, Virginia Union University

Section IV: The Future of the Negro Voter

Chapter XXI. The Future of the Negro Voter in the South
Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

Chapter XXII. The Future of the Negro Voter in the South
Donald Strong, Professor of Political Science, University of Alabama

Chapter XXIII. *The Future of the Negro Voter in the United States
Samuel Lubell, Lecturer and Writer, New York City

Chapter XXIV. The Future of the Negro Voter in the South
James M.Nabrit, Jr., Professor of Law and Secretary, Howard University

Chapter XXV. The Future of the Negro Voter in the United States
Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP, New York City

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*Tentative.

F. I.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

May 14, 1957

RECEIVED MAY 16 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, Room 432,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed please find a carbon copy of the chapters by James T. McCain and John H. Fenton for the forthcoming Summer 1957 Yearbook issue of the Journal. We plan to send you a copy of the manuscripts of each of the contributors to the eleven Southern states. As other copies are received we will be glad to pass a copy on to you to be used in connection with your contribution to our symposium.

Sincerely yours,

Hortense C. Moon

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

Enc.

FBI

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

May 15, 1957

RECEIVED MAY 17 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am just in receipt of your letter of May 13 advising that it will be impossible for you to prepare the article for our forthcoming summer 1957 Yearbook issue of the Journal, but that Miss Florence B. Irving, your Research Assistant, will do the article and is even now at work on it.

We regret very much that you won't be able to do the chapter, but appreciate ever so much the fact that we will receive the chapter and that you have secured the services of Miss Irving to do it. It is not too late to indicate in the forthcoming Yearbook that Miss Fleming will author this chapter and we shall make all adjustments. I remember your suggestion that the authorship of this chapter be left open for the time being, but since we had not heard to the contrary we assumed that you had decided to prepare the chapter. But we are indeed glad that you have secured the services of Miss Irving, since you won't be able to prepare the chapter. Only yesterday we sent you copies of the articles by James T. McCain and John H. Fenton. However, as other copies are received we shall send them to Miss Irving, in your care.

We regret that there is a misunderstanding relative to the deadline. You are quite correct in your assumption that your deadline is "June 1st if possible; and not later than June 15th, if necessary." Kindly disregard our letter of May 6th, bearing the incorrect deadline.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

May 24, 1957

Mrs. Florence B.Irving,
Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council,
c/o Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Irving:

Please find enclosed herewith a copy of the chapter by Elston E. Roady just received. I believe you understand that it is our plan to place in the hands of the contributors to the symposium, a cppy of each of the articles (in section 4) on the eleven Southern states. I presume you have received a copy of articles by James T. McCain, and John H. Fenton which we recently sent to Mr. Fleming, before we knew you had so kindly consented to do the chapter.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

Enc.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

June 3, 1957

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

Mrs. Florence B.Irving,
Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council,
c/o Mr. Harold L.Fleming,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Irving:

Enclosed you will find two more chapters on the eleven Southern states for the summer Yearbook. They are by Dr. I.G.Newton, of North Carolina State College, and Dr. Bullock, of Texas.

Sincerely yours,

Chas H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

Enc.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
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BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

June 5, 1957

Mrs. Florence B.Irving,
Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council,
c/o Mr. Harold L.Fleming,
63 Auburn Avenue,N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Irving:

Enclosed herewith is another chapter for the summer 1957 issue of the Journal, which is by C.A.Bacote, of Georgia.

I hope to send you the other four chapters on the eleven Southern states, namely, Alabama, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, before the week is over.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

Enc.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
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INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

June 6, 1957

Mrs. Florence B. Irving,
Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council,
c/o Mr. Harold L. Fleming,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Irving:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the chapter on Virginia, by H.J.McGuinn and T.L. Spraggins.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

Enc.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

June 10,1957

Mrs. Florence B.Irving,
Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council,
c/o Mr. Harold L.Fleming,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Irving:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the chapter on Alabama, by C.G.Gomillion.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H.Thompson
Editor

Enc.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

June 18,1957

Mrs.Florence B.Irving,
Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council,
c/o Mr. Harold L.Fleming,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs.Irving:

I am sending you herewith a copy of the chapter on Mississippi, by Earl Lewis.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

Enc.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

June 20,1957

Miss Florence B.Irving,
Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council,
c/o Mr. Harold L. Fleming,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlant 3, Georgia.

Dear Miss Irving:

We have just received the chapter on Tennessee, a copy of which is enclosed herewith. On June 18th we sent you a copy of the chapter on Mississippi. You should now have manuscripts for all of the Southern states. May I therefore request that you kindly complete your chapter and let me have it at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

Enc.

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION

TENTATIVE OUTLINE OF THE 1957 YEARBOOK

The Negro Voter in the South

Chapter

Section I. Historical Background

I. The Legacy of Reconstruction

II. "Legal" Disfranchisement of the Negro

III. The "White Democratic Primary"

IV. Some Legislative Consequences of Negro Disfranchisement

Section II. The Negro Voter Outside of the South

V. The Negro Vote in the Presidential Election of 1956

VI. The Negro Voter in the North and Mid-West

VII. The Negro Voter in the Far West

VIII. The Negro Voter in the Border States

Section III. The Negro Voter in the South

IX. The Negro Voter in Alabama

X. Expansion of Negro Suffrage in Arkansas

XI. Expansion of Negro Suffrage in Florida

XII. The Negro Voter in Georgia

XIII. The Negro Voter in Louisiana

XIV. The Negro Voter in Mississippi

XV. Expansion of Negro Suffrage in North Carolina

XVI. The Negro Voter in South Carolina

XVII. Expansion of Negro Suffrage in Tennessee

XVIII. Expansion of Negro Suffrage in Texas

XIX. The Negro Voter in Virginia

Chapter

Section IV. The Future of the Negro Voter

XX-XXIII. (This is to be a symposium which will define the problems involved in increasing the Negro vote in the country as a whole and in the South in particular; and which will suggest some of the strategy and tactics which should be instituted to attain this objective.)

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION

SUMMER 1957 YEARBOOK

The Negro Voter in the South

Each summer the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION publishes a Yearbook on some specific problem dealing with the life and education of the Negro or of some other minority group. The 1957 Summer Yearbook is devoted to a discussion of the Negro voter in the South, and of some of the educational implications involved.

One of the major unfinished tasks of democracy in America is the elimination of discrimination in the opportunity to vote irrespective of race, creed or some other artificially imposed condition. Due to historical reasons this discrimination has been directed primarily against Negroes, particularly in the South. Henry Lee Moon estimated that in the Presidential election year of 1952 only about 20 per cent of the potential Negro voting population of almost six million in eleven* Southern states was even registered. And in some states, such as Alabama and Mississippi, the number of registered Negro voters was as low as five per cent of a potential Negro voting population of almost a million. While no complete statistics are available as to the number of registered white voters in these eleven states, it is estimated that proportionately three times as many whites were registered voters and more than twice as many whites as Negroes voted.

Although this relatively small Negro registration was due in part to some of the same causes which account for the relatively small registration in the South in general, the proportionately much smaller Negro registration is due to certain discriminatory practices to which Negroes are subjected in many Southern states. These practices go back to the constitutional conventions held in many Southern states in the late 90's and the first decade of the present century. In 1890 a

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*Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

movement was started to minimize considerably, if not eliminate entirely, the Negro vote. Legislation was enacted which imposed additional conditions for suffrage. Usually these additional qualifications included literacy, education, ownership of property, and the payment of a poll tax.

While the impartial application of these new standards would have--and in some cases, did--eliminate a number of white potential voters, in most states the administration of the laws was vested in local registrars with almost unlimited discretionary power. In most instances they were the sole judges of whether the applicant for registration qualified. And this almost unlimited power was used in such a way as to disqualify Negro would-be registrants while at the same time permitting whites who were no more competent, or even less so, to qualify.

These practices which were established early in the century in several Southern states have persisted up to the present in a few of them. As late as 1952 according to one report Negro would-be registrants in Mississippi were being asked, how many bubbles were in a bar of soap; just to mention one of the more striking instances. In addition to such more subtle barriers Negro applicants are intimidated by threats of economic reprisal and of physical violence. And while the poll tax still remains as a deterrent in six states, there is no evidence that the application of the law is discriminatory.

At the present time, over half (54%) of the potential Negro voters are found in the above-noted eleven Southern states. The remaining 46 per cent are found in the other 37 states, comprising about 6 per cent of the potential voters in these states. Despite its relatively small size in these 37 states, however, the Negro vote has a significance considerably greater than its numerical strength would suggest. In some of these states the Negro vote constitutes the potential balance of power between the two major parties, and in closely contested elections could be

and often is a decisive factor. In these states, Negroes are able to and do use their suffrage as do other citizens to effect an improvement in their status; and consequently, the Negro's demands for treatment more in accord with the status of first-class citizens are not ignored with impunity.

On the other hand, in the above-noted eleven Southern states the Negro's position is just the reverse. Despite the fact that Negroes constitute over a fifth (23%) of the total number of potential voters in these states, ranging from 10 per cent in Texas to 40 per cent in Mississippi, and despite the fact that over half of the Negro's potential voting population is in these states, the actual Negro vote has much less significance than is true in any other part of the country. As a consequence, Negroes in these states have been forced to resort to the more expensive and tedious tactic of substituting court litigation for the ballot box, in order to obtain treatment more in accord with the status of first-class citizens.

The explanation of this critical situation in which Negroes find themselves in these eleven Southern states is not a simple one, and despite basic similarities, the answer varies in detail from state to state. Thus, one of the purposes of this Yearbook is to define the problems which Negroes face in these states in their attempt to overcome the barriers to full suffrage. While this is one of the purposes of this Yearbook, the major purpose is to suggest ways and means of attacking these problems so as to increase the number and significance of Negro voters in this section.

During the past two or three years since the U. S. Supreme Court's decision in the School Segregation Cases, it has been clear to many thoughtful people that the expansion of Negro suffrage in the South is imperative, not only in the Negro's struggle for first-class citizenship, but in the implementation of one of the basic principles of democratic government. Many competent observers have suggested that

desegregation would be much further along, if Negroes in the South could vote more nearly in proportion to their potential voting population. Moreover, with equal opportunity to vote in many of the Southern states, there would be fewer ironic examples of the most anti-Negro candidates being elected to offices in the area of the Negro's majority residence.

But the expansion of Negro suffrage in the South is not merely of racial or even sectional concern. It is a problem of national interest and importance, which goes back to the founding of the Republic. It will be recalled that through the three-fifths clause in the Constitution additional representatives and presidential electors were given to the slave states by virtue of their slave populations. In the early 1860's, through this provision alone, the South had eighteen additional representatives. After Emancipation, when the Negro was counted as a whole person, this act automatically increased the power of the former slave states by some eleven or twelve more representatives. When these states refused to enfranchise Negroes, Section 2 of the 14th Amendment was enacted to deal with this situation--providing that Congressional representation would be based upon the number of male citizens potentially eligible to vote in each state. The purpose of the legislation was either to force the former slave states to enfranchise the Negro or to have their representation reduced accordingly. In view of the South's refusal to accept this compromise, the Negro was enfranchised under the 15th Amendment.

After Reconstruction was practically "undone" and the fact formally recognized in the Compromise of 1876, many states of the South began to contrive "legal" means of nullifying the 15th Amendment. Beginning with Mississippi in 1890, constitutional conventions were held in various states to revise their constitutions in such a way as to eliminate the Negro as a voter, without contravening

the provisions of the 14th and 15th Amendments. This end, of course, could not be achieved without also eliminating a large number of potential white voters, if the laws were impartially applied. Consequently, application of the laws was put in the hands of registration officials who had almost unlimited discretionary power. And, as noted, they discriminated in the application of the various criteria, so as to eliminate Negroes and to qualify whites who were no more, and sometimes less, competent.

While the "White Democratic Primary" was later added as a further means of minimizing the Negro vote, its unconstitutionality which was determined in Smith v. Allright in 1944, and reaffirmed in Adams v. Terry in 1954, leaves the discriminatory registration procedure as the main obstacle to equality of suffrage in the South, as far as race is concerned.

It has been suggested that the elimination of this discriminatory limitation of Negro suffrage is not only or even primarily in the interest of the Negro but is of equal concern to the nation. This fact is illustrated by reference to the vote cast in the Presidential election of 1952. An analysis of this vote, by state, not only reveals that Congressional representatives in the Southern states were elected by a much smaller vote on the average than was true in the other thirty-seven states, but that this much smaller vote was due in great part to the disfranchisement of Negroes. For example, in 1952, there were only three states--Maine, New Mexico, and Nevada--which had as small a vote as the highest average vote for representative in any Southern state, and only four of the Southern States had as high an average vote as the smallest non-Southern state--Nevada.

Moreover, there was a high positive correlation between the average vote cast for representative in each Southern state and the percentage of registered Negro voters. In Mississippi and Alabama, for example, where the smallest vote was

cast--only a little over half (57%) as large as Nevada--the per cent of Negroes registered out of the potential Negro voting population was only 4.6 per cent in the former and 5.8 in the latter. On the other hand, in Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas, where the average vote for representative was the highest, the per cent of registered Negro voters, with one exception, was the highest, being 33, 18, 45 and 35, respectively. While there are other factors which account for the variations in the relative size of the vote in the states in general, the facts here indicate that the much smaller vote in these eleven Southern states is due in great part to the limitation of Negro registration in these states.

The effect of this limitation of Negro suffrage is obviously to give the South a much larger voice in the Congress and in the Electoral College than its actual suffrage base warrants, in somewhat similar manner as the three-fifths clause did during slavery and the 13th Amendment did immediately after the Civil War before the passage of the 15th Amendment. A more important effect of this limitation, however, is the fact that it denies a sizable segment of the population in some of these states any real voice in the selection of the officials who are to represent them. As a consequence, the United States, in fact, and in the eyes of the world, finds itself in the anomalous position of demanding free elections in other countries while at the same time countenancing, if not fostering, elections that are not free, in its own avowedly democratic backyard. This situation was most ironically illustrated recently by the demand of a United States Senator from Mississippi that this Government insist upon free elections in Poland.

This arbitrary limitation of Negro suffrage is of even greater immediate national concern, because, while there has been some increase in Negro registration in a few states since 1952, in other states there has recently been a concerted move through a thinly-veiled reign of terror to reduce even the small number of

Negroes who were eligible to vote in 1952. For example, in Mississippi, where only 4.6 per cent of the potential Negro voting population was registered in 1952, less than two per cent were registered in 1955. And persistent complaints and reports are being received indicating that potential Negro voters in Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina are not only finding it increasingly difficult to register, but in some cases those whose names are already on the books are being arbitrarily dropped from the rolls. Even if these reports are only partially true, this Nation can not afford to wink at this situation any longer.

This Yearbook is divided into four parts. Section I. Historical Background, is, as the title suggests, a brief history of the problem, dating back to Reconstruction. In fact, the problem originated during Reconstruction through the addition of the War Amendments to the Constitution, which made the Negro a citizen and bestowed upon him the right to vote. For a short while Negroes voted in appreciable numbers and held public office. Then came the "undoing" of Reconstruction, first, by revolution, then by political compromise, and then by "legal" enactments. Present attempts to limit Negro suffrage are a part of this history which explains to a great extent the nature and character of current efforts to disfranchise Negroes. In fact, most of the techniques employed to achieve this end were devised during this period, and most of the rationalizations for doing so are really intelligible only in light of this history.

Four chapters are included in this section. The first--The Legacy of Reconstruction --will indicate how the Negro obtained the vote, how it was practically lost through revolution and political compromise, and what effect this history has had upon the current situation. The second chapter--The "Legal" Disfranchisement of the Negro--is an account of the disfranchising conventions, beginning with Mississippi in 1890, which had as their purpose the enactment of

"legal" provisions which would disfranchise Negroes without disfranchising whites similarly situated. The third chapter--The White Democratic Primary--traces the origin and collapse of the latest "legal" devise to disfranchise Negroes. And the fourth chapter--Some Legislative Consequences of Negro Disfranchisement--explains the untoward results of disfranchisement upon the Negro's struggle for equal status. In all four chapters effort will be made to indicate the effect which this history has had and is having upon the current situation.

Section II. The Negro Voter Outside of the South is a recognition of the fact that the non-South poses different problems and has a significance which is unique. As suggested earlier, although the Negro vote is relatively small in this area, the fact that it is concentrated in sections of large urban centers and in some of them comprises the balance of power between the two major parties gives it a significance much greater than its size would seem to warrant on the surface. Just how significant, it is the purpose of this section to explain, by indicating the size and significance of the Negro vote in this area and by suggesting its future possibilities.

For obvious reasons, this non-South area has been divided into three parts: The six border states--Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia--which have very similar factors involved; the North and Mid-West which comprise the large industrial urban sections where Negroes are at present concentrated; and the Far West or Pacific Coast area, which is separated from the North and Mid-West, because it is an excellent recent illustration of the effect of migration as a factor in determining the significance of the Negro vote.

Section III. The Negro Voter in the South is an attempt to give as clear a picture as possible of the problems faced by potential Negro voters in the South, state by state, and to suggest what needs to be done to increase the number and

significance of actual Negro voters in the area. (The South here refers to the eleven states mentioned earlier.) It is the purpose to devote a chapter to each of the eleven Southern states, with the aim of answering the following and similar questions:

1. What is the number of potential white and Negro voters?
2. How many whites and Negroes were registered and eligible to vote in the Presidential election of 1956?
3. How many votes were cast in the Presidential election of 1956--divided by race where possible? Where accurate statistics are not available, give best estimates.
4. What are the requirements for registration? Is there discrimination in the registration of Negroes?
5. What are the major barriers and problems involved in the expansion of Negro suffrage in the state? What needs to be done to remove these barriers and to solve these problems?

Section IV. The Future of the Negro Voter is planned as a symposium which will define the problems involved in increasing the size and significance of the Negro vote in the country as a whole, and particularly in the South; and which will suggest what strategy and tactics should be employed to attain this objective, specifically where the limitation of the Negro vote is due to discriminatory barriers. It is the purpose of this symposium to discuss the following and similar questions:

1. What are the discriminatory barriers which limit freedom of suffrage among Negroes in the South?
2. Has the Federal Government done all that it can do to remove such barriers?
3. Is there need for additional Federal legislation?
4. What can be done through the courts?
5. What can Negroes do themselves?
6. What are some of the educational implications of the problem of increasing the Negro vote?

Past indicative of future

7. What are the future possibilities and significance of the Negro vote in the South and the Nation?

In planning this Yearbook, it has been recognized that the major limitation would be the inability in many instances to obtain accurate and complete data. While this limitation is important, it is not prohibitive for several reasons. First, fairly complete statistics are available in a few states, and sufficiently reliable estimates are possible in others. Second, while full and complete statistics are desirable in such a study, they are not indispensable for the attainment of the major aim of this Yearbook, namely, the definition of the problems involved in the expansion of Negro suffrage in the South and suggestion of ways and means of doing so.

EXPANSION OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN ARKANSAS

by

TILMAN C. COTHRAN

and

W. H. Phillips, Jr.

EXPANSION OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN ARKANSAS *

During the past ten years, the changing character of the Negro's relative and absolute suffrage status in Arkansas has been possibly greater than at any comparable period since Emancipation. The various factors involved in the problem of Negro suffrage expansion are an integral part of the overt political, social, and economic structures and the covert or psychological correlates of the dynamic racial power system.[1]

In race relations, differential social power carries unequal access to the opportunities and rewards of society serving both as a determinant and as a consequence[2] of unequal power distribution. While it is likely that some power inequalities characterize every group relationship, the political structure emerges from the unique set of socio-economic factors which underlie the historical development of the society. Thus, this treatment of the suffrage status of the Arkansas Negro describes the inequality of political power within the complex system of Negro-white group relationships. We shall delineate specifically in this paper Negro and white socio-cultural and demographic characteristics, selected aspects of political involvement, factors involved in the inferior political power of Negroes, and indicate possible areas of improvement.

For prospective, any treatment of the Negro's relative suffrage status in Arkansas requires, at least, elemental knowledge of the social and economic characteristics of both racial groups. It is assumed that suffrage and socio-economic status are mutually interrelated. Table I shows that Negroes are

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* The data presented in this report was initially gathered for a Survey of Negro Suffrage in Arkansas sponsored by the Southern Regional Council.

[1] See Morton B. King, Jr., "The Minority Course," American Sociological Review, 21: February, 1956. pp. 80-83.

[2] See Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1944, pp. 75-78.

definitely a numerical minority regardless of rural-urban residence although they are proportionately more urban than whites. They are younger, have a lower sex ratio, exhibit a decidedly lower level of education, and show a lower marriage rate. Further, their unemployment is more than two times as high as that of the white group and their median income is less than one-half of that of the white population. Both racial groups show net out-migration from Arkansas in 1949. Finally, the Negro population has a smaller proportion of its total population 21 years of age and over than is the case for whites. Thus, there are important differences in the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of Negroes and whites which interact significantly with relative suffrage status.

TABLE I

MEASURES OF DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENTIALS
BETWEEN NONWHITES AND WHITES, ARKANSAS:
1950*

	Nonwhite	White
Total number	428,004	1,481,507
Per cent of total population	22.4	77.6
Per cent of urban population	23.3	76.7
Per cent of rural non-farm	17.6	82.4
Per cent of rural farm	24.6	75.4
Per cent of specific population urban (New definition)	34.3	32.7
Median Age (years)	24.1	27.6
Median years of school completed (population 25 years of age and over)	5.6	8.7
Males per 100 females	94.4	100.8
Per cent married (14 years of age and over)	65.7	70.2
Per cent of civilian labor force unemployed	8.1	3.7
Median income of families and unrelated individuals (1949)	$726	$1,571
Net Migration per 1,000 population (1949)	-2.3	-11.2
Per cent of population 21 years of age and over	54.2	59.4

* Approximately 99.0 per cent of the total nonwhite population of Arkansas was Negro in 1950.

Source: Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 4, Arkansas, Washington: G.P.O., 1952; 1950 Census of Population - Advance Reports, Mobility of the Population - State of Residence in 1949 and 1950, Series PC-14, No. 17, Washington: G.P.O., July, 1953.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

There are two sets of requirements for voting in Arkansas. They are legal and party requirements. Rigidity in the application of these requirements is a function of the intensity of group, class, and/or racial consciousness and the personal insecurity of the persons charged with the responsibility of administering the voting requirements. Possibly not since the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century which witnessed the militant agrarianism of Jeff Davis has there been any really devisive issues in Arkansas politics. V. O. Keys, Jr., in his book on Southern Politics views this situation as "Policy Consensus and Factual Fluidity".

Thus, in the absence of strong political factors, deep-seated devisive political issues and class and racial consciousness as factors affecting voting, there has not developed a firm body of non-legal tactics and practices to restrict the voting potential of Negroes. The poll tax requirement and the white primary, especially the latter, effectively eliminated Negroes as a political force. However, the Smith vs. Allwright Decision in 1944, making illegal the white primary, moved the Negro into political importance. Prior to this decision, Negroes generally did not try to vote; however, in some communities a few were permitted to vote in primaries by agreement with white party officials.

Although legal and party requirements for voting exist, there is sufficient evidence to support the belief that unless glaring inconsistencies are apparent, the latter requirements are not very rigidly enforced. The basic requirement for voting in Arkansas is constitutional -- the possession of a poll tax receipt.

Historically, the poll tax has functioned as a device for disfranchising the Negro as a member of a low-income group. The non-cumulative one dollar poll

tax presently exercises a less decisive deterring influence on Negro voting potential than was possibly originally intended. In fact, until recently, poll taxes were assessed along with personal and property taxes and were included on all citizens' tax statements. Thus, Negro property owners were paying poll taxes many years before there was opportunity for exercising the right to vote.

Factors Favorable to Poll Tax Payment. -- Since 1947, the payment of poll taxes is no longer required in conjunction with the payment of personal and property taxes. Wives and others without property assessment may pay poll taxes with the express purpose of qualifying to vote.

Certain categories of people in the State are required by law to possess a poll tax receipt. Every adult person who makes application for a license or permit, receives wages, salaries or other compensation paid from public funds of any character, purchases a poll tax receipt.[3] The latter group includes teachers and all other persons on the public payroll. These legal poll tax requirements apply to Negroes and whites alike.

There is much truth in the statement that the poll tax is more important in Arkansas as a source of revenue than as a device for the disfranchisement of the Negro. The general atmosphere is one of encouragement of poll tax payment by both Negro and white citizens. In some communities the newspaper urges all citizens to pay the poll tax. In others, the tax collector will frequently remind any citizen to pay his poll tax. Thus, effort is put forth to increase the extent of poll tax payment vis-a-vis efforts designed to diminish it.

It was interesting to observe that some important Negro leaders were in opposition to the abolition of the poll tax. These leaders feel that the one dollar poll tax which is now tantamount to registration, is less a burden on

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[3] See Arkansas Acts 1929, No. 288.8, p. 1202

Negro voters than would be certain registration procedures. They reason that presently all a Negro has to do is to pay the tax. There are generally few, if any, questions asked beyond those of name and address. This simple procedure works little or no hardship on the illiterate or poorly educated Negro. However, in the event the State adopts a registration procedure requiring the filling out of an application or answering questions, it is believed that there are many Negroes who would not be willing to try. Where a white registrar might be willing to fill out the necessary forms for a white registrant, he might not be willing to do so for the Negro.[4]

Discriminatory Practices in Poll Tax Payment. -- Systematic efforts to prevent Negroes from paying poll taxes do not appear to be a prominent part of the racial picture in Arkansas. On rare occasions, clerks in the Tax Collectors' Office may tend to discourage Negroes through various and subtle discourtesies. Chief among these are; refusing to use titles of respect, suggestions that it is not necessary to make payments, and addressing Negroes as "boy" and "girl". Today, such practices are decreasing.

From interviews with twenty-one prominent Negro political leaders, and questionnaire responses from thirty-eight others representing all sections of the State, no single instance of systematic discriminatory practice designed to thwart Negro poll tax payment and consequent registration was reported. Accordingly, it is not hazardous to assume that such practices are of little importance in the payment of poll taxes.

POTENTIAL NEGRO AND WHITE VOTERS

For the Presidential Election in 1956, it is estimated that there were 212,971 Negro and 806,029 white potential voters in Arkansas.[5] Of this number,

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[4] Arkansas voters rejected an amendment to repeal the poll tax in the General Election on November 6, 1956.

[5] Bureau of Census. Current Population Reports: Population Estimates, Series P-25, No. 143, October 5, 1956, P. 3. This estimate is based on Census voting age population for 1956 (1,019,000) and the assumption that the color proportions were similar to those of 1950. A potential voter is defined as any resident of Arkansas 21 years of age and over.

580,645 persons paid poll taxes and were thereby qualified electors.[6] The estimated Negro and white qualified voters were 75,431 and 505,214 respectively.[7] Stated differently, qualified Negro voters were approximately 13.0 per cent of the total qualified voters but only 7.4 per cent of the potential voting population in the State. The white proportions were 87.0 per cent and 49.6 per cent respectively. The relatively low registration or suffrage status of Negroes in Arkansas is further illustrated by noting that 35.3 per cent of the potential Negro voters (212,971) paid poll taxes, while approximately 62.7 per cent of the comparable white group (806,089) qualified. These data would seem to indicate the greater non-participation of the Negro as contrasted with whites in the political processes in 1956.

The present markedly low Negro registration represents tremendous improvement over the past. Table 2 reveals that within the last two decades, the relative increase in Negro registration has been greater than white registration. This fact is a result of the initially low level of Negro suffrage viewed against the background of the recently removed legal barrier -- the white primary -- and the subsequent emergence of political awareness of Arkansas Negroes. Nevertheless, in 1956 a large hiatus still remained between the relative suffrage status of the two racial groups.

TABLE 2

PER CENT CHANGE IN NEGRO AND WHITE POLL TAX REGISTRATION IN ARKANSAS FOR SELECTED PERIODS.
(Percentages rounded)

Year	Negro		White	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1956	75,431	11.2	505,214	3.0
1955	67,851	10.5	490,444	-0.1
1952	61,413	65.3	493,869	16.3
1947	37,155	69.8	424,488	21.9
1940	21,888	-	348,317	-

Source: Records of Arkansas County Clerks

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6 Arkansas Gazette, Sunday, October 28, 1956, p. 25-A

7 Our estimate of color proportions was secured by collecting lists of electors from all counties and counting the number of persons designated Negro.

For both color groups the greatest relative increase was experienced in the period from 1940 to 1947; however, from 1947 to 1952, Negroes had their largest absolute increase (24,258 additional qualified voters). The increase in poll tax payment by Negroes was influenced by the Smith vs. Allwright Decision, by the increased activity of organized labor in politics, by the social, political, and economic impact of World War II and returning veterans, and by the legislative act (Arkansas Statutes 1947, No. 220, p. 484) of 1947, which removed the property assessment requirement as a prerequisite for paying poll taxes. While the per cent increase is progressively smaller for both racial groups (whites had a small decrease in 1955) the increase in 1956 percentages reflects in part the interest developed among Negro and white voters over the segregation Amendments and Initiated Acts appearing on the November, 1956, ballot. The consistently smaller increases in registration from 1940 to 1956 are partially accounted for by the diminishing potential for increase and by the differential out-migration.

Although the number of potential Negro voters in 1956 was approximately 20.9 per cent of the total population of voting age, they comprised only 13.0 per cent of the total number of registered voters. Clearly, the Arkansas Negro was not as involved in the political processes as whites; nor has he attained the political potentiality within the limits of his numerical minority position.

VOTING PERFORMANCE

Voting performance for all citizens in Arkansas is usually low. In the 1956 general election, 406,572 votes were cast for the presidential candidates.[8] This is 70.0 per cent of the qualified and 39.9 per cent of the potential voters.

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[8] Official tabulation released by the Secretary of State, November, 1956.

In the first primary of 1956, only 55 per cent of the qualified electors voted. Since more interest is generally shown in primary elections, the greater turnout for the general election is related to the segregation measures on the November ballot, and the increased participation of Negro voters. Unfortunately, no color analysis of voting performance is available, nor does there exist criteria whereby realistic estimates of the total number of Negro and white voters can be approximated with reliability.

From questionnaires executed by 38 Negro political leaders in 23 counties, 30 expressed the feeling that the Negro vote on occasion has been the determining factor in local elections. One respondent in Chicot County answering the question, "Has the Negro vote in your county been a deciding factor in any election" said, "In 1954, we elected a sheriff and a state senator against the wishes of most of the whites because we thought them to be liberal-minded men and kindly disposed toward our cause." Another Negro respondent in Drew County said "We are almost certain that the Negro vote decided the election for the chief of police a few years ago and in the last city election we believe that the Negro vote was the deciding factor." While leaders may sometimes over-estimate their influence, there is reason to believe that the Negro vote has been important in local and state elections, especially in close races.

PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE EXPANSION OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE

One important statutory problem is the time element between the payment of poll taxes and the use of the receipt for voting. A labor attorney observed: "The real importance of the poll tax as a deterrent to voting is not the one dollar involved, but rather the time element. The final day for the payment of poll taxes is October 1st of each year. This poll tax receipt is good for voting in all elections after October 2nd of the year in which the

poll tax is paid until October 1st of the following year. Thus, the 1955 poll tax receipt was good for voting until October 1, 1956. With poll tax payment lagging one year behind voting and political issues arising in late Spring or early summer, for the July or August primaries, it is too late for the issues raised to influence poll tax purchases."[9] For example, with 1956, an important election year for state officials, the candidates and issues were not known until late spring and early summer, 1956. Any person failing to purchase the poll tax receipt prior to October 1, 1955, was ineligible to vote in the summer primaries.

Since systematic use of economic sanctions as a technique for reducing the political effectiveness of Negroes was not known to any of our informants, inferior socio-economic status accounts for only part of the limited Negro registration when compared with the registration for the white population. "Those areas of the State which are characterized by a relatively large body of Negroes in the total population tend to exhibit lower levels of Negro and white income, lower levels of educational status for both color groups, higher mobility patterns and population losses, and lower levels of white registration, but apparently higher levels of Negro registration, than do those areas with few or no Negroes."[10]

The limited political participation by low-status economic groups, Negro and white, is complicated by the more elusive facets of the problem such as reading habits, access to the various mass media of communication, interest in economic and related problems and the concomitant naivete with regard to such issues. However, the relatively lower socio-economic status of Negroes intensifies their problem of political participation.

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[10] Unpublished manuscript on Negro Suffrage in Arkansas prepared for the Southern Regional Council, December, 1956.

Political Apathy and Negro Suffrage. -- As often and emphatically as our respondents stated that the Negro economic level is not presently a direct factor in the relative status of their suffrage, they also explained the existing lower relative Negro suffrage in terms of general apathy.

It is important to note here that the phrase "general political apathy" or lack of political consciousness unwarrantly assumes the general acceptance by Negroes of a particular ideology of political behavior, or some commonly understood and desired ideal, norm or standard of political participation. The ideology of this assumed ideal or standard may be expressed crudely as the belief that political participation is a personal and individual responsibility and duty; that some moral as well as democratic ends are realized in political activity; and that it is possible to fulfill impersonal abstract principles for the collective good through participation.

An opposing ideology of political behavior may be expressed generally in terms of a particular and personal belief in the inaccessibility of the power system, and in terms of the notion that the political process is the instrument of the power classes. Thus, the ideological dimension within which the phrase, general apathy and political consciousness, is used, needs rather explicit formulation when comparing political behavior of Negroes and whites.

For example, when Negro leaders were questioned on the failure of the Negro masses to participate more effectively in view of the recently removed racial restrictions on their suffrage, they explained the problem in terms of such political correlates as the shortcomings of present and past Negro political leadership, the low cultural, educational and social levels of the Negro masses, the belief in the futility of voting by Negroes because the whites would do as they desired anyway, and the failure of "qualified" and "high class" Negro persons to assume their proper civic responsibilities.

However, our data suggest the following tentative explanations as basically underlying the alleged general apathy of the potential Negro electorate. First, the Negro is not as actively interested in the political process as the white person because of basic differences in intensity and continuity of personal involvement.[11] Thus, due to relatively less emotional involvement and intermittent interest the Arkansas Negro registers and votes significantly only when the situation is defined as inimical or beneficial to his interests.

Accounts and descriptions have been cited of Negroes actively affecting the outcome of political elections on state and local levels when they have become emotionally involved and interested. For such issues as dry or wet laws, studiously defined to the Negro by the liquor interest as a threat, elections of county and city officials hinging on promises of paved and lighted streets, parks, improved schools, and removal of offensive law enforcement officers, defined individually and collectively by the Negro as of immediate and personal importance -- there seem to be invariably higher Negro registration and voting in the affected localities.

Second, it is somewhat unrealistic to limit discussion of relative suffrage status to mere registration and voting.[12] Our data show that the Arkansas Negro has only limited participation in the total political processes of the State. Important facets of relative suffrage status intimately related to registration and voting are participation in decision-making, patronage, office seeking and office holding. A brief consideration of these functional aspects of the political process and their combined effect on emotional involvement, interest, and participation, make more understandable the nature of the commonly accepted general political apathy underpinning the remarkably inferior Negro suffrage status.

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[11] See Herbert J. Gans, "Political Participation and Apathy", Phylon, Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1952, p. 185.

[12] Hastings indicates that political apathy is one indication of a general withdrawal of the non-voter from community life. Philip K. Hastings, "The Voter and the Non-Voter", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXII, November, 1956, pp. 302-307.

Prior to 1954, there was no Negro participation in the decision-making process or at the policy making level in Arkansas politics. Within the past two years, seven Negroes were appointed to the State Democratic Committee. Also, there are apparently two counties, Garland and Miller, with Negro participation in the county party organization. It is germane to observe that in only two sections of Arkansas, were Negroes utilized in the actual balloting stages of elections, that is, as poll watchers, judges, counters and similar duties.

There is little participation of Negroes in the political patronage system. Recently, Governors have appointed Negroes as members of honorary-type boards of "Negro-related" institutions; such positions entitle the appointees to little, if any, financial rewards, nor do they carry functional political power and prestige. The quantity and quality of patronage for a group would seem to be substantially intervelated with emotional involvement and interest of that group in political participation.

Negroes may and do occasionally run for local elective offices. However, and of crucial significance to the election outcome, they are not integrally involved in the political machinery regulating party selection and support of candidates. Nevertheless, one Negro recently won a municipal position in a city-wide election and there have been Negro candidates for local offices in several sections of the State. Thus, there is insignificant sanction of overt activity calculated to motivate psychological identification and political interest among Negroes equal to that among white citizens.

The barriers restricting broad political participation of Arkansas Negroes, and the concomitant emotional involvement and interest associated with political participation, are a possible explanation of the alleged apathy and lack of political consciousness.

In summary, the major barriers or problems in the effective expansion of Negro suffrage include first the time gap between poll tax payment and emergent political issues and candidates which eliminates the impress of the latter upon registration. Second, inferior socio-economic status tends to inhibit, directly and indirectly, political participation of Negroes. Finally, all barriers to Negro suffrage and the accompanying involvement and interest are presented as a possible explanation for the political apathy and resulting deficiency of Negro participation in Arkansas political processes.

NEEDED ACTION

Emerging from this discussion of barriers presently involved in the inferior suffrage status of Arkansas Negroes is the implication that any deliberate attempt to expand his relative suffrage status should place highest priority on activity designed to minimize general political apathy. Especially important would be the increasing and widening of opportunities for Negro participation in all phases of the political process over and above mere registration and voting. Continuous and intense emotional attachment to a social or political process cannot be prolonged through exhortation of the ideological justifications of the system alone. In addition to value acceptance, some pragmatic benefits must accrue such as a reasonable chance at office-holding, at some patronage, and at psychological satisfaction derived from political power and prestige. More active involvement in the mundane work of politics by Negroes generally would enhance identification with the process by the Negro masses.

What needs to be done economically to reduce this political apathy is both a function of the State's low economic level and of racially-oriented economic discrimination. While the State is systematically promoting an industrialization program, there is little assurance that Negroes will share in it proportionately. However, a higher state economic level cannot entirely escape aiding Negroes for there are many social forces, state and national in character, working for a realization of our democratic values.

The abolition of the poll tax would not necessarily mean increased Negro registration. The Negro proportion of total registration, in relation to Negro percentage of voting age population, is presently higher in Arkansas than in several other southern states.[13] Expansion of Negro suffrage is related to the intensity of efforts on the part of elements of the majority group to manipulate the law and employ discriminatory practices. With poll tax payment being tantamount to registration and in the absence of a body of tactics aimed at reducing Negro purchases of the receipt, there is some feeling that any other system of registration may encourage discriminatory practices.

More important to Negro suffrage expansion is the need to shorten the time gap between poll tax purchase and primary elections. Although this gap affects all citizens, it has special significance for Negro voters. The absence of traditional political participation and emotional identification with the process causes many Negroes to become interested in exercising their suffrage in a protest fashion -- to vote against candidates or issues believed to be contrary to their interest. With voting being so far removed from the final date for becoming eligible, many Negro voters find themselves frustrated in the desire to express their feelings at the polls, for the issue did not arise early enough to motivate poll tax payment.

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[13] See Southern Regional Council Associated Press News Release of November 3, 1956.

Any significant improvement in the Negro's relationship to the political power structure in Arkansas ostensibly will be associated with the achievement of this "needed action" and the absence of strong reactionary movements.

EXPANSION OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN NORTH CAROLINA

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North Carolina is one of the original states of the "solid-south." Today the culture of its people, the climate, the political history, the relationship between races, and the economy still classify the state as a solid member of the southern bloc.

Within the past twenty-five or thirty years there has developed a gradual change in the thinking of its people, and the acceptance, on the part of a substantial number of North Carolinians, of progressive trends in racial, labor, educational, political, and economic developments. Negroes have been appointed to state, county, and local boards and commissions which deal with public matters involving all citizens. One of the largest cities in the state is under the administrative guidance of a mayor who is of the Jewish faith. To some extent the textile and tobacco industries, along with other prominent industries of the state, have been unionized. In many localities labor leaders represent labor in areas where public policy is determined. Since the administration of Governor Charles B. Aycock (1901) legislative and executive programs have been devised to establish progress in education as being essential to the growth of the state. North Carolina was a pioneer among southern states in the equalization of salaries for teachers. Every effort is being made to encourage the growth of industry within the state

boundaries in the belief that new industries will contribute substantially to the economic betterment of all citizens. On the political scene, with exceptions (some of which will be noted below), Negroes have been encouraged to register and vote in all elections.

The extent of North Carolina's acceptance of these phenomena has gained for the state the general concensus that it is the most liberal state of the south. While one is not seeking to establish the credulity of this general observation, suffice it to say that recent developments in the matters of public school integration and the registration of Negroes have caused national and international observers to pause and re-evaluate.

Granted that within the past year adverse criticism has been directed toward the State because of legislation allegedly designed to delay or defeat integration and discourage registration on the part of Negroes, the fact remains that there has been a noticeable expansion in Negro suffrage during the last three decades. While it is difficult to determine the expansion in terms of irrefutable figures, it can be ascertained by information gathered from various sources that the polls have experienced a gradual increase due to the "vote-consciousness" of the colored citizens of North Carolina.

THE PERIOD FROM 1900 TO 1945

In 1932 Paul Lewinson, writing in Race, Class, and Party, made the following observations:

> No complete demonstration has ever been attempted of the assumption that the Negro vote in the South was, up to 1930, negligible. The registration lists were not kept by color in all states. In most southern states the registration was an act separate from the payment of poll taxes, although both were a prerequisite to voting; and it would therefore be necessary to compare the registration lists with the taxpaid lists name for name and precinct for precinct. Yet this assumption--that in the first three decades of the century the Negro vote in the South was so small as to be negligible--is a fair one. In private conversation, no one will deny it.[1]

Four years prior to Mr. Lewinson's observations, another writer had expressed the opinion that "Southern Negroes are not interested in politics." It was his feeling that they were basically interested in elementary inanimate objects of our society, flavored with the "Christian urge."[2]

While these statements attempted to illustrate the relationship of the southern Negro to voting and registration in the early decades of this century, and while they were directed to the South in general, they did describe, nevertheless, the situation as it existed in North Carolina. Some historical writings of the first three decades indicated that little or no effort was made by any political party in North Carolina to solicit or encourage quantitative voting by Negroes.

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1. Lewinson, Paul, Race, Class, and Party. (New York, 1932) p. 122

2. Merritt, Dixon, "Politics and the Southern Negro." The Outlook, Vol. 149, p. 581. August 8, 1928.

Beginning in 1900 and continuing to 1908, the colored citizens of the State were virtually disfranchised by the enforcement of the "Grandfather Clause" and the requirement that the registrar had to be satisfied with the educational capabilities of a perspective Negro registrant. This amounted to Negroes being denied the right to vote due to their inability to qualify under educational standards as interpreted by the registrars.

Registration under the "Grandfather Clause" was discontinued after 1908. This did not advance, however, the voting and registration privileges of the Negro to any appreciable extent. Actually the colored people of the State found themselves unwanted by either major political party. The Democrats had established their position as early as 1900, and the Republicans in North Carolina publically repudiated the Negro in 1908. Without acceptance on the part of either party the Negro was hampered in his efforts to participate in the normal processes of government.

The position of the colored citizens in relationship to the major political parties (and Roosevelt's Progressive Party) remained stagnant for a period of approximately twelve years. During this interim the issue of race was explored in state and national political campaigns; the world experienced a devastating war; the South felt the impact of Negro emigration and the North and Midwest experienced the effects of this migratory urge.

In the latter part of the second decade North Carolina was experiencing a degree of industrial progress, and having

the need for available labor. Administrative and industrial leaders viewed with alarm the migratory trend of the Negro. Political leaders also were concerned, but they were concerned because their political compatriots in key northern and central states were accepting the Negroes and permitting them to register and vote.

Notwithstanding the fear of migration, some political leaders and newspapers advocated that white supremacy was still the order of the day and declared that the status quo should not be disturbed. Hence the members of the minority group were still denied the right to enjoy unqualified suffrage.

Subsequent to World War I there was witnessed an increase in suffrage participation on the part of the Negro. In an unpublished thesis prepared by Harold B. Ferguson, Jr., the following thoughts are expressed to substantiate the evident increase:

> ... the Negro would seek to re-enter politics in the South, following his participation in World War I.
>
> ... many Negroes had migrated North and had returned with the idea of further participation in the affairs of government, a privilege to which they had become accustomed during their sojourn in the North.
>
> ... Negro illiteracy in the state had reached a new low ...
>
> ... by 1920, the "lily white" policy had been abandoned by the Republican Party.[3]

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3. Ferguson, Harold B., Jr., Race as a Factor in Presidential Campaigns From 1904-1928 in North Carolina. Unpublished Thesis, North Carolina College (Durham, North Carolina; 1949) pp. 48-49

The 1920 elections reflected greater Negro participation as voters, and created a degree of consternation among a number of political leaders. This concern, nevertheless, did not prevent an increase in Negro participation in 1924. Actually the Negro voter engendered a split of party allegiance, but gained very little because he was still relatively persona non grata in each of the major parties. While there was ever present the potential to enable the Negro to disturb seriously the status-quo, there appeared to be no positive outward indications of this in North Carolina between 1924 and 1932.

No attempt will be made here to determine which party realized a greater benefit from the increase of the Negro vote, not only in the South, but in pivotal states in other sections of the country. It may be said that a combination of the 1929 depression, the personality of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the appeal of the New Deal served to influence more Negroes to register and vote.

The election of 1932 awakened the political leaders in our urban centers to the potential and importance of the colored vote. The colored leaders also recognized the potential and importance of the Negro vote. Through their influence the masses of Negroes were awakened to the power of the ballot. Through such tangible features as the P. W. A., C. C. C., N. Y. A., and W. P. A. they were able to see the results of their political strength. The day was near when the balance of power would serve to benefit the minority group.

State boundaries could not contain the recognition of this new status. Negroes in North Carolina, as well as other southern

states, were infected by the realization of strength and dignity through the ballot. Their position was enhanced by a coalition with labor in some industrial areas of the state. Labor sought the support of the Negro in its efforts to improve the plight of the working man, and labor gave its support in the effort to provide housing, employment, and other social needs.

With but one exception, 20th century politics in North Carolina have been unalterably the politics of the Democratic Party. Up to 1932 this one-party system made it rather difficult for the Negro to exercise the franchise quantitatively. It was not until the inception of the New Deal that the Democratic Party in the South made a noticeable change in its attitude toward the acceptance of the Negro voter. Perhaps as a result of this noticeable change, and certainly as a result of the attitude of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the decisions of the Supreme Court in the final "white-primary" cases, and the pressures of social changes and war, the attitude of the Negro certainly reflected a positive reaction regarding his right to vote.

In 1945 the remaining sparks of a global conflagration were extinguished. For months following the cessation of hostilities thousands of service men and women returned to their home communities with a new outlook on life. They had matured, chronologically and mentally; they had been educated through travel, associations, and contacts. The Negro in North Carolina, and throughout the South, felt he had again earned the right to become an equal and active member in his community. He

associated himself with civic elements and sought to exercise his freedom at the polls. The results of increased participation were reflected in many communities as witnessed by overtures made by white candidates for support in their efforts to achieve public office. Further evidence of this trend was indicated by the frequency of efforts on the part of Negro candidates to achieve public office. For it is an established fact that in the South a Negro candidate cannot hope to win an election without the solid support of members of his race.

POST-WAR EXPANSION OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE

Durham, North Carolina is an urban center located in the northern area of the Piedmont section of the state. Its growth has been characterized by developments in the fields of medicine, education, industry, labor, and politics. The city represents an example of a trend in progress, a trend which has been the trade-mark of the Piedmont Section. In 1950 Durham had a population of 71,311, of which 26,095 were Negroes. Consequently the largest minority in the city represented well over one third of the total population.

The realization that there would be eventually some salvation for the Negro in attaining first-class citizenship must have been in the minds of a group of colored citizens, when, in August, 1935 they organized the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs. While this is not to be regarded as a treatise on this organization, its history and its failures and successes represent a pattern which has been duplicated in other cities of the state. Groups of this type, supported in many instances by the efforts of the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have contributed yoeman service in producing an increase in the registration and voting of Negroes.

The Durham Committee On Negro Affairs did not succeed in bringing about the election of a Negro to public office until 1953. (As a result of its efforts, however, it was instrumental in supporting Negro candidates for public office beginning in 1942.) Nor was Durham the first North Carolina city to succeed in electing a Negro to public office in the years following the war. The urban centers of Winston Salem, Greensboro, and Fayetteville elected Negro candidates to public office in 1951; also in 1953, in addition to Durham, the cities of Chapel Hill, Gastonia, and Wilson were added to the list. At this writing, many localities are holding local elections, and though an exact number of elected Negro public office holders is not available, there are data available to indicate that more Negroes are seeking office in additional North Carolina Cities.

If the colored population of the State recognizes that its salvation may be found in registration and participation at the polls, what qualifications must its members fulfill in order to exercise the franchise? Do the figures substantiate the position that the Negro is successful to some degree in meeting the qualifications? Let us first digest elements of the North Carolina law regarding registration and then present certain figures relative to registration.

ARTICLE VI, SECTION 3 of the State Constitution prescribes that "Every person offering to vote shall be at the time a legally registered voter ...," and the General Assembly is

charged with the responsibility of enacting registration laws. Section 4 of the same Article provides that "Every person presenting himself for registration shall be able to read and write any section of the Constitution in the English language ..." (although an unimportant exception is made to this).

CHAPTER 163, SECTIONS 25 and 26 of the North Carolina General Statutes provide further that the prospective registrant must be 21 years of age by the date of the general election, a natural-born or naturalized citizen of the United States, and a resident of the state for one year and of the precinct for four months.

Unfortunately, testimony in the recent federal senatorial hearings has alluded to the fact that some Negro citizens in North Carolina, who possessed the basic requirements for registration, were denied the privilege because they were unable to satisfy the Registrar administering the educational or literacy tests. Since January 1, 1957 the Roanoke Rapids Daily Herald has carried articles reporting legal action by Negroes in at least three different alleged denials to register.[4] Two of these instances were denials based upon the alleged inability of the individuals to satisfy literacy qualifications.

While it may be classified as speculation, and therefore its inclusion here may be questionable, one is of the opinion that other individuals of the minority race may have experienced similar disappointments but for various reasons could not pursue the matter further. This possibility would not seem to be

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4. January 30, and February 22 and 26, 1957

too remote particularly in rural areas where the Negro population may be heavy.

In a report prepared for the Annual State Conference Officers and Branch Officials meeting of the North Carolina State Conference of Branches - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (dated February 2, 1957), the following statement was made: "The number of registered voters throughout the state, either by county or district, is not a matter of record. The State Board of Elections neither collects nor keeps such figures." In addition to this one may add that all County Boards of Elections do not maintain figures denoting the race of registrants. For this reason, it is almost impossible to present state-wide registration figures designating race which would be irrefutable.

On the basis of figures secured from two sources it is possible to establish a general estimate of the number of Negro registrants in 1956 against the number in 1952. The NAACP (North Carolina State Conference) indicated in February, 1957 that according to the "best available figures in January, 1956 there were approximately 125,000 Negroes registered." To this the Conference added 20,000 registrations secured during the year 1956. Therefore the Conference estimated a total of 145,000 Negro registrants as of December 31, 1956.

The second source, namely the Southern Regional Council, in a statement prepared for release to the newspapers (November 4, 1956), indicated a different total. The Council estimated a total of 135,000 Negro registrants, this figure representing an increase of 35,000 over the 1952 figure.

It does not appear that the difference of 10,000 between the two estimates is extremely essential. It is significant, however, that the two estimates do not present a difference greater than 10,000 and that the correction of variations may very well bring the estimates closer together. Of importance to the Negro in North Carolina is the indication that while he represents approximately 24 per cent of the total population of voting age, he represents only about 7 per cent of the total registration.

Further investigation reveals figures which indicate that the potential voting strength of the whites in the 12 congressional districts of the state is 1,620,363, while that of the Negro is 522,841. Assuming a degree of accuracy, and using either yard stick of Negro registration, it is obvious that the Negro registration total is a little over 20 per cent of the estimated potential Negro vote.

Close scrutiny of the above tabulations reveals various weaknesses, but it is safe to state that as a result of the examination of several sources, the general conclusion supports expansion in Negro suffrage. A concrete example of this expansion on the local level is found in the City of Durham, which represents a trend of the urban centers in the state. In 1952 the precinct with the highest registration in the city was Hillside, a predominantly Negro precinct. The registration figure in that year was 2,465; in 1953 the figure was 2,800. In one other predominantly Negro precinct (Pearson) the registration total in 1952 was 1,632; in 1954 it was 1,971. In

March, 1956 with a third precinct being classified as predominantly Negro (Burton) the registration figures were as follows: Pearson - 1,956; Burton - 770; and Whitted (Hillside) - 2,844. Thus the total registration in 1952 was 4,097 and in 1956, 5,570. While these totals may include some white registrants it is of interest to note that the white residents were moving out of these areas to other sections of the city. At the same time, many Negro residents in other precincts throughout the city remained, and other registration and voting figures reflect their participation at the polls.

Today, the registration total of the predominantly Negro wards in Durham is approximately 6,663. In one year there has been an increase of over 1,000 registrations. While the percentage of increase in Negro registrations in other North Carolina cities may be more or less than Durham, investigation and personal interviews reveal that in the larger urban centers registration continues to increase. Indeed, this increase is witnessed even in the smaller cities. A newspaper article in the Durham Morning Herald of April 30, 1957 contained the following information on Sanford (1950 population - 10,013):

> Registration for the Municipal election of May 7 soared far beyond predictions at the end of last week and today stood at 4,077 - nearly 1,000 more than the total vote two years ago.
>
> Ward four was established as Sanford's largest when 291 registrants Saturday boosted the count there to 1,012.
>
> Most of Sanford's Negro population votes in Ward Four. Carloads of Negro men and women were brought to the registration place in the courthouse annex throughout the registration period.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, at least two prominent questions come to mind regarding the subject of expansion of Negro suffrage in North Carolina. The first has to do with the causes which have produced an increase in registration and poll participation. The second question is concerned with the reasons why more Negroes have not registered, or shown an inclination to exercise the right to vote.

The following causes seem to stimulate registration and poll participation:

1. Campaign issues - particularly where the Negro recognizes the possibility of material and tangible results to the community as well as to himself.

2. Supreme Court decisions - which have given legal sanction and support to integration and participation in areas which heretofore were denied to the Negro.

3. Negro and labor organizations - by being organized and having a program these groups have been instrumental in pointing out the advantages of voting and the disadvantages of non-voting. They have also developed within the Negro a certain pride and feeling of responsibility in being a part of the community.

4. Race-bait propaganda - gradually the colored voter is reacting to the kind of propaganda which is used to stir up a particular element of the white population. He is encouraged to vote against candidates or organizations that subscribe to such methods.

5. Negro Candidates - more and more Negro candidates are seeking public office and the need for votes from all of the citizens of the community is necessary. Therefore, Negro citizens are encouraged to add their votes to the votes of other citizens who are interested in particular candidates securing office.

6. White candidates - oftentimes a voter is in a dilemna as to the candidate of his choice. For so long the Negro stayed away from the polls because he felt that he had nothing to gain regardless of the winner. Today the attitude on the part of the colored voter is to exercise a "negative vote" - that is - vote against the candidate from whom he has the least to expect, by voting for his opposition who may not have been so obviously biased.

In answer to why more Negroes have not registered, or do not participate at the polls the following causes are suggested:

1. Apathy or indifference - this is a fault not peculiar to any one race, but is perhaps a human frailty. Nevertheless, it is certainly an undesirable trait and represents the lack of desire on the part of a large segment of the Negro population to exercise its right to vote.

2. Literacy tests - the practice of requiring the prospective voter to prove his ability to read and write before admitting him to the polls. In North Carolina the Registrar is the judge of the prospective voter's ability to read and write, and many Negroes choose not to submit themselves for the test. There are others who do not possess the ability and are therefore deprived of the privilege to register.

3. Fear of economic reprisal - this is particularly true in rural areas where employers of Negro labor will not tolerate Negroes who wish to exercise suffrage.

4. Lack of organization - in many areas of the state there are no local organizations to encourage the Negro to register or vote. To some extent the rural colored citizen may be ignorant of the importance of the ballot, and it is this void that may be filled by Negro organizations operating on the local level.

As a final observation, which is made in light of personal interviews throughout the state, it is encouraging to report that the incidents of discriminatory practices regarding registration and suffrage appear to be on the decline. This is

truer to a greater extent in the urban centers than in the rural areas, but the continuing expansion of Negro suffrage in North Carolina is now a matter of record.

THE NEGRO VOTER IN LOUISIANA

BY

JOHN H. FENTON

Acknowledgments are due the Southern Regional Council for its sponsorship of the study of Negro registration in Louisiana and to Professor Kenneth N. Vines for his invaluable assistance in the study. Much of the material on Negro registration which appears in this article was drawn from an article by John H. Fenton and Kenneth N. Vines, "Negro Registration in Louisiana," scheduled to appear in a forthcoming issue of the American Political Science Review.

THE NEGRO VOTER IN LOUISIANA

BY

JOHN H. FENTON

A political revolution has occurred in Louisiana. More than 150,000 Negro Louisianians are registered to vote. However, resistance to registration remains strong in many areas of the state and is intensifying in others.

In telling the story of the process by which the Negro is working toward the goal of first class political citizenship in the state, this paper deals with six main aspects of the struggle; 1) the legal framework; 2) discriminatory techniques; 3) registration, in terms of where it has occurred and why; 4) the political process; 5) voting performance; and 6) prospects for the future.

Legal Determinants

In brief, Louisiana law with respect to registration is as follows:

> Every citizen of Louisiana, not less than 21 years of age, who is a citizen of the United States, native born or naturalized, may be enrolled as a registered voter upon his personal application if he possesses the following qualifications:
>
> 1. Resident of the state for one year.
> 2. Must be able to read and write, and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship "under a republican form of government."
> 3. Must be able to read any clause in the constitution of the State of Louisiana or the constitution of the United States and give a reasonable interpretation thereof, to the satisfaction of the registration official.
> 4. If unable to read or write, the applicant for registration is entitled to register if he is a person of good character and

reputation, attached to the principles of the constitution of the United States and of the State of Louisiana, and if he demonstrates his ability to understand and to give a reasonable interpretation of any section of either constitution.

5. The registrar, if unsure of the eligibility of an applicant, may require the applicant to secure two character witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's precinct. ~~In Rapides parish a suit is being pressed against a registrar who insists that a Negro produce two witnesses even though the Negro and the registrar are acquainted.~~

Obviously the requirements for registration in Louisiana are complex and confused. As applied by the registrars, the registration procedure is roughly as follows:

1. The applicant for registration is given Form LR-1, Form of Application for Registration. The law forbids any help to a person completing this rather complicated form. In most instances, if a person completes the form without help it is regarded as pro forma evidence of literacy. However, if a registrar wishes, he may examine an applicant with respect to the constitution even though he successfully completes the form.

Practice varies widely with respect to helping applicants and the strictness with which registrars scrutinize the form in search of mistakes. In some parishes, Negroes find it virtually impossible to satisfy the "high" standards demanded of them by registrars; in others, Negroes and whites are permitted to copy from previously completed copies of registration forms, and mistakes are overlooked.

2. If a person is unable to complete the form satisfactorily, he may still qualify for registration under the good character provision of the law. Once again, there is considerable variation among parishes with respect to registration of illiterates. However, as a rule, where literate Negroes find it easy to register, illiterate Negroes also find few obstacles to registration.

Discriminatory Techniques

Some of the more common devices used to discourage Negro registration in the Louisiana parishes where subterfuges are employed include:

1. Finding non-existent mistakes in the way the registration form is completed. The Registrar, by law, need not and in fact should not reveal to the applicant the mistake or mistakes made by him.

2. Negroes are asked questions concerning the constitution not asked white applicants, such as "define due process of law," or "a republican form of government."

3. A novel device used by some plantation owners has been to hold their own registration, and thus "satisfy" the Negroes without actually registering them.

4. Registration offices are moved frequently, ostensibly for the convenience of the voters, actually to confuse prospective Negro applicants.

5. Registration offices are often closed when Negro applicants present themselves.

6. Negro applicants are required to be accompanied by two character witnesses, a requirement that is not extended to white applicants. Where no or few Negroes are registered it is difficult to find willing witnesses.

7. A new device is the discriminatory pruging of the rolls, instituted with marked success in Bienville, Caldwell, Jackson, La Salle, and Ouachita parishes (All North-Central parishes). The procedure followed in purging the rolls is as follows:

1) Louisiana law permits any two registered voters to challenge by affidavit any name appearing on the rolls. In such cases, the registrar must notify the person challenged and order him to appear within 10 days to "prove" his

right to remain registered. If the challenged person appears within 10 days the registrar is the sole judge of the merits of the case and the statute provides no standards to guide the registrar in making his decision. If he does not appear in 10 days his name is stricken from the rolls.

2) Therefore, Citizens Council representatives in these parishes, armed with mistakes found on registration cards, have issued wholesale challenges against Negroes who were registered to vote. Where no mistakes have been found on the cards, registered Negro voters have been challenged on the basis of, (1) that the card was not completed by the registered Negro, or (2) that he received help in completing it.

In Carroll, Madison, Tensas, and West Feliciana parishes (Mississippi Delta) no Negroes are registered to vote. In these parishes subterfuge is unnecessary to discourage Negro registration for the Negroes know that they should not and cannot register, and, therefore, rarely attempt to do so.

Negro Registration

Nationally, 1936 marked the year that the Negro vote became an important factor in the American political equation. It was in that election that the Negroes of America showed that they had been transformed into a social psychological community, capable of voting in terms of their own self-interests as defined by their leaders. After 1936, the dollar bill, the drink, and the ghost of Abraham Lincoln lost its hold on the Negro vote.

In Louisiana, however, as in the rest of the South, this new-found voice of the Negro was throttled by the white primary. As is shown in Table 1, only 803 Negro Louisianians were registered to vote in 1940. But the renascent national voice of the Negro lifted the issue of Negro disfranchisement from a narrow sectional concern to the level of a national issue and the result was the outlawing of the white primary by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1944.

in the case of Smith v. Allwright. After 1944, Negro registration in Louisiana swelled rapidly, reaching a level of 161,410 in March of 1956, or 30 per cent of the potential vote.

TABLE 1

NEGRO REGISTRATION IN LOUISIANA, 1940-56

	No. Negroes Registered	Potential Negro Vote	Per cent of potential Registered
1940, March	803	473,562	0.2
1948, March	22,576	479,738	4.7
1952, March	97,101	497,000 (est.)	19.5
1956, March	161,410	529,000 (est.)	30.5
1956, October	152,378	529,000 (est.)	28.8

In spite of the marked increase in Negro registration, it has not approached the level of white registration, which totalled 904,000 in October of 1956 or more than 70 per cent of the potential white vote. A first concern, then, is to attempt to isolate and analyze the factors which inhibit Negro registration in Louisiana.

It is possible to make the following generalizations with respect to the pattern of Negro registration in Louisiana. 1) the initial resistance to Negro registration was least intense in the urban areas, rural sections with few Negroes and no history of a plantation economy, and in the French-Catholic area of the state; 2) recent counter-moves designed to decrease Negro registration have been concentrated almost exclusively in the North-Central section of Louisiana, which is a rural area with relatively few Negroes and no history of a plantation economy. All five parishes in which Negro registration was reduced by 50 per cent or more between March and October of 1956 are contiguous and are located in the North-Central section of the state; 3) resistance to registration has been greatest in the northern, non-French Catholic portion of the state and particularly in the sections of north Louisiana with a history of a plantation economy and with a great many Negroes in the population. Following is a discussion of each of

these three generalizations.

1) Areas with a permissive attitude toward Negro registration

One of the most marked changes that has taken place in the Louisiana Negro's socio-economic status has been his transformation from a position as a rural serf tenant to that of an urban free laborer. As Table 2 shows, in 1900 fewer than 20 per cent of Louisiana's Negroes lived in the cities, whereas in 1950 more than 50 per cent resided in urban areas.

TABLE 2

LOUISIANA POPULATION - URBAN AND RURAL BY NEGRO AND TOTAL

	Total Negro Population	No. Urban Negroes	% of Negroes Urban	% of Total (white and Negro) Urban
1950	882,428	447,463	51	51
1940	849,303	314,095	37	41
1930	776,326	257,463	33	40
1920	700,257	190,413	27	35
1910	713,874	160,845	22	30
1900	650,804	88,354	18	26

For the Negro, urbanization symbolizes opportunity. It opens the door to better schools, better jobs, and increased opportunities for political activity. In Louisiana, however, the expectations with respect to Negro political activity are drowned in the cold water of Negro lethargy. In the five parishes which are 70 per cent or more urban only 24 per cent of the potential Negro vote is registered, as compared with 33 per cent in the 17 most rural parishes (0-9 per cent urban), and approximately 29 per cent for the state as a whole.

The reasons for the failure of many urban Negroes to register seems to be largely traceable to two factors; 1) their typically lower-socio-economic and recent urban immigrant status with a consequent social disorientation. Such low income urban Negroes typically belong to few

organizations and are, essentially, "non-participants" in the greater society. Negro leadership does not reach them and consequently they neither register nor vote. From a social psychological point of view they have not been integrated into the greater Negro community; 2) Negro leadership in urban areas is particular and not general. It is, typically, uncoordinated and lacks over-all direction. Seemingly, it has not been possible for many urban Negro leaders in Louisiana to subordinate their private ambitions to the larger goal of improvement of the Negro's social and political position. However, with increased pressure on the Negro community exerted by the white Citizens Council has come an increasing awareness among Negroes of the things they have in common.

The failure of the urban Negro to register represents both a challenge and an opportunity to Negro leadership. Approximately 45 percent of the potential Negro vote is concentrated in five urban parishes and only 24 percent of this vote is registered. If only 70 percent of the urban vote could be registered the total Negro registration would exceed 250,000.

The 25 French-Catholic parishes which, roughly, form Southern Louisiana also represent, in general, an area which is permissive of Negro registration. Slightly more than 50 percent of the potential Negro vote is registered in these parishes, compared to approximately 20 percent in the remainder of the state.

Catholics claim that the primary explanation for the permissive attitude toward the Negro in French-Catholic Louisiana as manifested in the registration figures is to be found in the "catholic" nature of their religion. Others say that the important variable is not religion but race. According to these observers, the latin people as a race accept integration more readily

than do Anglo-Saxons.

2) Parishes in which there has been a reaction against Negro registration

The North-Central Cut-Over Pine section of Louisiana is an area with few Negroes in its population and no history of a plantation economy. Geographically, the section is located between the Red River on the west and the Mississippi Delta on the east, both of which have been, historically, plantation sections.

Since 1948, the proportion of Negroes registered to vote has steadily risen in North-Central Louisiana, until in March of 1956 more than 50 percent of the potential Negro vote was registered. In the spring and summer of 1956, however, the Citizens Council selected several of the North-Central and adjoining parishes as the locus for a drive to purge Negroes from the rolls. In five of these parishes (Bienville, Caldwell, Jackson, LaSalle, Ouachita, and Union) they have enjoyed considerable success, having cut the number of registered Negroes by 50 percent or more.

By contrast, it is interesting to note that Negro registration was not reduced significantly in any of the French-Catholic parishes in 1956, and on the contrary tended to increase. Seemingly, this further underscores the importance of the religio-cultural variable in explaining attitudes toward Negroes.

3) The defiant parishes

There are four parishes in Louisiana in which not a single Negro is registered to vote. All four of these parishes are located in the Mississippi

Delta section of the state, and are typical plantation-economy parishes in which more than 65 per cent of the population is colored.

The effect of the existence of a plantation economy on Negro registration is demonstrated by Table 3. As the Table shows, in the non-French Louisiana parishes there is a high negative correlation between the per cent tenancy of a parish and the per cent of its potential Negro vote that is registered.

TABLE 3

RELATION BETWEEN PER CENT TENANCY AND PER CENT NEGRO REGISTRATION IN NON-FRENCH PARISHES, 1956

% Tenancy	No. of Parishes	Mean % Negro Registration
50% +	11	12
40-49%	4	19
30-39%	6	25
20-29%	6	36
10-19%	9	53
0-9%	3	59

Specifically, a high rate of tenancy in a parish indicates the existence of a plantation economy. In the plantation parishes a few individuals own the vast majority of the land and the Negroes are in a subservient position in both an economic and a social sense. In the Mississippi Delta and Red River parishes the plantation owners take pride in the resemblance which exists between the 1856 and 1956 plantations. In these parishes the "Master's" word is still law, and his opposition to registration precludes it from the thinking of many if not most Negroes. Certainly, it bars the majority of them from attempting it.

The French-Catholic section of Louisiana is a sugar cane and rice section rather than a cotton plantation area. However, in the three French parishes which have a plantation economy, the level of Negro registration is

in excess of the average for the entire Northern section.

The Political Process

The first concern of every politician is to be elected and reelected to office. Therefore, the existence in any community of a reservoir of untapped voters tends to act as a magnet on politicians in search of votes. The Negro vote in Louisiana, however, was not fair game until the Supreme Court declared the White Primary laws unconstitutional. After 1944, Louisiana politicians could legally pursue the Negro vote.

In all the Louisiana parishes except those with the very largest cities, political power and interest center in the courthouse of the parish seat. The dominant political figure in the courthouse is the sheriff, whose election occasions the most interest and largest voter turnout in the parish. Where Negro registration has occurred in large numbers, the sheriff has almost invariably been friendly to the idea.

The way in which the political process helps bring Negroes to the polls is as follows:

1) Community attitudes must, first of all, be permissive with respect to Negro registration. If the white community is strongly and unalterably opposed to Negro voting, the sheriff or other politicians will rarely seek the Negro vote. Instead, as in the Mississippi Delta parishes with no registration, the sheriff will help keep the Negroes away from the polls. This is true because the politician fears the reaction of his townspeople to Negro registration and because he, too, generally shares the dominant attitude.

2) The sheriff, by the very nature of his office, is subject to manifold temptations relating to law enforcement, particularly, in Louisiana, to the classic "payoff" to permit gambling. When a sheriff permits gambling, he is charged with corruption of office by the good government, middle-class voters of his community. In this event the sheriff is compelled to turn to lower

socio-economic groups or to marginal groups in the community for support.

3) After Negro leaders have initiated the movement for registration and thus demonstrated their group's potential voter strength, the sheriff or other official can then use to his own profit the power of his office to prevent interference with registration, or else later encourage registration drives and voter turnout campaigns. In many parishes the Negro vote has become a "balance of power" factor.

4) Finally, the reward of the Negro for his vote is respect from the politicians and attendance at Negro political meetings, cessation of police brutality, and promises made and often kept regarding such matters as street improvements and better school facilities.

Voting Performance

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF NEGRO VOTING BEHAVIOR WITH THAT OF STATE IN 1956 LOUISIANA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

	% Turnout For Governor of Reg. Voters	% Voting for Governor Who Voted For			% of Total Vote Outside New Orleans for Long Ticket		
		Lt Gov	Atty Gen	Comm of Ag	Gov. Long	Lt Gov. Frazar	Comm of Ag McCrary
(Mean of Precincts) Negro	78	79	76	67	80	74	77
Total White & Negro	78	90	86	84	55	49	50

	% of Total Vote in New Orleans for Long Ticket			% of Total Vote in New Orleans For Morrison Ticket			% Vote in State for Negro Candidates
	Gov Long	Lt Gov Frazar	Comm of Ag McCrary	Gov Morrison	Lt Gov Barham	Comm of Ag Pearce	Atty Gen Amedee
(Mean of Precincts) Negro	47	38	47	50	53	50	52
Total White & Negro	40	35	41	40	40	54	09

The Negro vote shown in Table 4 was derived from the vote of 28 precincts, in all of which more than 90 per cent of the registered voters were colored. The total breakdown for the 28 precincts was 20,425 Negro and 508 white. The 28 precincts are located in 11 parishes (Orleans, East Baton Rouge, Morehouse, Caddo, Acadia, LaSalle, Allen, Calcasieu, St. Landry, Evangeline, and Vernon) and scattered throughout the state. They include both rural and urban parishes.

It is interesting to note that the turnout of registered Negroes in the vote for governor was virtually identical to that of the total registered population. However, fewer Negroes than whites voted for lesser candidates, which was, in all probability, a function of literacy and information.

The Negro is often accused of block voting. Table 4 would indicate that the Negroes outside New Orleans did vote overwhelmingly for Earl K. Long and his ticket in the 1956 primary.[1] However, it is important to note that in New Orleans Mayor Morrison received more votes than did Long among Negro voters. In fact, Table 4 clearly indicates that Morrison's narrow plurality in Orleans parish was, in large part, due to the vote he received from the Negro population.

The conclusions that can be drawn from Table 4 are several. In the first place, the Negro vote is not atypical. Where the Negroes are subject to cross pressures their vote splits as does the remainder of the population. Where cross pressures do not exist the vote tends to be of the block variety -- which should occasion no surprise. The name "Long"

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[1]There were five candidates in the primary.

is identified by Negroes with pensions and other state services oriented toward lower socio-economic groups. Because most Negroes are of the lower socio-economic strata they tended to vote for Long. However, in New Orleans the name "Morrison" is as well known as that of Long and is identified with low-cost housing for Negroes, better park and school facilities, and related official acts designed to aid the Negroes. Therefore, the Negro in New Orleans was faced with a dilemma in casting his vote and reacted by dividing it rather evenly between Morrison and Long. In addition, according to Negro leaders throughout the state, the upper socio-economic Negro class tended to cast its vote for Morrison. Consequently, the large Negro vote for Long outside New Orleans was, first of all, not a race vote but an economic class vote. Secondly, its overwhelming character was due to the absence of cross pressures, i.e., Negroes are largely of the lower socio-economic class. If the white vote in the 1956 primary were divided into classes, the lower socio-economic white vote probably would not differ greatly from the Negro vote.

The vote for Earl J. Amedee, Negro candidate for Attorney General in the 1956 Democratic primary, provides interesting material for speculation with respect to the block vote stereotype associated with Negroes. As Table 4 shows, Amedee received little more than 50 per cent of the Negro vote (in the state as a whole, Amedee received only 9 per cent of the vote). The principal reason for the relatively small vote cast for Amedee among Negroes was the presence on the ballot of a Long candidate for Attorney General. Therefore, Many Negro voters were cross pressured between a race vote and an economic class vote, and many resolved the issue in favor of the class vote.[1]

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[1] In addition, evidence would seem to indicate that many rural Negroes were not aware of Mr. Amedee's race. For example, in 13 precincts in largely rural parishes Amedee received a mean vote of only 47%, whereas in an equal number of precincts in urban parishes, Amedee received a mean of 59% of the vote.

The Louisiana Negro vote in the 1956 presidential election, however, reacted to the mounting pressure of the Citizens Council by tending to place race ahead of economic class in its scale of values. Seemingly, the major issue of this election, as far as the Negro vote was concerned, was the behavior of certain southern Democrats, such as Eastland, and the civil rights "sellout" at the Democratic National Convention. The result was a switch of major proportions by the Negroes from the Democratic to the Republican ranks. In Baton Rouge in five overwhelmingly Negro precincts (97 percent in 1956) the vote was 80 percent Democratic in 1952 as compared to only 30 percent Democratic in 1956. In 12 New Orleans precincts in which 88 percent of the registered voters were Negro, the change was from 67 percent Democratic in 1952 to 43 percent Democratic in 1956. The turnout in these Negro precincts was approximately 70 percent of the registered vote in both cities, compared with a total statewide turnout of 54 percent of the registered vote.

Hence the 1956 presidential election would seem to indicate that the Negro vote is no longer simply an economic class vote, but is also developing into a race vote which tends to vote in terms of its own self-interests as a race, as those self-interests are defined by its own leadership. As such, the Negro vote in Louisiana is becoming an increasingly important balance of power factor. It is statistically proveable that the Negro vote was a crucial element in Adlai Stevenson's narrow victory in Louisiana in 1952; in Earl Long's first primary triumph in the 1956 Democratic gubernatorial primary; and in Eisenhower's precedent-shattering conquest of Louisiana's electoral vote in 1956.

Finally, a word about block voting. Any group in the population votes its own self-interests. When a group's self-interests will be served markedly better by one candidate than another the overwhelming majority of the group will ordinarily vote for that candidate. This is called a block

vote when one disapproves of the recipient of the block of votes or of the objectives of the group that cast the vote; e.g., the upper socio-economic vote against Franklin Roosevelt is seldom referred to as a block vote. A group is, indeed, fortunate when its self- interests will be served equally well by any of several candidates. Under such circumstances its vote will tend to be rather narrowly divided between the candidates. The Negro, unfortunately, rarely finds himself in this comfortable position.

Jesse Stone, a Negro attorney in Shreveport, Louisiana, said, "I am told that I should vote as an American and not as a Negro. Well, I believe I love America as much as anyone else, and I would like to weigh our policies in the Middle East and the Far East when I vote. However, I'm too busy trying to be free--to <u>become</u> an American--to concern myself with such questions. When I vote I must concern myself with what is good for the Negroes."

<u>Future Prospects</u>

The only state-wide organization dedicated to increasing Negro registration has been the NAACP. However, the NAACP was recently declared unlawful in Louisiana and, therefore, its current status is in doubt. However, leaders of the NAACP continue to provide leadership for Negroes even though the organization, as such, is legally dead.

The Citizens Council is a state-wide organization which has as its express objective the "preservation of the Southern way of life." The tactics used by this organization include, (1) purgation of Negroes from the rolls, (2) the application of pressure on registrars to "scrupulously follow statutory requirements" when examining Negro applicants, (3) the election of public officials dedicated to Citizens Council objectives.

Unless the Citizens Council enjoys unexpected success in its purgation efforts, it would seem that Negro registration and voting have become a permanent feature of the Louisiana political landscape. As Mr. J. Andrew Gaulden, Negro school principal in Winn parish put it, "Too many white

people have a vested interest in the Negro vote to permit Negroes to be purged from the polls." In addition, in the French parishes the Citizens Council seems to have relatively little strength. Finally, the presence of law-enforcement officials in the cities (particularly, Federal) makes purgation difficult there. Thus where Negro registration is greatest, the prospects for purgation are the slimmest.

In the parishes where subterfuge is necessary to discourage registration, there is likely to be a registration breakthrough in the not too distant future. In these parishes, where there is a history of suppression, the Negro is quite anxious to obtain the suffrage. In the Mississippi Delta parishes where no Negroes are registered, the prospects are bleak for registration in the immediate future. Negroes in these parishes will, in the main, follow the dictates of the plantation owners.

The urban parishes represent a great untapped reservoir of Negro votes which can be registered with a minimum of difficulty. The problem facing Negro leaders is to find ways and means of overcoming the indifference of the urban Negro citizen. All in all, a political revolution has occurred in Louisiana since 1944. The Negro vote has become an important factor in determing "who shall rule" in the state, and is likely to become an increasingly important "balance of power" element in state politics.

The Expansion of Negro Suffrage in Florida

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Florida State University

Although Florida officials had successfully thwarted efforts to extend the suffrage to Negroes in the party primary prior to 1946, they complied with their Supreme Court's decision of July 24, 1945, which overturned a resolution passed by the State Democratic Executive Committee seeking to maintain the white primary.[1] As a result the Florida Negro has been able gradually to expand his suffrage potential. Although in some isolated areas Negroes still do not participate, the overall picture is one of a steady but moderate increase in the number of Negroes registered and voting in all Florida elections.

The change from the white primary to a primary open to all persons without regard to race has been accomplished without disorder and violence. This has been true despite some noticeable increases in the number of Negroes participating in the electoral process, in a few counties to such an extent that not to seek the Negro votes, or to flaunt their votes, is considered unhealthy politically. It is still true, however, that this statement cannot be applied to a statewide race. The Negro in Florida politics poses a delicate problem to the would-be victor, for to court the Negro votes openly might alienate the white voters and thus insure defeat. This dilemma was evident in the 1956 Democratic gubernatorial primary race when all major contenders demonstrated by various acts that they were <u>not</u> courting the Negro vote. Yet, the situation

was not a manifestation of an extremist position on the issue of race since the only candidate who used race as the issue ran a very poor second while the major candidate, who adopted a more moderate position, won an unprecedented first primary victory.

Florida, in sharp contrast to her neighbor states, stands as an oasis of sorts in what otherwise might be classed as a political desert so far as Negro suffrage is concerned. Negroes in Florida may, beyond question, participate in elections without any special hurdles to jump in all but four of the sixty-seven counties. Since Florida has no requirements which make it more difficult for Negroes to register than for Whites, the barriers to Negro participation in these four counties are of neither statutory nor constitutional nature. Field interviews suggest that Negroes do not register to vote there because of either real or fancied fears.

Florida Supervisors of Registration customarily keep poll books separate by race.[2] From these figures estimates of Negro participation in voting can be made. While it is true that for the general election there were Negro registrants in 16 Florida counties in 1940 and in 31 Florida counties in 1944, none were permitted to participate in the Democratic Primary. We are considering here, therefore, that important decade from 1946, when the Negro was first permitted to register in the primary, through the general election of 1956.

During this decade there was a rapid increase in the total number of Negroes who were registered; however, the adult Negro potential has been only about one-quarter realized. Before Negro registration can reach the same percentage of its potential as White registration has reached of its potential (i.e., about sixty percent in Florida) it must more than double. It is this further expansion of Negro suffrage in Florida that will enable the Negro to participate to the maximum not only in voting but also, perhaps, in being elected to public office. While the rate of increase in achieving the maximum Negro potential might seem slow, such growth in ten years is remarkable.

There has been a decrease in the number of Negro registrants in the 1946-56 period in only two counties, Taylor and Gadsden. In the former, the 1946 total of 110 was increased to 116 in 1950 but dropped to 91 at the time of the 1956 general election. In Gadsden there were 35 in 1946 but only 5 in 1956. There were no Negroes participating in the 1956 general election in Lafayette, Union, and Liberty counties. Liberty county had one Negro regis-~~trant~~-trant on its poll books and had had twelve Negroes registered before the 1956 primary; however, eleven requested that their names be removed from the poll books ~~[illegible]~~ after a series of incidents suggestive of intimidation. During the same decade the Negro percentage of the total population was declining from approximately 24 percent in 1946 to 21.8 percent in 1950 and to an estimated 19.4 percent in July, 1955. It has been estimated that

this percentage will be further reduced to 18 by 1960.[3]

Table I shows that the majority of the ten counties having the lowest Negro registration at the time of the 1956 general election also rank lowest in personal income, lowest in educational attainments, have an economy based on farming and forestry and have a declining population.[4] The majority of these counties are located in what was the Black Belt of pre-Civil War days. There the strong political folkways and mores seem to be most resistant to change, and it is in these counties where greatest resistance to the expansion of Negro suffrage will most probably be continued.

TABLE I: Ten Florida Counties of Lowest Negro Registration in 1956

COUNTY	PERCENT POP. UP OR DOWN '40-'50	RURAL / URBAN	AV. PER CAPITA INCOME 1950	PERCENT 25 YRS OLD COMPLETED HIGH SCH. OR MORE	PERCENT POP. NEGRO 1955	TOTAL NEGRO REGISTRANTS 1946	TOTAL NEGRO REGISTRANTS 1956
LAFAYETTE	-22	R	$621	18	6.4	0	0
UNION	+26	R	691	11	36.5	0	0
LIBERTY	-15	R	592	11	13.0	0	1
GADSDEN	+16	R-u	1059	17	61.7	32	5
GILCHRIST	-18	R	663	16	11.0	11	29
HOLMES	- 9	R	510	10	4.3	106	130
HENDRY	+16	R	2001	25	27.2	2	135
FLAGLER	+12	R	995	20	42.5	5	13
DIXIE	-44	R	516	14	15.6	58	181
JEFFERSON	-14	R	537	12	58.2	147	183
FLORIDA	+46	66%U	$1228	36	19.4	-	-

The ten Florida counties with the greatest Negro registration in 1956 have had a rapidly increasing population, they are urban, the residents have high incomes, have attained a higher educational level and have a diversified economy (See Table II). All are located

in central and south Florida except Duval, Leon, and Escambia, which are located in north Florida. Two of these three

TABLE II: Ten Florida Counties of Greatest Negro Registration in 1956

COUNTY	PERCENT POP. UP OR DOWN '40-'50	RURAL / URBAN	AV.PER CAPITA INCOME 1950	PERCENT 25+YRS OLD COMPLETED HIGH SCH. OR MORE	PERCENT POP. NEGRO 1955	TOTAL NEGRO REGISTRANTS 1946	TOTAL NEGRO REGISTRANTS 1956
DUVAL	+ 45	U	$1461	36	24.3	12,420	27,368
DADE	+ 85	U	1626	45	11.5	5,310	19,048
HILLSBOROUGH	+ 39	U	1202	32	14.1	2,177	8,858
BROWARD	+111	U	1305	41	22.6	685	6,958
ESCAMBIA	+ 51	U	1116	30	19.5	2,467	6,733
PALM BEACH	+ 43	U	1454	38	27.2	2,416	6,520
VOLUSIA	+ 38	U	1064	42	20.7	2,847	5,761
POLK	+ 43	U	1344	29	19.9	1,888	4,989
MARION	+ 22	U-r	972	28	35.6	1,379	4,322
LEON	+ 63	U	1149	40	37.2	508	4,046
FLORIDA	+ 46	66%U	1228	36	19.4	-	-

counties, Duval and Escambia, have had a marked increase in industrial, professional, and business activities as well as serving as locations for large federal military establishments. The third, Leon, is the site of the capital city Tallahassee, as well as Florida State University and Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University for Negroes. The influence of federal and state employees, and the educational institutions has made Leon different from the typical north Florida county. The social and economic factors at work in these ten counties suggest that it is here that we might expect most rapid expansion of Negro suffrage.

Even in counties heretofore considered strongly resistant to Negro voting, a high percentage increase in Negro registration

occurred between 1946-1956 (See Table III). In many respects these counties are almost identical to those counties having the lowest Negro registration and the greatest resistance to the expansion of Negro suffrage, yet the Negro is moving toward fulfillment

TABLE III: Ten Florida Counties of Greatest Percentage Increase in Negro Registration, 1946-1956

COUNTY	PERCENT POP. UP OR DOWN '40-'50	RURAL / URBAN	AV. PER CAPITA INCOME 1950	PERCENT 25 YRS OLD COMPLETED HIGH SCH. OR MORE	PERCENT POP. NEGRO 1955	TOTAL NEGRO REGISTRANTS 1946	TOTAL NEGRO REGISTRANTS 1956
HENDRY	+ 16	R	$2001	25	27.2	2	135
HARDEE	- 1	R	970	21	7.3	12	375
OKALOOSA	+113	R-u	997	35	6.9	24	606
SANTA ROSA	+ 15	R	668	20	7.8	4	730
WAKULLA	- 4	R	515	11	31.2	2	345
HAMILTON	- 8	R	582	12	42.0	40	507
CALHOUN	- 4	R	525	13	14.0	2	231
BAKER	- 3	R	476	11	24.8	32	361
MADISON	- 12	R	622	18	44.7	0	1,010
GULF	+ 7	R	1100	20	23.2	45	481
FLORIDA	+ 46	66%U	$1228	36	19.4	48,480	148,636

	NUMERICAL INCREASE	PERCENT INCREASE
HENDRY	133	6650
HARDEE	363	3025
OKALOOSA	582	2425
SANTA ROSA	726	1815
WAKULLA	343	1714
HAMILTON	467	1167
CALHOUN	229	1145
BAKER	329	1028
MADISON	1,010	- -
GULF	436	968
FLORIDA	100,480	208

of suffrage rights. In two of the counties, Hamilton and Madison, although the percentage of the eligible Negroes who have registered is low, the registration figures show that the total number of Negroes registered is gradually increasing. Eight of the ten

counties are located in north Florida and the other two in the south-central part of the state.

Madison County's experience in expansion of Negro suffrage deserves special consideration because in the beginning no Negroes were registered to vote in the primary, and none were on the poll books until shortly before the 1954 primary. At that time a large group of Negroes went en masse to the courthouse and were registered so that before the primary 586 were duly enrolled, 558 as Democrats and 28 as Republicans. There were many factors which made this particular registration episode significant but mention of one will suffice. Madison county had been the scene of violence in race relations as recently as 1945. There was some speculation that even though the Negroes had registered they still would not vote. Nevertheless, on election day, according to the testimony of the Supervisor of Registration and others, many of the Negroes did vote. An observer doing a field study of Madison county politics at that time reported that the only instance of potential violence occurred in a small precinct when a white man approached the voting area carrying his gun and asserted that no Negro was going to vote. However, other white men at the voting area were able to persuade the man to leave and no violence occurred. (At that same election one county commissioner who had gone on record as saying it seemed proper to him to permit Negroes to register and vote was defeated.) Since the 1954 primary the number of non-whites registered has increased from the original 586 to 681 in the 1954 general election, 991 in the 1956 primary, and

1,010 in the 1956 general election. This county is in the Black Belt, the "hog and hominy" section of Florida, and has had such a strong feeling against Negro participation in elections that none registered until eight years after the primary had been opened to them. However, the fact remains that they are registering in increasing numbers and without violence, and they are voting, thus giving strong support to the general proposition that once the original barrier is broken, Negroes can participate in virtually any area of Florida.

Duval county, one of the four metropolitan areas in Florida, has long seen non-whites taking an active role in city (Jacksonville) and county elections. This county has the largest number of Negro registrants and one of its precincts is the largest Negro precinct in the state. In the urban politics of Duval county one sees reflected both the relative ease with which Negroes have registered and voted, but also evident are formidable barriers to any Negro who seeks election to public office. Negroes in this county have developed a system of ~~block~~ en bloc voting for two or three offices — i.e., sheriff, superintendent of schools, and governor. Non-white registrants have more than doubled in the decade 1946-1956 and Duval politicians are well aware of the vote potential they hold. Candidates frequently woo the Negro votes, and the practice of using endorsement cards in an effort to influence the Negro voter, is widespread and accepted. While evidence of <u>en bloc</u> voting in response to Negro Voter League endorsement can be

found for a number of races during the last ten years in Duval county, the race which has most frequently followed the en bloc pattern has been the race for sheriff. However, in the 1956 Democratic primary both the sheriff's and governor's race highlighted this practice(See Table IV).

TABLE IV: Negro en bloc Voting in Sheriff's and Governor's Race in the 1956 Democratic Primary in Duval County

RACE	TOTAL PCTS.	WHITE	NEGRO	CAHILL	SWEAT*					
Sheriff -	12	49	14,057	1,181 13%	7,516 87%					
Governor -	12	49	14,057	BRYANT	COLLINS*	LOWRY	PRICE	STREETS	WARREN	
				162 1.6%	8,854 90.8%	78 .8%	49 .4%	459 4.7%	142 1.4%	

*Endorsed Candidate

The formidable barriers still existing in Duval county to any Negro who seeks elective office were brought out in the 1956 candidacy of a well-known and respected Negro attorney, Mr. Ernest D. Jackson. Mr. Jackson holds both an A.B. and law degree from Howard, was a disabled veteran who had seen service in both European and Asiatic-Pacific theatres of war, a member of the Second Baptist Church, APO, American Legion, Mason, active in Scouting, and had achieved considerable publicity as the result of his role as counsel for a Negro defendant in a sensational criminal case. Mr. Jackson attempted to gain the office of Justice of the Peace in what was, at the time of the primary, District 2. Jackson was nominated in the May 8, 1956, primary over two opponents with the

official vote of 7,716 for Jackson, 6,103 for Miss Sarah Bryan, and 950 for a third candidate. For the moment it seemed that Jackson would be the only Negro in Florida to hold elective office, but only for the moment, for on May 22, 1956, county attorney J. Henry Blount told the Duval County Commission that he thought the JP setup might be illegal. On June 2, 1956, Frank T. Cannon, Jacksonville attorney, filing in Miss Bryan's name, contested the Duval County JP setup, which he claimed was illegal because it violated a 1944 Constitutional amendment in that the 1949 act of the legislature which enabled the Duval County Commission to alter and abolish JP districts, without referendum, was unconstitutional and that Duval county was still legally on a 9 district rathera than the 5 district setup. On August 7, Circuit Judge J. Claude Ogilvie declared the existing JP setup unconstitutional, and on the basis of his decision the Duval County Democratic Committee, headed by Florida Dixiecrat, Edgar Waybright, met on August 16, to nominate candidates for the 9 JP districts. There were approximately 350 of the 400 members of the committee present and in a very long session all JPs were renominated who had gained the nomination in the Democratic primary <u>except</u> Mr. Ernest D. Jackson, and in his place the committee voted for Miss Sarah Bryan. The Committee vote was on the first ballot: Bryan - 109, Boree - 81, and Jackson - 55, and on the second ballot: Bryan - 90, Boree - 82. Mr. Jackson exhausted every remedy in an effort to have his name on the ballot even going to the governor on appeal asking for a

special primary to settle the JP dispute but the governor said there was no chance for the special primary (the Supreme Court having ruled the day before this announcement, in unanimous decision, that Judge Ogilvie's decision was correct). And, finally, county attorney Blount advised Jackson that under the existing election code, in cases of this nature, only party nominees might appear on the ballot. This was close, but not close enough, and Miss Bryan was duly elected, although there were more write-in votes for other candidates than for Miss Bryan, and Jackson's 5,379 write-in total was only 875 votes short of Miss Bryan's total. This case indicates the resevoir of resistance still existing to the expansion of Negro suffrage even in a county where the Negro has had greater acceptance than in almost any other county in Florida.

Another example of the determined resistance to Negro candidates for public office occurred in the capitol city, Tallahassee, in the February, 1957, city commission race. While humor can usually save the day, just before this election there was a painfully obvious absence of humor-bad or good. The Negro candidate, Rev. K. S. Dupont, had played a leading role in the Tallahassee bus "boycott" and his white opponent, Davis Atkinson, had played a leading role in the opposition. The white candidate easily won capturing 73.8 percent of the total vote. The intensity of the feeling surrounding the election is reflected in the records that were established. There were more citizens registered to vote in this city election and a greater percentage of those registered

actually voted than in any previous city election. A previous 1956 city commission race had 9,186 registrants, this 1957 race had 13,191, and in that same 1956 election only 45.8 percent of registrants voted while in the 1957 contest 72.6 percent voted.

TABLE V: Leon County City Commission Election of February, 1957[5]

DISTRICT	ATKINSON	DUPONT	TOTAL	WHITE VOTERS	NEGRO VOTERS	DEFECTIVE BALLOTS
A	1,121	875	1,996	1,142	978	124
B	2,636	135	2,771	2,795	38	62
C	1,327	93	1,420	1,401	45	26
D	1,720	1,302	3,022	1,922	1,257	157
	6,804	2,405	9,209	7,260	2,318	369

The shift of Negroes from Stevenson to Eisenhower in the south in 1956 was apparent in Florida. At the time of the November election there were 148,636 Negroes registered to vote representing almost nine percent of the total registration. Despite thetfact that at the time of the election, 93 percent of the Florida Negroes were registered as Democrats, their vote shifted heavily to the Republican standard bearer. However, they did not switch over for offices below the Presidential level.

The shift by Florida Negro voters from Stevenson to Eisenhower was evident throughout the state; however, in two counties it was especially clear-Duval and Leon. Duval county's precinct 3A, largest Negro precinct in Florida with almost 3,200 registered, shifted dramatically to Eisenhower in 1956.

In 1952 this precinct gave Stevenson almost ninety percentof its vote; in 1956 it gave Eisenhower slightly more than fifty-six percent. Duval county precincts of heaviest Negro registration gave Stevenson an advantage of almost ten to one over Eisenhower in 1952, but in 1956 these same precincts gave Eisenhower a 55 to 45 advantage over Stevenson. Leon County also reflected this shift. In Precincts 9 and 11, those of heaviest Negro registration, the shift was as follows:

	PCT.	1952	1956	1956 Registration NEGRO	WHITE
STEVENSON	9	1785	1604		
EISENHOWER	9	1137	1695	1293	3542
STEVENSON	11	1602	1213		
EISENHOWER	11	689	1464	1688	2532

The campaign slogan used by some Negro political leaders in Florida, "How can you vote for the party of Eastland?" paid dividends for Eisenhower.

The presidential voting also indicated a greater degree of participation by Negroes than whites. Observers believe that this resulted from two factors: (1) the disenchanment of many Democrats who simply did not vote in the general election, and (2) the attempt by Negro political leaders to show the voting potential of the Florida Negro. On the basis of complete election returns broken down by county and precinct it would seem that generally the Negro voters participated at an intensity six percent greater than whites in the presidential voting. And, the records reflect that the Negro total vote for President equalled almost seven percent of the total vots cast.

The Negro in Florida has seen a gradual expansion of his suffrage. He has been admitted into the political arena as a voter but not as a public office holder. The leaders of the Negroes, and they could and would accept additional leaders, face problems somewhat like those faced by white political leaders -- apathy, ignorance, superstitution, fear. The difficulties of educating American citizens to grasp their responsibilities seems to be a special problem for the Negro. The Voter Leagues around the state have done some excellent work, as have a few outstanding Negro leaders, but there remains much work yet to be done. One of the Negro groups working in this area has long used the motto "A Voteless Citizen Is A Voiceless Citizen," and this is the theme being used in an increasing number of counties.

In many Florida counties the politicians assidiously seek the votes of both whites and non-whites. This practice is common not only in Duval county, as has been noted, but also in Leon, Escambia, Marion, Orange, Seminole, Broward, Brevard, Volusia, Dade, and Hillsborough.

The practice of keeping separate poll books by race and using separate balloting booths in some counties as well as more subtle devices hinder fullest political participation by the Negro in Florida. The need for direction and leadership is apparent and merely a show of strength will not suffice to place the electoral situation in proper perspective. It was the hope of some Negro

that less energy would be needed in the future on matters of public school segregation so that there would be more time and energy channeled to voter educational campaigns. The Negro churches, the NAACP, the Florida State Teachers Association, various Voter Leagues, and academic personnel have greatly aided in the efforts to get more Negroes registered and voting in all elections in all counties.

The decade of 1946-1956 has seen a significant expansion of Negro suffrage in Florida. Since the non-white percentage of the total population of Florida has been declining and there has been a quicker acceptance of Negro voters in central and southern Florida, it seems reasonably certain that this expansion will continue. When the Negro leaders believe that they can devote their full energies to emphasizing political participation, then the potential will be further realized. There may be one more river to cross before maximum Negro suffrage is realized, but all signs now point to steady progress in that direction.

Roady, Elston E. "The Expansion of Negro Suffrage in Florida"

Footnotes

1. Davis v. State ex rel. Cromwell, 23 So. 2d 85 (Fla., 1945).

2. The statistical voting information in this chapter has been taken from the Registration and Voting Reports of the Florida Secretary of State, from the Registration and Voting Reports of the County Supervisors of Registration, and from unofficial returns in the Tallahassee Democrat and the Jacksonville Times-Union. Correspondence with various Supervisors of Registration have revealed differences between their figures and those found in the reports of the Florida Secretary of State. However, none of these were of such magnitude as to influence the figures as reported in this chapter. The writer wishes to give special thanks to Professor Emmett W. Bashful of Florida A&M University for having made available results of his survey of Negro political participation in Florida, most not yet published.

3. T. Stanton Dietrich. "Florida Population Trends," Information Sheet 8, Center for Social Research, Florida State University, November, 1956.

4. Materials for Tables I, II, and III, have been taken from the United States Census Reports for Florida, a special census estimate made by the Florida Public Health Service in 1955, and Population Supporting Potential of Florida Resources By County Groups, by Henry F. Becker and Harry F. Brubaker, Resource Analysis Center of the Department of Geography, Florida State University, June 1, 1956.

5. Tallahassee Democrat, February 27, 1957. The information in Table V represents the unofficial count made by poll watchers employed by the Tallahassee Democrat.

THE NEGRO VOTER IN SOUTH CAROLINA

James T. McCain

1. Question: What is the number of potential white and Negro voters in South Carolina?

   Answer: The civilian population of voting age in South Carolina as of November 1, 1956 was around 1,222,000.

2. Question: How many whites and Negroes were registered and eligible to vote in the Presidential election of 1956?

   Answer: From a survey that was made in the month of August, 1956, it was estimated that there were 544,275 whites and 99,890 Negroes or a total of 644,165 whites and Negroes eligible to vote in the Presidential election of 1956.

   On September 29, 1956, the Secretary of State Mr, O. Frank Thornton issued a statement to the effect, that there were about 725,000 persons eligible to vote in South Carolina. This was a little over 80,000 persons qualified to vote than was found in the August survey. The difference of 80,000 might be explained in the following ways:

   A. The only way we had in South Carolina to find out how many people were registered to vote, was through key people in each community who would help us secure this information. We were unable to get this information from the registration officials. The figures which we got, came from questionnaires that were sent out and personal contact.

   B. Therewas an extensive campaign put on in South Carolina by Negroes and white organizations in the months of August and September to get every eligible person registered to vote.

   C. On August 27, 1956, the State Democratic Convention reconvened after the National Democratic Convention held in Chicago, Ill. During this Autust 27th meeting there developed a split in the party and a movement began at once to secure 10,000 signatures to form a new party in South Carolina, not only did they secure the necessary 10,000 signatures, but they got at least 35,000. The Independent Party electors canvassed South Carolina urging the whites to get a registration certificate and vote the Independent ticket in November, because the National Democratic Party had sold the south out. The Palmetto Voters Association, a Negro political organization did the same thing among Negroes, urging them to secure a registration certificate and vote. To us these were some of the reasons why there might have been a difference of 80,000 eligible voters.

3. Question: How many votes were cast in the Presidential election of 1956?

   Answer: 301,679

   Divided by race: Negroes--75,000 Whites--226.679

4. Question: What are the requirements for registration?

Answer: QUALIFICATION FOR REGISTRATION:

Every citizen of this state and the United States who:
(1) Is twenty one years of age ar more
(2) Is not laboring under disabilities named in the Constitution of 1895 of this state.

Those disabilities are; (a) Persons who are idiots or insane, paupers supported at the public expense and persons confined in any public prison shall be disqualified from being registered or voting and (b) persons convicted of burglary, arson, obtaining goods or money under false pretenses, perjury, forgery, robbery, bribery, adultery, bigamy, wife-beating, house-breaking, receiving stolen goods, breach of trust with fraudulent intent, fornification, sodomy, incest, assault with intent to ravish, mescegenation, larceny or crimes against the election laws shall be disqualified from being registered or voting, unless disqualification shall have been removed by pardon of the Governor.
(3) Shall have been a resident in the State for two years, in the county for one year and in the polling precinct in which the elector offers to vote four months before any election.
(4) Can both read and write any section of said Constitution submitted to said elector by the registration officer or can show that he owns, and has paid all taxes collectible during the previous year on, property in this state assessed at three hundred dollars and more, and
(5) Shall apply for registration

Question: Is there discrimination in the registration of Negroes?

Answer: Although we have heard of many cases of the misuse of the literacy tests, it is difficult to give specific cases because people are afraid for their names to be used.

5. Question: What are the major barriers and problems involved in the expansion of Negro suffrage in South Carolina?

Answer: To be found on attached sheets, A, B, C.

Question: What needs to be done to remove these barriers and to solve these problems?

Answer: A concentrated effort on the part of the schools, P.T.A.'s, ministers and leaders in citizenship education, and the use and value of the ballot, and to see that it reaches every Negro in South Carolina of voting age.

(A) MAJOR BARRIERS AND PROBLEMS

In the Negro's quest to achieve full enfranchisement in South Carolina, there seems to be three factors that are retarding his progress of becoming a first class citizen politically:

First. Apathy and the lack of political consciousness restrict the use of the ballot by the Negro more than any other factor. The Negro in South Carolina seems not to have learned the advantages of the ballot. He is a novice in politics in South Carolina and does not know the opportunities that come with voting. He has been told over and over by the opposite group that taking part in politics and voting is none of his business and should be left in the hands of the white people. A long period of indoctrination has been used by the whites upon the Negro; which to a great degree has contributed to apathy and the lack of political consciousness. Then, again, this lack of apathy may come from the many disadvantages that the Negro has had educationally in South Carolina. It has only been in the last few years that Negroes have had the opportunity to attend school for any length of time. As the Negro becomes better educated and learns the value of voting, apathy and the lack of political consciousness will disappear.

Second. The factor of economic dependency has kept many Negroes from seeking a registration certificate and qualifying to vote. The majority of the Negroes in South Carolina still depend upon the members of the white group to make a living and are afraid of doing anything that will cause pressure to be used against him. It has been said over and over again that many landlords will not allow their tenants to take part in voting and if any of the tenants should go against the landlords' wishes and try to get a registration certificate, the tenant is immediately reprimanded or loses his job. Therefore, in order to make a living for his family, he will not take the chance of getting a registration certificate. Yet in light of the pressure that may be used by the landlords, some of

the Negro tenants in South Carolina have defied their landlords and have gotten registration certificates even at the risk of being fired.

Third. Discriminatory tactics have been used against the Negro in South Carolina, especially in those counties where the Negro is in the majority. Registration books have been moved from place to place in some counties to keep the Negro from getting a registration certificate and even if the Negro finds out where the books are located, he is given all kinds of literary tests that have nothing to do with reading and writing the Constitution of the United States. If too many Negroes go together to secure registration certificates in some of the counties, the clerks will only pass one or two of them, and will tell the rest that the books are closed for today. This has discouraged many Negroes and they will not go again to try for a registration certificate. In a few counties in South Carolina, Negroes who have had registration certificates have been told to take their names off the registration books and this has been done. Negroes have been threatened for attempting to vote. Even though discriminatory tactics are still being used against the Negro to keep him from taking part in politics in South Carolina, this plays only a minor role in keeping those who can qualify from getting registration certificates and voting.

Notwithstanding the factors that are standing in the way of the Negro to gain complete political freedom, there is evidence that the Negro is on the move politically in South Carolina. This can be attributed to the new kind of leadership found among the Negro today. South Carolina has a new kind of Negro leadership that is young and intelligent. This new Negro knows the value of the ballot and what it can do to help the Negro relize first class citizenship. Negroes have gained new confidence in South Carolina and are willing to follow this leadership. Leadership is in the hands of ministers, doctors, lawyers, and businessmen who cannot be pressurized by the white population. This new leadership is

determined to see that every Negro who can qualify and wants a registration certificate gets it, even if someone must carry the Negro to the registration office and back home again. Under this new leadership, Negroes are being educated in the use of the ballot. When, and only when the Negro can gain political equality with the white in South Carolina will he be able to be counted as a first class citizen.

ESTIMATED QUALIFIED VOTERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA: 1956

Number of Voting Age----Negro	Number Qualified	Percent
390,024	99,890	25.6

Number of Voting Age----white	Number Qualified	Percent
760,843	544,275	71.5

Estimated Number Qualified to Vote Negro and white	Number Qualified to Vote----white	Number Qualified to Vote----Negro
644,165	544,275	99,890
	Percent--84.5	Percent--15.5

THE NEGRO VOTER IN ALABAMA

C.G.Gomillion

One of the salient characteristics of a democratic society is "Freedom of Speech." Voting is a form of speaking. In a democracy voting is considered not only a right of every responsible citizen, but an obligation as well. It is an instrument which the citizen uses in his effort to contribute to the general welfare and to protect and promote his own well-being. "The ballot is the citizen's best self-help tool. It is the potent evener in a democracy. One who is without the ballot is a political dependent. Without the ballot one is politically disarmed. Voting is the most vital of the civil rights because upon it rests all of the other basic rights."[1]

Someone has written that "A voteless people is a hopeless people." The Negro citizens of Alabama are not entirely voteless, but their percent of the total electorate in the State is small, only about 6% of those registered to vote. This 6% constitutes approximately 52,000 who are registered to vote, an increase of 26,776 since 1952. In spite of this 100% increase in the number registered during a period of four years, only about 1 in every 5 Negroes 21 years of age and over is registered. Negroes constitute about 30% of the voting age population. Whites constitute 70% of the voting age population, but they had 94% of those registered to vote in 1956. Ten of every 15 whites of voting age were registered, but only 3 of every 15 Negroes were so registered.

The population 21 years of age and over represents the potential voting strength of county or state.

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[1] Jackson, Emory O., "The Tip Off", Atlanta Daily World, May 14, 1957

In the following table one observes the distribution of counties (1) the Negro population 21 years of age and over - the voting age population in 1950, (2) the number of Negroes registered to vote in 1956, and (3) the percent which the registered voters was of those of voting age in 1950.

Registration of Negroes in Alabama in 1956, by Counties

County	Total* Number of Negroes 21 Yrs. and Over 1950	Numbers* of Negroes Registered	Percent of Negroes 21 Yrs. of Age and Over Registered	County	Total Number of Negroes 21 Yrs. and Over 1950	Number of Negroes Registered	Percent of Negroes 21 Yrs. of Age and Over Registered
Autauga	4,042	73	1.8	Henry	~~3,929~~ 4029	600	~~15.3~~ 14.9
Baldwin	4,493	625	14.0 x	Houston	7,211	1,700	23.6
Barbour	7,158	220	3.1	Jackson	1,242		
Bibb	2,801	235	8.4	Jefferson	121,667	7,000	5.8
Blount	429			Lamar	1,204	100	8.3
Bullock	5,425	6	0.1	Lauderdale	4,022	495	12.3
Butler	6,024	805	13.4	Lawrence	3,010	408	13.5
Calhoun	8,304	1,800	21.7	Lee	8,954	500	5.6
Chambers	7,175	649	9.0	Limestone	4,013	800	19.9
Cherokee	736	250	34.0	Lowndes	6,512	00	0.0
Chilton	2,027	350	17.3	Macon	14,539	1,100	7.6
Choctaw	4,822	112	2.3	Madison	10,333	1,500	14.5
Clarke	6,434	700	10.9	Marengo	10,226	170	1.7
Clay	1,010			Marion	384	200	52.1
Cleburne	380	60	15.8	Marshall	604		
Coffee	3,114	600	19.3	Mobile	45,493	6,400	14.1
Colbert	4,519	921	20.4	Monroe	5,914	140	2.4
Conecub	4,435	960	21.6	Montgomery	34,079	2,176	6.4
Coosa	1.828	450	~~30.1~~ 24.6	Morgan	4,641		
Covington	3,157	175	5.5	Perry	6,351	300	4.7
Crenshaw	2,801	600	21.4	Pickens	5,547	600	10.8
Cullman	249	81	32.1	Pike	6,866	720	10.5
Dale	2,454	380	15.5	Randolph	2,728	1,171	42.9
Dallas	18,145	275	1.5	Russell	10,135	560	5.5
DeKalb	443			Shelby	3,356	375	11.2
Elmore	5,543	226	4.1	St. Clair	2,363	750	31.7
Escambia	5,425	1,606	29.6	Sumter	8,700	295	3.4
Etowah	7,672	2,000	26.1	Talladega	9,318	1,134	12.2
Fayette	1,497	326	21.8	Tallapoosa	5,083		
Franklin	700	200	28.6	Tuscaloosa	14,157	5,500	38.9
Geneva	1,686	300	~~17.7~~ 17.8	Walker	3,850	2,800	72.7
Green	6,628	157	2.4	Washington	2,835	600	21.2
Hale	7,041	130	1.8	Wilcox	8,218	00	0.0
				Winston	63	—	—

* Mimeographed Release, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, November 2, 1956

One notes that there is a great difference between the lowest and the highest percentages - 0.0% and 72.7%. In two counties, Lowndes and Wilcox, there is not a single Negro registered to vote. In twenty-one counties the percentages fall between 0.1% and 9.9%. There are eighteen counties with percentages between 10.0% and 19.9%, fifteen with percentages between 20.0% and 39.9%, and three having percentages above 40%. There are eight which did not report the number of Negroes registered.

Most of the counties having the lowest percentages of the Negro voting age population registered have high percentages of Negroes in their total population, or they are in the Black Belt, or both. One student[2] of this problem has classified the Alabama Counties into four types on the basis of (1) the difficulties involved in becoming registered and (2) the percent of those voting. The "prohibited Counties" are Bullock, Lowndes, and Wilcox; the "difficult Counties" are sixteen in number and include Dallas, Jefferson, Macon, and Montgomery in which Negro citizens have had great difficulty registering. The "moderate Counties" are fifteen in number, and include such as Houston, Lee, Madison, and Mobile. Typical of the "liberal Counties" are Calhoun, Etowah, Tuscaloosa, and Walker.

In order to vote in Alabama, one is legally required to possess certain specified qualifications. One must have been a bona fide resident within the State for two years, within the County for one year, and within the precinct or ward in which he desires to register for a period of three months. In addition, he must have registered at the courthouse, or at some other officially designated place, in the county in which he lives. The registration process requires that

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2 Pierce, J. E.. "Registration of Negro Voters in Alabama in 1954", quoted in Civil Rights - 1957: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Washington. Government Printing Office. 1957. P. 870.

the applicant fill out a questionnaire consisting of twenty-one questions which were prepared by the Justices of the Alabama Supreme Court, as provided for in the Voter Qualification Amendment to the Constitution of Alabama, ratified by the electorate on December 11, 1951. In most counties the applicant himself must fill out the questionnaire, [redacted], but in some counties a registrar fills out the questionnaire as the applicant answers the questions read to him by the registrar.

In some counties, members of the Board of Registrars require applicants to answer additional oral questions, and/or read and interpret selections from the Constitution of the United States. The oral questions are those which the registrars themselves formulate or select.

After the questionnaire has been filled out, and the oral questions, if any, have been answered, the applicant swears that he has answered the questions to the best of his ability, that he will "support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Alabama", that he has not been a member of any group which advocated nor is he a member of any group which advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or the State of Alabama by unlawful means, that he has never been convicted of any offense which would disqualify him from registering, and that he knows of nothing that would disqualify him. Before the registrar can issue a certificate of registration to the applicant, the applicant must produce "a duly registered, qualified elector" who lives in the same county and who can and will swear that he has known the applicant for a stated period of time, that the applicant has lived at a stated place for a specified number of years or months, and that he knows of no reason why the applicant should be disqualified from registering. The person who so testifies for the applicant is usaully referred to as a "voucher".

After the voucher has testified, the application is ready for review and appraisal by the registrars. If the applicant has answered all questions to the satisfaction of the Board, and if the Board accepts as satisfactory the sworn testimony of the voucher, the applicant is entitled to a Certificate of Registration, signed by at least two members of the Board. In some counties, the registrars review and appraise the application of the potential voter and the testimony of the voucher before the applicant leaves the place of registration, and issues the Certificate of Registration directly tothe applicant. In most counties, however, the registrars review the applications after the close of the day of registration, and send the Certificates to those whom the Board qualifies.

The payment of a poll tax, except for those exempted, is a prerequisite to voting in Alabama. If the person who receives his Certificate of Registration is between the ages of 21 and 45, and is not a veteran of the Armed Forces of the United States, he must pay a poll tax of $1.50 per year in order to be eligible to vote. If he is an honorably discharged veteran of the Armed Forces of the United States, he may take his discharge paper to the office of the Probate Judge and have it recorded. If this is done, the veteran is exempted from the payment of the poll tax. If the person who receives his Certificate of Registration is over 45 years of age, he is not required to pay the poll tax.

There are many factors which contribute to the low rate of voting among Negroes in Alabama. Some do not qualify to vote because of their limited recognition and appreciation of the significance of voting. Others who are greatly dependent upon the white community for their economic well-being are afraid to manifest any interest in, or to participate in, politics. Perhaps the most important factor contributing to the low rate of voting among Negroes is the difficulty of getting a Certificate of Registration. The questionnaire which the ap-

plicant is required to fill out contains 21 questions, some of which have several parts. Those persons who do not like to fill out questionnaires postpone applying for registration, sometimes for a very long period. Those who read and/or write slowly often prevent others from appearing before the Board. In many counties, if a Negro applicant fails to answer every question, or if he makes a single mistake, the application is not approved, the applicant is not notified, and is not given an opportunity to complete or correct his application. In some counties, the registrars do not work full days. They come to work late, and/or leave work early. Occasionally, only one of the registrars reports for work, and cannot work because the law requires that at least two registrars be present when applications are accepted and/or applicants certified. The registrars themselves retard the process by holding conversations with the applicants. In some counties, the registrars do not function regularly because they lack adequate supplies or equipment, or there is no room available in which they can work. Some Boards of Registrars have resigned rather than provide opportunities for Negroes to qualify as electors. Several times within the last fifteen years Macon County has been without a functioning Board of Registrars. The last period extended from January 16, 1956 to June 3, 1957. When the State Appointing Board delays filling these vacancies, prospective voters are denied the opportunity to register. Some Boards of Registrars require Negro applicants to secure white voters to vouch for them. In many cases, this is a very difficult task for some, and impossible for others. There are known instances in which a Negro applicant has appealed to at least a dozen white voters in his effort to secure a voucher. Even in cases where the Boards of Registrars permit a Negro voter to vouch for a Negro applicant, the Board will recognize and accept only a Negro voter who is known to a Board member. Often when Negro voters are per-

mitted to vouch for Negro applicants, they are restricted by having a limited quota assigned, such as two or four applicants per month. Some applicants have filled out as many as five questionnaires before they received their Certificate of Registration.

Some of those who are registered fail to vote regularly because of placing little value upon the act, because of not wanting to pay the poll tax, because of forgetting to pay the tax, or forgetting to go to the polls on election day. Some do not vote because they believe that one vote does not matter.

Many efforts have been made by individuals and agencies in Alabama to increase the number of Negro voters. Civic and political organizations have conducted programs of civic education in an effort to aid non-voters to discover and understand the significance of political action, and the influence of politics upon other aspects of their welfare. For the voters, instruction is given in analyzing and appraising political issues, proposed legislation, the performance of public officials, and the qualifications of candidates for public office.

In various counties Negro voters have invited public officials to meet with them and to discuss matters of concern to them. Appeals have been made to public officials - local, state and federal - to rectify discrimination and unfairness against Negro citizens. In Macon County, citizens on several occasions have appealed to the Governor and his associates on the Appointing Board to appoint citizens to the Board of Registrars. They have also appealed to the United States Department of Justice to investigate the practice of delaying appointments to the Board, which delay deprives interested potential electors from qualifying to vote. Appeals have also been made to the citizens of the community and of the State to urge public officials to provide a Board of Registrars within the County.

In some counties Negro voters have cooperated with whites in such interracial organizations as Labor Unions, The Southern Conference Education Fund, and the Southern Regional Council in efforts to stimulate registration and voting among citizens who appear to be politically indifferent.

There is within the State the Alabama State Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting, the major objective of which is to provide political education and to stimulate intelligent political action among Negro voters within the State. This organization has a full-time director, who visits affiliated units in many of the counties and cities within the State. Each of the nine Congressional Districts is organized and holds district meetings once per quarter. There are usually two Statewide meetings held per year. The State office through its director attempts to coordinate the political activities of Negroes throughout the State.

Although it is not known how many of the 52,000 registered Negroes voted in the 1956 presidential election, an analysis of the voting in some places in the State suggests that the Negro voters exerted some political influence. Although the 279,982 votes cast for Stevenson exceeded those cast for Eisenhower by 85,099, the latter candidate received a majority of votes in ten of the 67 counties in the State, among which were Jefferson, Macon, Mobile, and Montgomery counties. It is estimated that three-fourths of the 7,000 Negro votes in Jefferson County were cast for Eisenhower. In Macon County, for the first time since Reconstruction, the Republican candidate received a majority of the votes. A conservative estimate is that approximately 90% of the Negro votes in this County were given to Eisenhower. Of the 2,500 votes cast by Negroes in Montgomery, approximately 59% voted for Eisenhower.

In four cities in Alabama in 1956 Negro voters were able to vote for Negro candidates. In Fairfield, a lawyer, Demetrius C. Newton and a teacher, Varnard F.

Thomas competed with white candidates for positions on the City Council. Neither was victorious, but each was successful enough in the first primary to participate in the run-off election. In Huntsville, L. C. Jamar, educator and journalist, was not successful in his campaign for a position on the City Council. Alex Herman and Clarence H. Montgomery in Mobile were more successful in their campaign for membership on the Mobile County Democratic Executive Committee. Both were elected. In Pritchard, Alabama the Reverend Joshua A. Barney, a clergy-man-carpenter, lost in his effort to secure a position on the City Council.

In order to increase the political strength and opportunities of Negro citizens in Alabama, Negro voters in increasing numbers are (1) studying the interrelation between politics and other phases of human welfare, (2) analyzing and appraising political issues, the behavior of public officials, and the records of candidates for public office, (3) stimulating unregistered citizens to qualify as electors, (4) appealing to public officials to perform their duties without unfair discrimination against any group, (5) voting for the proposed legislation and the prospective officials who will promote the general welfare, and (6) offering themselves for public office. Many of the voters are working actively in civic associations, registration clubs, voters leagues, and political parties.

NEGRO IN POLITICS IN VIRGINIA

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Early Contributions of Negroes to the Government of Virginia

Few periods in American history have witnessed such a revolutionary change in the civil status of Negroes as that which took place in their lives during the Reconstruction period. During this time they were made citizens; they were given the right to vote, to hold office, and to perform civil obligations as other citizens. This change came about as a result of the great emphasis placed on the extension of democracy by certain Republican leaders. Their goal became a reality for the Negroes in the Civil Rights Laws of 1866, the Reconstruction Amendments, and in the federal regulations regarding the readmission of the seceding states to the Union. To be sure, Negroes in Virginia benefited from this revolutionary change. When this happened, it resulted in their becoming active participants in the political affairs of the State. This was especially true during the thirty-five years following the passage of the reconstruction measures by Congress in 1867. After this time, however, the dominate racial group enacted a battery of laws which were designed to eliminate Negro participation in politics.

The event which opened the way for Negroes to enter politics in Virginia was the federal regulation of 1867 which

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* The first section of the study was written by Tinsley L. Spraggins and the section dealing with the Present Status of the Negro in Politics was written by Dr. Henry J. McGuinn.

ordered the Military Commander of the State, General J. M. Schofield, to carry out certain duties relative to the restoration of Virginia. His first responsibility was to register all male persons who were twenty-one years of age and over, regardless of race, who had resided in the State for one year and who were not disqualified by the Reconstruction Acts. During the Summer of 1867 he complied with this order and as a result of his effort 105,832, or 47 per cent of the persons registered were Negroes. His next responsibility was to call an election so that the registrants could decide whether a constitutional convention should be held to re-write the Virginia Constitution. At the same time the electorate would vote for delegates to the convention. The Commander called the election for the middle of the month of October, 1867. This election gave the Negroes their first opportunity to cast a ballot in the Old Dominion. The returns show that they made a most favorable showing in their first venture into active politics. For example, they polled 93,145, or 55 per cent of the 169,229 votes cast in that election.[1] The returns also reveal that 106,940 votes were cast for calling the convention and that 92,105, or approximately 86 per cent of the votes for it were cast by Negroes.

The third step in the Commander's plan for the restoration of Virginia was to set a date for the convening of the convention. The date selected was December 3, 1867. Following

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[1] Richmond, Enquirer, November 1, 1867.

the selection of this date, the delegates to the convention met for four months. Among the 105 delegates were 25 Negroes. The most notable ones were Dr. Thomas Bayne of Norfolk, James W. E. Bland of Prince Edwards County, Joseph Cox of Richmond, Samuel F. Kelso of Campbell County, Lewis Lindsey of Richmond, and George Teamoh of Portsmouth. Despite the Negroes' minority position in the convention, some of the colored delegation served on important and influential committees and performed some valuable services for the successful operation of the meeting. For example, James Bland was appointed Secretary pro tem. of the convention. He also served on the influential Committee of Election Franchise and Qualification and the Committee on Revision and Adjustment. Lewis Lindsey was a member of the Committee to re-write the Preamble and the Bill of Rights and of the Committee on Division of Powers. Dr. Thomas Bayne served on the Committee of Department of Government. In addition to holding these positions, Negroes were appointed doorkeepers, clerks, pages, sergeant-at-arms, and secretaries to committees.[2]

As members of the convention the Negroes took an active part in its proceedings.[3] It is perhaps fair to say that their resolutions and debates reveal their interest in writing a constitution for the State which would promote democracy in the

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[2] Journal of the Constitutional Convention of 1867-1868, passim; Richmond, Enquirer, December 5 and 17, 1867.

[3] Alrutheus A. Taylor, The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia, Washington, 1926, pp. 227-242.

Commonwealth.[4] For example, the resolutions they presented to the body dealth with such subjects as the abolition of segregation on transportation, public education, suffrage, taxation, Confederate debts, and bankruptcy. Furthermore, in their debates on issues presented for discussion, the Negroes showed an understanding of the points involved but they exercised little control in shaping the form of the measures. They were effective mainly as voters. This is evident in the vote on the adoption of the Constitution in April, 1868. It was adopted by a vote of 51 to 36. Of the delegates voting for it, 24 or 47 per cent were Negroes.[5] This Constitution provided, among other things, for such measures as Universal manhood suffrage, the establishment of a public school system, the election of school trustees by popular vote, a uniform tax system, and some type of homestead exemption rights. Also included in the document was a Bill of Rights which guaranteed to all of the people of the State equal civil and political rights and public privileges.

The Constitution framed by the delegates was not ratified immediately. Rather, it was not submitted to the voters for ratification until fifteen months after its adoption. The hostility of the ultra-conservatives, the former Democrats, was partly responsible for the delay. This group objected to the

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[4] See the Debates and Proceedings of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1867-1868 and the Journal of the Convention for the resolutions and remarks of the Negro delegation.

[5] Journal of the Convention, 389.

Constitutional provisions which dealt with Negro suffrage and the "iron clad" oath. To defeat the suffrage clause, the leaders conducted a bitter campaign from April, 1868 to July, 1869. During that campaign they echoed and re-echoed the chord of political disfranchisement of Negroes. The remarks of R. E. Withers, a reactionary candidate for Governor, illustrates the thinking of the ultra-conservatives on the subject. On June 4, 1868 he told an audience in Petersburg that he was appearing before them as the standard bearer of the white man's party and that he was soliciting their votes. Continuing he said, "I do not ask the support of the Negroes, nor do I expect it, for I consider them unfit to exercise the right of suffrage."[6] He concluded his remarks by appealing for the defeat of the Constitution because it allowed the Negroes the right to vote. Despite the pronouncements of the ultra-conservatives, some moderate conservatives were willing to compromise the issue. A strong advocate of compromise was Alexander H. H. Stewart, a native Virginian who was a strong Union man during the War. He urged the conservatives to accept universal suffrage in return for universal amnesty. Pointing out that the revolutionary changes which the Virginians had already made in giving sanction to the Amendment which abolished slavery and in granting Negroes the right to testify in courts had not proven harmful to the State. Therefore, he questioned whether the plan of giving the Negro the vote would prove harmful either. Stewart's compromise was received unfavorably when it was first presented, but it was

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[6] Richmond, Enquirer, June 5, 1868.

finally accepted. During the campaign preceding the election for the ratification of the constitution the conservatives as well as the radicals appealed to the Negro voters to accept the document. The part the Negroes played in getting it ratified is well explained by the Richmond Whig, a leading exponent of the Stewart compromise. The Whig paid tribute to the Negroes by calling them "our colored allies" and it thanked them in the name of the white fellow citizens. It also said that the colored voters were brave and true men who deserve the respect, confidence and affection of the white Virginians.[7]

The ratification of the constitution by the voters and the meeting of certain other obligations imposed on the State by Congress made it possible for Virginia to re-enter the Union in 1870. Despite the part played by the Negroes in the restoration movement, the ultra-conservatives continued their efforts to disfranchise the Negroes, notwithstanding the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. From the 1870's until the turn of the century they conducted a militant campaign to accomplish their goal. In doing so they used various means to get the Negroes out of politics. In 1876, for example, they amended the suffrage article in the Constitution by making the payment of a poll tax a prerequisite for voting.

Although the poll tax was repealed in the early 1880's, the conservatives were able to call another Constitutional Convention in 1901 to revise the one ratified in 1869. Specifically,

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[7] July 8, 1869.

they wanted to make provisions for the disfranchisement of 146,122 Negro voters. After staying in session for several months the delegates came up with an answer. They wrote into the Constitution provisions which either made it difficult or impossible for the Negroes to vote in the State. For example, the Negroes, in order to vote, had to pay a poll tax, register, meet a residential requirement, and pass an educational test. This revision of the Constitution did much to eliminate the Negro vote. It took the government out of the hands of the people and placed it into the hands of a few white men. This fact is supported by Professor Ralph C. McDaniel in his The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902, ~~In this study he~~ who concluded, ~~among other things~~ on page fifty eight, that the suffrage provision in the Constitution resulted in eliminating many whites from participating in politics. His conclusion is clearly demonstrated by the following table:

VOTING BEHAVIOR OF VIRGINIANS IN TWENTY PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Election year	Potential voters* (1,000's)	Votes cast (1,000's)	% of Votes cast to total P. V.**
1872	280	185	66.0
1876	308	237	76.9
1880	335	212	63.2
1884	353	285	80.7
1888	370	304	82.1
1892	393	292	74.3
1896	420	295	70.2
1900	448	264	58.9

1904	478	131	27.6
1908	509	137	26.9
1912	542	137	25.3
1916	578	154	30.1
1920	614	231	37.6
1924	874	224	25.6
1928	1,164	305	27.0
1932	1,356	298	21.9
1936	1,465	335	22.9
1940	1,575	347	22.0
1944	1,755	388	22.1
1948	1,935	419	33.0

SOURCE: Compiled from data in U. S. Census, Characteristics of the Population; Burnham W. Dean, Presidential Ballot, 1836-1892 (Baltimore, 1955); Edgar E. Robinson, The Presidential Vote; 1896-1932 (Stanford, 1934); U. S. Department of Commerce, Votes Cast in the Presidential Elections, 1928-1944 (Washington, 1946).

*The potential voters represent an interpolation in terms of estimated increase per year in the decade under consideration.

**Potential Voters.

The table reveals a higher rate of participation in voting from 1872 to 1904, the first election year after the adoption of the Constitution of 1902, than from 1904 to 1948. During the former period the range of the per cent of votes cast to the total potential voters was 82.1 to 58.9. Whereas in the latter period the range was from 27 per cent to 21.9 per cent.

In summary, it may be said that in spite of the opposition to Negro participation in politics in Virginia, the Negro political leaders during the period from 1867 to 1902 rendered the Commonwealth an important service. Their votes were influential in readmitting Virginia to the Union and in giving the State the only democratic instrument of government it has ever had.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE NEGRO VOTER IN VIRGINIA

My colleague, Professor Tinsley Spraggins, has shown that during the Reconstruction period and in fact until the passage of the Constitution of 1902 Negro voters were a significant factor in the political life of Virginia. The effects of the suffrage provisions of that constitution were shown not only to eliminate the Negro from politics but to eliminate many whites as well.

The census of 1950 gave the total population of Virginia, aged 21 years and above, as 2,025,339. Of this number 1,602,669 were white and 422,670 non-white. This last figure suggests a Negro voting potential of 400,000 which is over four times the estimated number of qualified Negro voters in Virginia in 1957. The Southern Regional Council, in its press release of November 4, 1956, estimated there were 83,098 registered Negro voters in Virginia in that year, which represents an increase of 13,772 over the number of registered Negro voters in 1952. The release continued: "Negroes represent twenty-one percent of the total population of voting age and nine percent of the total registration. The State Board of Elections estimated that as of April 1, 1957 there were 935,000 qualified voters in Virginia;

of this number 846,000 were white and 89,000 were Negro. "The number of qualified voters increased 50,000 during the last year. Five thousand of this number represented an increase in the number of Negro voters. For Richmond, Virginia there were 52,828 registered white voters and 12,486 Negro voters."[8]

It is not possible to give the number of votes cast for Presidential electors in terms of a Negro-white breakdown. The vote is not recorded that way. Virginians cast 619,689 votes for Presidential electors November 4, 1952. For Adlai Stevenson 268,677; for Dwight Eisenhower 386,459. Votes cast for other Presidential candidates were not significant. The candidate for the States Rights Party, though a Virginian, received only 42,694 votes.[9] We do have the approximate number of Registered voters by race for the same years. Approximate number of Registered voters in 1952 was 713,073.

Total white	Total Negro
644,009	69,064
230,950 - cities, white	33,084 - cities, Negro
413,059 - counties, white	35,980 - counties, Negro

Approximate number of Registered voters exclusive of King William County, 1956--875,318.

Total white	Total Negro
792,429	82,989
297,268 - cities, white	45,343 - cities, Negro
492,161 - counties, white	37,646 - counties, Negro

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8 Richmond Times Dispatch: Sunday, May 5, 1956.

9 Statement of The Vote for President and Vice President, members of Congress and Supervisors of Certain Soil Conservation Districts. General Election, Tuesday, November 6, 1956. Commonwealth of Virginia, 1956. Compiled by Levin Nock Davis, Secretary of State Board of Elections. cf-Similar source for 1952 figures. The figures on Registered voters were also given me by Mr. Davis' office.

The facts cited with respect to registration show that the number of Urban Negro registrants increased much more rapidly than those in the counties between 1952 and 1956.

It is important to keep in mind in this connection a fact to which Professor Spraggins has alluded, that taken as a whole the citizens of Virginia are not, at present, noted for high degree of political activity. The Richmond News Leader for November 11, 1956 estimated that approximately 34% of Virginia's population voted in the Presidential election of 1956. For 1952 the percentage of adults was 31%. This last figure stands in sharp contrast with the national average of 63% in 1952. The complaint of Negro leaders that many people who register do not vote seems also true of the State as a whole. It has been estimated that between 69.5 and 78.5 percent of the registered voters went to the polls in 1956. An independent news service, Congressional Quarterly of Washington, D. C. estimated that 82.6 percent of the registered voters in Virginia voted in 1952. The News Leader is apparently correct in saying that in spite of the fact that Virginia voters turned out in record numbers in 1956, the percentage who stayed away from the polls increased in comparison with the 1952 performance. In the light of the above facts the estimate of a Negro political leader- by his admission a best guess - that between 64 and 66 percent of the qualified Negro voters exercised the right of franchise in 1956 is suggestive, even though not precisely revealing.

It is generally conceded, however, that the Negro vote shifted sharply from the Democratic party whose candidate it had supported in 1952 to the Republican ranks in 1956. The Virginian and Pilot, Norfolk, Nov. 8 ~~Portsmouth, South Norfolk and Norfolk County~~

pointed to the Negro vote as the impact factor of the hard campaign staged by Republicans and Democrats. It also said unofficial returns showed that President Eisenhower carried the district by 3,433 votes and that Norfolk's major Negro precincts gave the President a majority of 2604 votes. The November 9th issue of the same paper reported:

"A check of the vote in the Negro precincts in Richmond, Norfolk, Newport News, Hampton, Warwick and elsewhere showed a sharp reversal of the 1952 results. A large Richmond precinct that went 4 to 1 for Stevenson in 1952 went 2 to 1 for Eisenhower in 1956. Another Richmond precinct which was 8 to 1 Democratic four years ago went Republican 3 to 1. Roanoke reported its Negro vote was about 3 to 1 for the Republican ticket but did not regard this a very large change of sentiment. Roanoke reported the swing to Republicanism was under way in 1952."

The Norfolk Journal and Guide for November 28th in a study of returns from Richmond's 22 predominately Negro precincts confirmed this shift to the Republican Party and indicated that of 11,031 votes cast in those precincts 7,753 were for Eisenhower and 3,278 votes for Mr. Stevenson. After a careful analysis of the vote of the predominately Negro precincts in Norfolk the same paper remarked:

"In Norfolk where a total of 35,837 votes were counted, Eisenhower carried all of the Colored voting centers." After observing that the vote was not just in favor of the President the Guide said, "Where as in former years this paper found Colored voters had supported the Democratic ticket, or voted for selected independent candidates, this year for the first time since Negroes aligned themselves with the Democratic party in Virginia, they began a state-wide shift to the Republican Party."[10]

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10 A canvas of the predominantly Negro precincts by The Richmond Afro American and the State Conference of the N. A. A. C. P. confirms the results pointed to by The Journal and Guide.

In a copyrighted article 1956 New York Herald Tribune, "G. O. P. Needs Negro Vote", Roscoe Drummond observed that this shift which we have been discussing in Virginia, was nation-wide and represented for the first time in twenty-six years a mass shift of Negro voters from the Democratic party to the Party of Lincoln.

"It is a trend which involves some 4,000,000 voters in crucial states and is a trend which, in the judgement of many observers, has not reached its crest and which seems strong enough to take from the Democrats their long domination of most of the nation's big cities to which Negroes had been steadily emigrating."

The New York Times for November 11, 1956 thought the shift less pronounced in the North than in the South. "If you look South, the Negro has returned to the Republican Party. But if you look North he is still a Democrat, though not so staunchly as four years ago."

Negro leaders in Virginia give many reasons for this about face. The popularity of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision; abolition of segregation in Washington and in the Armed Services during the Eisenhower administration; resistance to integration by Southern Democratic congressmen and leaders; the personal prestige of the President; a belief in view of the crisis in the Middle East that a man was needed in the White House who was competent to deal with military affairs; the strong support given President Eisenhower by the Journal and Guide; the prevalence of economic prosperity; the number of high level governmental appointments by President Eisenhower; the growing disenchantment with the one party system in the south and a belief that southern Negroes and southern whites would be better off

under a two-party system. The activity of the White Citizens Councils in Arlington was listed by one observer as detrimental to the Democratic cause. All of the causes listed doubtless had a peculiar relevance. In view of the fact that Negro political leaders in Virginia openly admitted that they supported Governor Stanley who was the Democratic candidate three years earlier there is need of an explanation which will account for the sudden reversal of Negro political activity. Dr. P. B. Young, distinguished editor of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, found that factor in the spiritual beating which Negroes had taken during the last two years at the hands of Southern Democratic leaders. He wrote: "In my opinion the shift was in large part an expression of protest. Negroes resented the insults, and smears hurled at them by angry state officials, legislators and newspapers, because of the Supreme Court decision on the schools on May 17, 1954.[11]

The extent of the past and present reaction to that decision is easy to ascertain. Senator Harry F. Byrd has openly called for massive resistance, short of force, to the Supreme Court's decision. The State legislature has created, and the Governor has appointed, a State Pupil Placement Board whose function it is to assign students entering school for the first time or changing schools so that no Negro child will ever find himself in a white public school or vice versa. The Governor is also empowered to withhold State educational funds from any city or school district which complies with the mandate of the Federal Courts, and desegregates when told to do so. The

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11 In a personal letter to the writer dated March 29, 1957. For a bristling editorial which explains that the Negro had to shift his political allegiance to maintain his self-respect, cf, "Passive, Silent Protest." The Norfolk Journal and Guide, November 17, 1956.

Virginia State conference of the N. A. A. C. P. in suits now pending before the courts is resisting the requirement that it submit the names of its members to a committee on Law Reforms and Racial Activities. Suits testing the validity of the pupil placement scheme and the so-called N. A. A. C. P. laws are pending in the Courts. Two legislative committees now investigating the N. A. A. C. P. "reportedly expect to compile evidence that the N. A. A. C. P. improperly stirred up desegregation suits."[12] Meanwhile Representative William M. Tuck charges that the Civil Rights proposals now before Congress, violate the sacred precincts of the constitutionally embedded system of trial by jury and sets up a Commission on Civil Rights with sweeping powers so unlimited as to constitute a board of inquisition and ex parte condemnation. In the same address he charges the Supreme Courts 1954 anti-segregation ruling was based only on psychology and sociology of doubtful variety.[13]

For the discussion which follows a summary of the requirements for registration as laid down in Article II, Sections 18, 20 and 21 and Article 17, section 1 of the Constitution of Virginia is important, Article II, Section 18 ---"Every citizen of the United States twenty-one years of age, who has been a resident of the State one year, and of the county or city six months and of the precinct thirty days and has registered and personally paid his poll taxes may vote. Certain widows, idiots, insane persons, paupers and persons convicted of crimes whose disabilities have not been removed are excepted."

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[12] The Times Dispatch (Richmond), Sunday, May 19, 1956.

[13] "Civil Rights Bill is Grave Threat Tuck Tells Group", Richmond Times Dispatch, May 26, 1957.

Sections 20-21 -----"Poll taxes for three years (next preceding the year in which he offers to vote) must be paid six months prior to voting. Application to register must be made in one's own handwriting without aid, stating his name, occupation, etc. Also the applicant must answer any question affecting his qualification as an elector."[14]

Article 17, Section 1 exempts members of the armed forces of the United States, while in active service during a time of war from the requirements of registering or of paying a poll tax as a pre-requisite for voting. Of some importance also is the provision of Virginia law which allows a person who becomes 21 years of age after January 1st, of the year in which an election is held to register without the payment of a poll tax, provided he will be 21 before the election and registers before the books close.

Special effort was made by the Professors of History and Political Science to have all students of Virginia Union University, who are residents of Richmond and in this age category, avail themselves of this provision of the law.

When we turn to the question of discrimination in registration of Negro voters it is observed that the process of registering which was once made complicated and difficult for Negroes as late as 1932, is no longer so.[15] Mr. Lester Banks, Executive Secretary of the Virginia Conference of the N. A. A. C. P. reports that few instances of refusal to register Negroes, or to discriminate against their efforts to do so have been brought to his attention since 1952. Where difficulty in registering is

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14 June Purcell Guild, Black Laws of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia; Whittet and Sheppardson, 1936, p. 6.

15 For difficulties confronting Negroes who wished to register at an earlier time cf Race and Suffrage in the South since 1940 by Luther P. Jackson, New South, June-July, 1948, Vol. 3, No. 5 & 6, p. 9.

encountered it is relatively easy to register members of the race who are legally qualified. This opinion is widely held by race leaders in Virginia, some of whom describe the registrar, as in the case of Danville, Virginia, as most cooperative and helpful.

While legal barriers are therefore almost non-existant, the fact that registration in some of the rural areas and towns is conducted not in public offices but in the homes of white people may act as a deterant. At least two civic leaders cited this situation as one which made some Negroes reluctant to register.[16]

The requirement that in order to qualify to vote one must pay a poll tax for three years next preceding the year in which one offers to vote, while on its face is not discriminatory, operates with especial severity on all people in the low income group.

Of the effect of the poll tax Dr. Luther P. Jackson wrote:

"The State whose system of poll tax administration strikes the low income group the hardest is Virginia. In this commonwealth, the poll tax assessment is merely one item in the general property tax bill. But since a majority of the poorer group, particularly the Negroes own little or nottaxable property, the tax assessor, or commissioner of revenue seldom bothers to assess them for the poll tax alone!.....when men of small means are assessed and seek to pay they are given permiscive treatment and either told that they are not compelled to pay or may pay if they wish. With the poll tax tied up in this manner with the general property tax and with little or no stress laid upon its connection

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16 For a more elaborate statement of this position see, Luther P. Jackson, Race and Suffrage in the South since 1940, p. 7.

with voting by many officials, fully sixty percent of the Negroes in Virginia and perhaps forty per cent of the whites are never brought up even to the poll tax stage in the voting requirement process."[17]

The requirement that the poll tax be paid six months prior to the election in which one offers to vote also operates in the same direction since the time when the tax must be paid is often well in advance of any political campaign and before issues which would stimulate an interest in voting are raised.[18]

There is of course still the problem of getting those who pay their poll taxes to register and to vote. Leaders who are concerned with increasing the number of voters complain that, especially in the rural areas, many property owners who regularly pay their poll taxes, fail to register and to vote. The Secretary of the Virginia Negro Voters League on the other hand regards the problem of getting Negroes to pay their poll taxes, to register and to vote as the greatest problem confronting us in fifty years.[19]

There are, of course, other hindrances to the participation of Virginia Negroes in politics. Sometimes mentioned is the lack of faith in the integrity of some Negro political leaders and the failure to utilize and recognize the natural leaders at the grass

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18 This point is especially urged by Dr. W. L. Ransome of the Richmond Civic Association.

19 The Democratic white Primary which was also a barrier for years, was ruled unconstitutional in Virginia before case of Smith Vs. Allwright, 321 U. S. 649 (1944) in the case of West Vs. Bliley 33F(2s) 177 1929 on the ground that since in Virginia the state pays the cost of the Democratic primary, exclusion of Negroes from participation in the primary was State action and hence contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment.

roots as effective resources for interesting people in voting. A prominent state leader said that if we could only get the ministers to go along with us to the same extent as they do in Charles City County our task would be much easier.

Mention must also be made of a break in the tradition for political participation which existed prior to 1902 and the passing down to present generation of attitudes which are a hangover from the past voting was made such a difficult task for Negroes. Among these attitudes are politics is "white folks business" and a fear, especially in some rural areas, that the dominant group will know how particular Negroes vote and will visit economic reprisal upon them for not voting as the "boss man" wants them to vote. There is also the feeling that under the One Party system State elections are "no contest" and hence that it is futile to vote. It is of course true that all of these attitudes help to perpetuate a small electorate, facilitate machine control, and make extremely difficult the growth of the two-party system the absence of which one of the criticism decries.[20]

Also listed must be the lack of a functional civic education which results in a failure to realistically assess the relationship of political activity to goals which we attempt to achieve by other means. In our enthusiasm to support Court action which has achieved such impressive results, we have lost sight of the fact that Court decisions are not self operating but depend for their enforcement upon the politically elected officers of

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[20] A member of the dominant group and a leader of organized labor in the State also said the belief that the vote of individual does not count, since the power that they are going to do what they want to anyway, is a cause of political apathy among many white Virginians.

government, a fact of which intelligent Negro Virginians must now be painfully aware. The Workers Guide put out by the Political Action Committee of the Virginia State Conference of the N. A. A. C. P. calls this fact to the attention of the people.

"Insofar as defining the rights of Negroes to the equal protection of the laws, the basic constitutional principles have been established.....Despite the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring that the segregation of Negro and white children in free public schools is unconstitutional, there are those who would resort to lawlessness in the attempt to evade the decision of our Court.

When we examine the proposition before us we must conclude that the ultimate goal of our Association must be a complete coordination of our legal program with a vigorous political action program."

There is likewise failure on the part of our group to dynamically assess or understand the pwoer which it holds in its own hands. The sources quoted above notes: "In many counties Negroes represent the majority of the residents. It is within their power, because of their numbers, to elect members of the Board of Supervisors who are sympathetic to their view. In other words the Negroes in the counties of Prince Edwards, Sussex, Surry, Isle of Wight and others in the area called the "Black Belt' could elect anyone they chose to the Board of Supervisors if they band themselves together for that purpose."

In Charles City and New Kent counties they have demonstrated that this can be done. In Charles City, under the guidance of Mr. Edward Banks, a countywide Civic Association has been organized on a district basis, the churches being used as the focal meeting points for the dissemination of information and bi-monthly meetings. There is whole hearted support of the Civic League by eight of nine ministers in the county. A constant effort is made to increase the number of voters and a worker is paid on a per capita basis for every additional person who registers and pays his poll taxes as a result of the workers effort. The result is that Mr. Banks sits by virtue of election on the County Board of

Supervisors and the County Welfare Board, another member of the race is elected to the County School Board and a third serves as a Road Viewer. Negro citizens are respected and their needs and requests given due consideration.

In the light of all that has been said the question arises, "What can be done to increase the number and significance of Negro voters in Virginia?" Many answers are given:

(1) Develop a realistic program of civic education, through a series of local workshops and conferences, which will lead people to understand the power of the ballot and the importance of its use. This should include a knowledge of the role of Negro politicians and voters during Virginia's Reconstruction.

(2) Utilize the press, the radio, the colleges and schools, to keep the meaning and importance of political activity constantly before the people.

(3) Since the church and especially the rural church has the ear of the people, increase the effort to have them point out the importance of voting and of good government.

(4) Step up the effort to have fraternal organizations and social clubs stress the importance of qualifying and of voting. The extension of the practice of some organizations of requiring members to pay their poll taxes and to register and to vote would be fruitful.

(5) Stimulate greater interest on thepart of our women in political activity, especially in the rural areas. Mr. Amos Clark, in a study of the potential voting strength of Negro men and women in fifteen counties and five cities, show that whereas there were 57,503 men and 55,671 women of voting age

included in the sample, 14,158 men had paid their poll taxes as over against 7,360 women.

(6) Canvas the vote on a block house to house basis in the city and a house to house basis in the rural area using the church community as the basis of effort in the rural community.

(7) Strengthen the Virginia Voters League and work to incorporate all other programs into it in order to consolidate the efforts to increase the Negro vote.

(8) Organize yough groups of persons 18 to 20 years of age, to distribute literature, establish contacts, and to do the follow-up work, as a means of introducing young people to political activity.

(9) Strengthen and develop political leadership in all areas, and especially in areas like Virginia's southside where Negro voting is almost non-existent.

(10) Run Negroes for political office in localities in which they have a chance to win.

(11) Employ expert workers and organizers to conduct the voting campaign.

(12) Use on-the-spot surveys, check registration books and population figures to determine the voting potential, followed by intense personal effort to contact those persons who cannot be reached through existing community organizations and clubs.[21]

All of these methods need to be employed again and again, since as Professor William Mason Cooper of Hampton, Institute,

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[21] I am indebted to Professor Herbert Marshall of the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College for the last five suggestions.

points out "the increase of Negro voters in Virginia is the most important step for improving the status of Negroes in Virginia." Those who have worked longest and hardest at the problem feel we are making progress and that its solution is not hopeless. We owe it to ourselves and to posterity to continue the struggle until we occupy our rightful places in the political life of the Commonwealth of Virginia.[22]

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22 Evidences increase that many organizations are interested in the problem. Dr. Rupert Picott indicates that a survey of the membership of the Virginia State Teachers Association made two years ago, showed five out of its 6000 members to be qualified voters. An additional 300 could not qualify because they resided out of the state. Mention was also made of the fact that the Virginia Citizens Conference at a cost of $240 sent out 60,000 leaflets urging Negroes to pay their poll taxes and register and vote. The N. A. A. C. P., one of the ten organizations belonging to the Conference, sent out an additional 7000. In Richmond, Virginia the Crusade for Voters has carried on an especially active campaign.

THE EXPANSION OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE
IN TEXAS

By

Henry Allen Bullock*

The expansion of Negro suffrage in the South has been a progressive process by which a larger proportion of Negroes have become incorporated into the electorate as a result of collective action aimed at breaking down barriers that tended to inhibit the incorporation. What barriers to this incorporation have previously existed? What collective action did these barriers motivate? What end did the action achieve? And to what extent do Negro voters take advantage of the achievement? These are questions which we shall attempt to answer for Texas, fully conscious of the fact that some of the answers will be generally applicable to other states of the southern region.

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* Acknowledgement is made of the valuable assistance given by Dr. Jesse R. Gloster and H. Lincoln Heath as field enumerators.

BARRIERS TO NEGRO SUFFRAGE

Barriers to Negro suffrage originated mainly out of the important place given Negroes in national and regional politics. Ever since the birth of the American nation, Negroes have constituted a contradictory stimulus for the body politic -- straining the democratic ideal on the one hand; creating pressures toward its complete realization on the other. It is this influence that probably prompted Key to contend that southern political regionalism derives basically from the influence of the Negro.[1]

When the South first developed an economy based on big landholdings and slave labor, the Negro became involved as the least common denominator of American democracy. Framers of the Constitution met slavery as one of their chief issues, and the famous three-fifth compromise emerged as a solution. Somehow one feels compelled to originate an analysis of Negro suffrage from

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[1] V. O. Key, Southern Politics (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949) p. 665.

this point, for it marks the depths from whence first-class citizenship had to ascend. Although the Constitution finally developed into a document to whose concepts each subscribed, it was the Negro question that strained the democratic system to the point of civil strife.

Once the civil strife had been brought to its bloody end, each southern state found itself faced with the task of holding in servitude by subterfuge a people who had been freed by presidential proclamation and constitutional amendment. For eighty years following the Civil War, legal and social equality for Negroes remained, at best, a fantastic dream.

In 1860, when Texas was drawn into secession, there were approximately 140,000 slaves in the state. They comprised $85,000,000 of the state's total assessed property evaluation of $225,000,000. As Maud Cuney Hare wrote in her very fine biography of her father, "Many Texans refused to accept the fact that the Negro was "free and equal", and

stopped at nothing to prevent him from enjoying civic and political rights".[2] The Ku Klux Klan and the Democrats opposed liberal policies of reconstruction and sought by intimidation to keep Negroes from the polls.

Texas was restored to the Union in 1870, after having accepted the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. This meant that further steps toward Negro disfranchisement would have to be taken through subterfuge. One basis for subterfuge had already been laid in Texas tradition. On February 3, 1845, the Congress of the Republic of Texas passed an Act requiring that there be levied and collected a poll tax of fifty cents on every white male of the Republic between the ages of twenty-one and fifty.[3] Although the Constitution which Texas submitted for readmission to the Union did not make race a qualification for voting, the poll tax became an effective subterfuge that did. The Con-

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[2] Maud Cuney Hare, Norris Wright Cuney, (New York: The Crisis Publishing Company, 1913) p. 12

[3] The Laws of Texas, II, 1898, p. 1141.

stitution was amended in 1902, requiring the voter to hold a poll tax receipt in order to qualify to vote. In case the receipt was lost, one was entitled to vote only upon making an affidavit before an officer authorized to administer an oath declaring that such receipt was lost.[4] Many potential Negro voters could not pay the tax, and many others lost their receipts and could not make satisfactory oath before officials who held a hostile attitude toward their right of suffrage.

We should keep in mind, however, that the doors to suffrage have never been completely closed to Texas Negroes, and that the poll tax as a barrier existed mainly in nuisance form. Poll-tax paying Negroes have been for a long time legally eligible to vote in general elections, municipal elections, school board elections, special elections, and elections pertaining to special propositions. Since municipal elections are non-partisan, they were never subject to the Democratic primary. Therefore, Negroes have persistently displayed much political power in municipal elec-

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[4] The Laws of Texas, XI, 1899-1901, pp. 322-323.

tions held in Dallas, Fort Worth, Galveston, Port Arthur, San Antonio, and Houston.[5]

Nevertheless, the famous Texas primary set up a sufficient block to render the race politically impotent so far as general elections were concerned. As a traditional practice, this method of disfranchisement also started early. On April 8, 1895, the Texas Legislature passed a law requiring primary elections held by political parties to comply with state elections laws.[6] By this fact, Texas recognized political parties as a functional segment of the state's governmental machinery. The Terrell election law, passed in 1905, made the Democratic primary Texas' most effective device for disfranchising the Negro. It required any party which "polled 100,000 or more votes in the last general election" to nominate its candidates by primary elections. In fact, the law provided for the regulation of

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[5] Donald S. Strong, "The Rise of Negro Voting in Texas", in Arnold M. Rose, Race Prejudice and Discrimination (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951) p. 236.

[6] The Laws of Texas, XI (1899) pp. 770-771.

party conventions, general, and primary elections.[7] The strangle held on Negro suffrage was drawn more tightly in Texas when an Act of 1922 provided that any "qualified elector under the laws of the Constitution (Texas) who is a Democrat shall be eligible to participate in Democratic primaries, but in no event shall a negro participate in a Democratic primary in the State of Texas, and ballots cast by negroes are void".[8] This final gesture came in an attempt to nullify the Negro vote polled in those counties that had not kept the Democratic primary lily white. Nevertheless, the gesture placed the Negro in a position that made his suffrage no more than that of a voter choosing a candidate who had already won the election.

The noose was completed when, in 1927, the Legislature created a new Article, providing that every political party in the state, through its Executive Committee, "shall in its

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[7] Vernon's Civil Statutes of the State of Texas, Vol. 9, p. XXII.

[8] The Laws of Texas, Vol. 21, 1921-28, p. 74.

own way determine who shall be qualified to vote or otherwise participate in such political party.[9]

COLLECTIVE ACTION AND THE EXPANSION OF SUFFRAGE

Negroes took up action against these barriers to their full citizenship. Indeed some of these barriers were created in response to this action. But the picture is far more panoramic than this. One might think that the Negro's first significant step toward complete suffrage was taken in Texas, and that it was taken through a persistent attack upon the white primary. This is true merely in part. The very foundation of this attack rested upon a movement that functioned throughout the Southland. It was a movement that expressed the development of a strong form of group identification -- a dynamic and deepening sense of belongingness. This was a normal response, for disfranchisement was not the only form of discrimination which southern Negroes felt. Inadequate educational opportunities were felt too, and group identification logically developed as a defensive device. When a majority group

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[9] The Laws of Texas, Vol. 25, 1927, pp. 193-194.

is engaged in a range of activities designed to harm members of a minority group and to make them feel inferior, the latter react in certain ways and seek various compensations.[10]

For compensation Negroes sought morale through the glories of their own history.[11] But for more realistic escape they sought relief through their own collective aspirations. Calling upon constitutional provisions that had for many years remained dormant for them, Negroes gradually evolved legal ideological constructs in support of their aspirations. They sought to redirect the American interracial norm in terms of these constructs; and they developed a social structure designed to get the job done. It is needless to name the protest organizations that composed this structure, for they are fully known to all. It is sufficient to say that the natural history of every civil rights case which Negroes have taken to the Supreme Court reflects these stages, but cases

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[10] Arnold M. Rose, The Negro's Morale (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1949) p. 5.

[11] The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History seems to have originated from this impulse.

in pursuit of suffrage illustrate the movement better.

The constitutionality of the "white" primary was tested by Negroes soon after the law creating it was passed. In the case of Chandler v. Neff, argued before the Texas District Court in 1924, Negroes entered suit to restrain enforcement of the Statute of 1922 on the grounds that it violated the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The suit was dismissed, however, on the grounds that the question was political; that a primary election was not an election. The case received wide public attention, especially from the legal profession. The discriminatory nature of the decision caused some lawyers to brand it as "probably the most efficient and boldly daring deprivation of the political rights of Negroes."[12]

This decision did not rob Negroes of their collective aggression, for in 1927 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People took the case of Nixon v. Herndon to the Supreme Court. The Court ruled that Texas could not

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[12] "Constitutional Validity of Statute Barring Negroes from Primary Elections", Michigan Law Review, XXIII (January, 1925) p. 279.

exclude Negroes from the primary by means of a state statute. Justice Holmes, in rendering the decision, said, "The objection that the subject matter of the suit is political is little more than a play on words".[13] Texas responded to this decision by passing the law that gave the Executive Committee of the Democratic party power to determine who should vote in the primary. The Committee promptly limited the primary to white voters. The NAACP again carried the question to the courts and this procedure, too, was declared unlawful. Since the Court emphasized that it did not consider the question as to whether or not the Democratic party in convention assembled could decide upon who should vote, the state party in convention passed a resolution limiting membership to white Democrats. However, in 1941 the Supreme Court, in the case of United States v. Classic, ruled that where the primary is an integral part of the election machinery, or when the primary determines the final election, such primary is in the prohibitions of the

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[13] United States Reports, 273 (October Term, 1926) p. 536.

Constitution.[14] This was a significant decision in that it reflected the tendency of the Court to prevent state legislatures from giving state functions to private organizations in order to escape condemnation as state action within the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment.[15] Using the Classic case as a foundation, N.A.A.C.P. lawyers filed the case of Smith v. Allwright in 1941. The case was argued in 1943, and the Court rendered its decision declaring the Resolution of the Texas Democratic party as unconstitutional. In spite of the attempts of the Jay Birds of Fort Bend County to revive the old private party theory, Negroes have since voted in Democratic primary elections of Texas unfettered by poll-tax-receipt-red tape, literacy tests, or any other nuisance that once blocked their suffrage.

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[14] United States Reports, 313 (1941) pp. 299-341.

[15] Alison Reppy, Civil Rights in the United States (New York: Central Book Company, 1951) p. 174.

MEASURING THE EXPANSION OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE

Although the Smith v. Allwright decision removed the last remaining legal barrier to the Texas Negro voter, it did not release an avalanche of Negro voting power. During the first statewide Democratic primary following the decision, Negro leaders launched a vigorous poll tax campaign in an effort to assure full Negro participation. County tax collectors appointed Negro deputies in many areas. There were 18 such deputies in Harris County and 28 in Dallas County. Nevertheless, only 75,000 Negroes voted in the election of 1946, although there were more than 500,000 who were of voting age.

Those Negroes who did participate in the election, however, made their participation felt. Some were elected to County Democratic conventions held in Dallas, Travis (Austin), and Harris (Houston) counties.[16] The trend toward Negro participation in precinct and county conventions was much more pronounced in urban than in rural counties. It was obvious that

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[16] Donald S. Strong, Op. Cit., p. 237.

the news of this type of political freedom had not become diffused to the hinterlands.

Now, ten years later, this question has been logically raised: Is the Texas Negro's political power still unleashed? The answer to this question is objectively indicated by the amount of voter mortality suffered by Negroes as those composing the electorate are filtered through the poll tax method of registration and the trouble of appearing at the polls.

Our facts, based on the 1956 primaries, show that Texas Negroes participate in elections at a rate far below their voting strength. A glance at that strength shows that there are now 954,115 Negro voters in Texas. This represents 20.7 per cent of the state's total electorate. The representation is significantly in excess of the 14.1 per cent rate at which Negroes are found in the general population. It is an advantage afforded by the manner in which selective migration has skewed the population structure in terms of age. Urban expansion has drawn large numbers of Negroes from Arkansas,

Louisiana, and other neighboring states, and practically all of these in-migrants are over fifteen years of age. In a potential sense, voting power is susceptible to geographical variation, resulting from the manner in which population is distributed over the state. The spatial distribution of Texas population flows from the densely populated East Texas region, through the moderately populated central zone marked by a line passing north to south through Fort Worth, to the very sparsely populated region of the cattle growing west.

Once the center of the Texas cotton belt and large plantation holdings, East Texas is the traditional area of Negro settlement. It still contains over two thirds of all Texas Negroes and approximately 71 per cent of those of voting age. Table 1 shows that the political destiny of Texas Negroes rests much more upon the East Texas political climate than does the destiny of whites.

TABLE 1

NUMERICAL AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF TEXAS VOTING POPULATION ACCORDING TO RACE AND REGION, 1956*

Texas Regions	White		Non-White	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
East	2,113,809	57.8	675,716	70.8
Central	1,224,212	33.5	234,069	24.5
West	317,117	8.7	44,330	4.7
Total	3,655,138	100.0	954,115	100.0

*All 1956 predictions were made on a least squares method, using census population facts that started with 1870, and adjusted for changes in the definition of "non-white". This latter term is used interchangeably with the term "Negro".

The first loss in voting power occurs to the Texas electorate through the poll tax method of registration. Through this method, almost two thirds of the electorate's voting strength is lost. The attrition is twice as large for the Negro voter as it is for the white. While the poll tax hazard robbed whites of approximately 58 per cent of their voting strength, Negroes suffered a loss of 88 per cent. Although over 900,000

Texas Negroes could have gone to the polls in the 1956 Democratic primaries, only 210,000 were in a position to qualify when voting time arrived.

TABLE 2
NUMBER VOTING AGE, NUMBER REGISTERED, AND PER CENT REGISTERED ACCORDING TO RACE, 1956*

Race	No. Voting Age	No. Registered	Per Cent Registered
White	3,655,138	1,516,065	41.5
Non-white	954,115	209,897	22.0
Total	4,609,253	1,725,962	37.4

There is some evidence that the tendency to qualify for voting by the purchase of a poll tax receipt is a function of the geographical region in which Texans live. Table 3, representing a tabulation of registered voters according to region, suggests that this is true for both races. Both whites and Negroes of the East Texas region registered at rates significantly in excess of their proportion to the total population of the state, while those of other regions registered at rates

significantly below their proportional representation. In East Texas registered white voters were approximately 8 per cent higher than expectation while in central and west Texas they were approximately 3 per cent lower. Negro voters were approximately 4 per cent higher in the East and 2 per cent lower in the central and western regions. If these regional differences were due to sheer chance, there would have been 876,758 registered white voters in East Texas and 148,652 Negro voters in this region. This means that more active registration in the East gave the whites 119,576 more registered voters and Negroes 7,729. On the other hand, whites lost 65,556 in the central region and 54,010 in the west due to areal differences in the tendency to register. Negro voters lost 3,561 in the central region and 4,168 in the west.

TABLE 3
NUMERICAL AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF TEXAS REGISTERED VOTERS ACCORDING TO RACE AND REGION, 1956

Texas Region	Number Registered		Per Cent	
	White	Non-White	White	Non-White
East	996,334	156,381	65.7	74.5
Central	442,208	47,932	29.2	22.8
West	77,523	5,584	5.1	2.7
Total	1,516,065	209,897	100.0	100.0

These differentials are indicative of the kind of political war that is developing in Texas. It is in the heavily populated East Texas region that whites feel most the Negro as a political competitor. It is here that the Negro has been most oppressed. The spatial proximity of Negroes to each other has made the oppression more obvious, and the existence of common enemies has given them a greater sense of identification. Consequently, greater efforts are being directed toward a program designed to overcome discriminations through active participation in politics.

Although this program is taking place in East Texas, it is not in the rural areas and small towns that the effect is being felt. The program is, in general, an urban movement. Nothing indicates this more clearly than does the variation of actual votes cast according to degrees of urbanization. Space permits us to show this variation only in a dichotomous sense, but the point is nonetheless clear.

Texas as a whole is suffering from voter mortality. Only 44.4 per cent of all those who registered for the 1956 primary

elections actually voted. This, of course, included 46.1 per cent of the whites and 32.1 per cent of the Negroes. When the number of votes cast is tabulated in terms of population of voting age, it becomes quite evident that Texans are disfranchising themselves. Only 27.3 per cent of the whites and 7.1 per cent of the Negroes cast their votes in the 1956 election.

Table 4 shows that whether these potential voters lived in urban[17] or non-urban areas made a great deal of difference. A greater proportion of registered white voters went to the polls in non-urban than in urban areas. The reverse was true in the case of Negro voters.

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[17] Urban includes only those counties in which the following cities are located: San Antonio, Dallas, Galveston, Houston, Beaumont, Fort Worth, and Austin.

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF TEXAS REGISTERED VOTERS
ACCORDING TO PER CENT VOTING IN
URBAN AND NON-URBAN AREAS, 1956

	Urban		Non-Urban	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
White				
Registered	882,237		633,828	
Voting	363,441	41.2	335,509	52.9
Non-White				
Registered	108,673		101,224	
Voting	42,414	39.0	29,963	24.7
Total				
Registered	990,910		735,052	
Voting	405,855	41.0	360,472	49.0

The Texas urban Negro is growing more politically active. Urged and inspired by a miscellany of civic organizations, Negro voters of these areas are paying poll tax in larger numbers, and are seen at the polls in longer lines. Let us look at the urban Negro's voting rate first. Table 5 gives a tabulation of Negro voters in urban counties according to the number who voted in 1956.

TABLE 5

NEGRO VOTING PERFORMANCE FOR SELECTED URBAN LOCALITIES OF TEXAS, BY COUNTIES, 1956

County	Number Poll Tax Payers	Number of Votes	Per Cent Voters
Bexar	15,497	9,422	60.8
Dallas	15,626	7,931	50.8
Galveston	6,490	3,565	54.9
Harris	36,654	8,944	24.4
Jefferson	10,567	3,840	36.3
Tarrant	8,571	5,999	70.0
Travis	5,268	2,713	51.5
Total	98,673	42,414	43.0

Although only 32.1 per cent of the Negro registered voters throughout the state voted, 43 per cent of those of urban areas completely exercised their right of suffrage. The rates ranged from 70 per cent in Tarrant County (Fort Worth)

to 24.4 per cent in Harris County (Houston). These figures clearly reflect the unity of purpose behind political movements sponsored by Negro organizations in these cities. The Houston rate adequately mirrors the manner in which Negro political aggression is diffused through multiple and uncoordinated leadership. Each ward of the city has its civic club or voters league. Organized labor has its own movement. Some churches also organize their political efforts. Lack of coordination between these movements, however, results in an unhappy situation in which various groups are working at cross-purposes with each other. Houston's Council of Negro Organizations threatens to wipe out this hazard. Composed, as it is, of representatives of all important organizations in Harris County, this Council is now in the process of integrating diverse efforts into one gigantic step. This is a carbon copy of a movement started in the Dallas - Fort Worth area several years ago, and may well bring to Houston a larger voting strength in 1960.

However, the political future of Texas' Negroes hangs on factors far more complex than this. It seems to hang upon how well Negro voters can learn the political strategy of people who have had access to the ballot longer, and upon the extent to which they will constitute a special interest group backed by patience and faith in their political destiny.

Political naïveté cost us many votes in the 1956 primaries. Our field enumerators reported hundreds of instances in which aged Negroes voted in the July primaries but failed to vote in the run-off. Their failure was due to the fact that they thought they would be voting twice if they had voted in the run-off. Ralph Yarborough, favored by many Negro voters and a large number of white voters of the East Texas region, lost the gubernatorial race by a very narrow margin. Although the Negro vote could not have tipped the balance, it would have helped a great deal had somebody not confused the issue and started a "write-in" for Lonnie Smith of the Supreme Court primary case.

Nevertheless, Negroes are becoming more conscious of the power of the ballot. Throughout the state, more Negroes are participating in local conventions. More of them are seeking political office by joining in a political race for school boards, city councils, and even the Legislature. They get support from both white and Negro voters. If these efforts are sustained, and if the Negro and the Labor vote draw closer, as they are doing in Port Arthur, Texas will see a new political power.

THE NEGRO VOTER IN MISSISSIPPI

Earl M. Lewis

One of the few remaining frontiers within the United States today is the human rights front. Along this frontier the movement to complete the democritization of the American society presses against resistance from forces which are at once the products of American history and imperfectible human nature. Perhaps the most critical question seeking resolution through this clash is whether the nation has sufficient will and ability to remove the burdens and onus of second class citizenship from its largest ethnic minority, the Negro Americans.

The focal, though not exclusive, area in the United States of this crucial struggle between these countervailing forces is the South. One of the most active segments of this frontier in the South is Mississippi. Here, particularly since 1954, the right of the State's Negro citizens to qualify and to vote is the most immediate target of many of the state's Negro leaders,[1] taking at least temporary precedence over their effort to secure compliance with the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. The object in this discussion is to present an analysis of the current components and general posture of the controversy respecting the registration and voting of Negro citizens in the state of Mississippi.

Reconstruction and Its Aftermath

Negro voting in Mississippi is a post-Civil War phenomenon. Unlike several other former slave states, free Negroes were not permitted to vote in Mississippi prior to 1860. There were 773 such persons in the state in 1860.[2] Congress, through the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, and parts of subsequent statutes, enfranchised the freedmen in Mississippi and elsewhere and set in motion two antithetical forces. The leadership of one small group of white Mississippians sought to encourage acceptance of Negro voting

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[1] Delta Democrat-Times, October 21, 1956.

[2] The white population in Mississippi in 1860 was 353,901, and the Negro population was 437,303. U.S. Census, 1860, Agriculture, p. 232.

by the native whites. This unsuccessful minority contained such able white natives of the state as Judge J. W. Robb and J. L. Alcorn. The failure of this movement to effect a modus vivendi between the freedmen and their erstwhile masters left the rank and file of the state's white population committed to the elimination of Negro suffrage. In spite of an excess of 60,000 Negroes over whites, the Democratic party and the native white Mississippians regained control of the state in 1875. Violence and lawlessness by whites against Negroes and failure of the federal government to protect the Negro citizens had proved politically profitable.[1]

Though some Negro officeholding and considerable Negro voting continued down to the end of the century under Democratic control, the policy of the native whites retained as its chief object the political sterilization of the state's Negro citizenry. The threat of further federal intervention to protect the Negroes increased the search by the whites for a means of disfranchisement which, on its face, would be nonoercive and nonviolent.[2] The main purpose of the constitutional convention which convened in Jackson in 1890 was ". . . to disfranchise the Negro without at the same time disfranchising a great proportion of the illiterate whites . . . and . . . without danger of being overthrown by the Supreme Court."[3] The constitution framed at Jackson was adopted by the people of Mississippi and serves as the constitution of the state today. In the decade 1944-1954, its suffrage features were most effective as instruments of Negro disfranchisement. Specific consideration of its original franchise provisions and their effects will be undertaken later in this discussion.

Under the influence of the race-baiting James K. Vardaman, after the turn of the

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[1] For a discussion of many of the specific acts of murder and intimidation of Negroes and the inability of the military government to secure protection for them from the national government see J. S. McNally, "Climax and Collapse of Reconstruction in Mississippi," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, XII (1912), 102. See Vernon L. Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890 ("The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science," Vol. XXVIII; Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947), pp. 185-198.

[2] James F. Barnes, "Negro Voting in Mississippi," (Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Mississippi, 1955), p. 9.

[3] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

century, the retrenchment in Negro voting continued. Vardaman's political career was built on his vehement attacks on Mississippi's Negro citizens. The Vardaman era in Mississippi was followed by the Bilbo era. The distinctive feature of the two periods was the success of political demagoguery based on the bellicose appeals to the racial prejudices of a white electorate, the great preponderance of which was educationally and economically substandard. In such a political climate, the demagogue's defense of white supremacy was a cause which relatively few "self-respecting" white Mississippians could fail to support. It was a climate in which there was little or no place for a Negro citizen's enjoyment of political privileges on the basis of equality.[1] It became the policy of the Mississippi Democratic party to bar Negroes from voting in its primary contests, thereby effectively disfranchising citizens who constituted almost half of the state's total population. This exclusion was given constitutional sanction by the Supreme Court in 1935 when it legalized the white primary. On April 3, 1944, however, the Supreme Court reversed itself and outlawed what had proved to be the South's most effective instrument of Negro disfranchisement.[2] This decision reopened the possibility of extensive voting by the state's large Negro population.

Senator Bilbo's Call to the Colors

In view of Mississippi's political record of effective curtailment and elimination of Negro voting from 1873 to 1944, considerable interest was exhibited in the possible results of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing the white primary. The first election in the state following the decision which could reveal the reaction of both Negroes and whites to the legalization of Negro participation in the Democratic primary was the 1946

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[1] Mississippi politics since 1900, however, has produced some white leaders who refused to advance their careers by outdoing their opponents in race-baiting. Professor V. O. Key, Jr. cites Leroy Percy, a Delta aristocrat, as a member of this group. V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), pp. 238-239. It is also true that the state has editors and citizens who oppose, out of principle, racism in politics.

[2] Smith v. Allwright. Here and there an occasional Negro vote was permitted in Democratic primary contests in Mississippi. The only effective votes for officials for elective positions other than president and vice-president were cast by white citizens in the white primaries of the Democratic Party.

primary in which Theodore Bilbo sought nomination for his third term as United States Senator. As the election approached, it was clear that a substantial number of Negroes were eagerly preparing to participate as voters. A nonpartisan organization of Negroes, the Mississippi Progressive Voters League, worked assiduously in many parts of the state in an effort to get as many Negroes as possible to qualify and vote in the primary which was to be held on July 2, 1946. Barnes wrote that: "Returning Negro veterans of World War II added to the pressure. . . . Many of these men had been taught the importance of voting while they were in military service, and were eager to apply this teaching upon the resumption of civilian life."[1] It should be added that many of the veterans returned with new or increased determination to resist disfranchisement and other obstructions to first class citizenship. As the primary campaign developed, the political interest and excitement among Negroes throughout the state increased. This interest was quite definitely related to the fact that at issue was at least the immediate political future of the arch advocate of white supremacy in the state, perhaps, in the nation. The reaction of the white citizens of the state to the heightening political interest of the Negro was, of course, important. Writing in the New York Times, George W. Healy, Jr. said that "Mississippians are observing calmly, if not happily, the passing of their traditional 'white primary.' For the first time, Negroes are preparing to vote in numbers in a Mississippi Democratic primary to nominate a United States Senator."[2]

In the face of this rather general preparation by many of the state's Negroes to participate in the July primary, Senator Bilbo launched a campaign designed to secure support from as many white citizens and officials as possible within the state. The testimony of witnesses before a Senate committee which investigated the campaign and newspaper accounts of Bilbo's speeches showed the essence of his appeal to be uniform through-

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[1] The enactment by the Mississippi state legislature of a statute which exempted veterans from payment of poll taxes in 1944 and 1945 as a prerequisite to voting was a stimulus in the efforts of large numbers of veterans to qualify to vote in the 1946 primary. Barnes, "Negro Voting in Mississippi," p. 28.

[2] New York Times, June 6, 1946.

out the state in the final weeks of the campaign. After warning that if the whites permitted Negro voting in 1946 the Negro vote would increase and become a mighty surge, Bilbo then issued his call to the colors. In the complaint respecting Bilbo's campaign which 22 Negro citizens of the state submitted, evidence of the essence and character of the Bilbo appeal was provided.

> I call on every red-blooded white man to use <u>any means</u> to keep the niggers away from the polls. If you don't understand what that means you're just plain dumb. . . . I'm calling on every red-blooded American who believes in the superiority and integrity of the white race to get out and see that no nigger votes. . . . <u>And the best time to do it is the night before.</u>[1]

Excerpts taken from newspaper and magazine accounts and reproductions of parts of Senator Bilbo's speeches throughout the state were submitted to the committee by the complainants in an effort to substantiate their charges against the Senator. The special five man senatorial committee was under the chairmanship of Democratic Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana. Two other Democrats, Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina and Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma, completed the Democratic majority. Senators Styles Bridges of New Hampshire and Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa constituted the Republican minority.[2] The committee heard sworn testimony from various Negro witnesses to the effect that private citizens and public officials had subjected them to discriminatory interrogation, intimidation, and physical violence.[3] The overwhelming percentage of the Negro witnesses expressed the view that Senator Bilbo's speeches throughout the state contributed to the discrimination and the abuses which they suffered. The committee also heard some county registrars testify that they discriminated against Negroes seeking to register by asking them questions which were not put to white persons.[4]

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[1] U. S., Congress, Senate, Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures, <u>Report, Investigation of Senatorial Campaign Expenditures</u>, 80th Cong., 1st Sess., 1946, p. 9.

[2] The hearings were conducted in Jackson, Mississippi, December 2-5, 1946. A total of 102 witnesses appeared before the committee, 68 of whom were colored and 34 white. Prior to the hearings a three man team of committee investigators conducted a six weeks preliminary investigation of the charges contained in the Negro citizens' formal complaint to the committee.

[3] U. S., Congress, Senate, Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures, <u>Hearings, Investigation of Senatorial Campaign Expenditures</u>, 79th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1946, pp. 45-57, 88-94, 120-124, 136-140, 127-136, 112-116, 281-283.

[4] <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 188, 205-206.

The Democratic Senators combined to write the majority report at the close of the hearings. The conclusion of the majority was ". . . that there is no evidence in the record connecting Senator Bilbo with any illegality or impropriety other than perhaps in certain cases departure from ordinarily accepted good taste as some view it. . . ."[1] While the committee majority did not "interpret" the record of the hearings to show that there had been no discrimination, it did conclude that such discrimination as may have been practiced by the election officials ". . . came from their deep-seated traditional conviction that the Negro has no place in the Democratic primary. . . ."[2]

The minority report stated conclusions from the record of the hearings that were directly contrary to those reached by the majority. The minority reported that:

> . . . the record . . . shows that many Negroes who mustered enough courage to present themselves to register, were prevented from registering by artifice, procrastination, deceit, and outright refusal to register them on the part of white election officials. . . . Of those Negroes who succeeded in registering but a small fraction actually went to the polls to vote, and of those that went to the polls several were beaten up by whites, others were prevented from placing their ballots in the ballot box and were forced to hand their ballots to an election official. . . . .[3]

The minority report held that Senator Bilbo contributed through his campaign to the discrimination which the committee hearings disclosed.

The effect of the discrimination and abusive treatment of Negro citizens prior to and during the July 2, 1946 primary was that few Negroes registered throughout the state and a very small percentage of those who registered cast votes. Excerpts from the report of their preliminary investigation by the Senate committee's investigators provide some indication of the extent of the disfranchisement which occurred in this first major primary election in Mississippi subsequent to the Supreme Court's decision outlawing the white primary.

> Of the 22 counties covered by the committee's investigators in their preliminary investigation, the following statistics are indicative of the condition prevailing:

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[1] Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures, Report, Campaign Expenditures, 1946, p. 12.

[2] Ibid., p. 7. [3] Ibid., p. 20.

County	White population	Colored population	Total Registered	Negroes Registered	Negroes Voted
Adams	10,344	16,885	3,371	147	0
Harrison	40,742	10,046	11,000	340	12
Hinds	51,826	55,445	27,386	414	195
Lauderdale	35,435	22,810	12,000	188	27
Leflore	14,394	38,970	4,345	26	0
Marshall	7,556	17,965	2,370	17	5
Washington	18,568	48,831	5,200	126	25
Winston	13,638	9,062	5,000	25	0

The above figures from counties investigated conclusively show the end result of the campaign to keep the Negro from the polls.[1]

O. Douglas Weeks wrote the following: "The vituperative campaign of Senator Bilbo and his supporters in behalf of white supremacy, the suffrage and election laws of the state, and the habitual methods of administering them--operated in 1946 to prevent the registration and primary participation of an overwhelming majority of Negroes."[2] As a result of the experiences of many Negroes seeking to vote in the 1946 primary, it became clear that the Negro's right to vote in the all-important primary election would be challenged and obstructed by a significant number of white citizens and officials within the state. It was also clear that many whites were prepared to employ any means to deprive the Negro of an effective voice in state politics. What was not clear was the extent to which time and subsequent political and economic developments within and without the state could soften this resistance.

Estimates of Negro Voter Registration

Since the Supreme Court's invalidation of the white primary in 1944, the total number of Negroes who have registered or voted at any one time has been extremely small.

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[1] Ibid., p. 21.

[2] O. Douglas Weeks, "White Primary, 1944-48," American Political Science Review, XLII (June, 1948), 507. Following Senator Bilbo's victory in the 1946 primary and the Senate committee's investigation of his campaign and other political activities, opposition to granting him a seat in the United States Senate developed. Early in January, the Senate reached a compromise under which the final decision as to the seating of Senator Bilbo was postponed pending the completion of the Senator's medical treatment. Bilbo's death made a later decision by the Senate unnecessary.

The most recent decennial census showed the state's adult Negro population (21 years and over) to be 497,354.[1] All reliable estimates seem to indicate that from 1947 through 1954 a steady increase in the number of Negroes who registered and voted in Mississippi elections occurred. No dependable estimate from any source has set the total number of registered voters throughout the state at any given time since 1944 at more than 25,000. Official centrally published figures on Negro voting are not available; thus, one's only reliance is on informed estimates. Most students of this problem have found that the best estimates from different sources are often conflicting.

Luther P. Jackson estimated in 1940 that there were 2,000 registered Negro voters in the state of Mississippi and 5,000 in 1947.[2] Dr. Jackson's estimate of 5,000 Negro voters in the state for 1947 was consistent with Alexander Heard's estimates based on the latter's field survey of Negro voting in the state for the same period. Professor Heard estimated 2500 registered Negroes in Mississippi in 1946.[3] The estimates of the two men for 1946 and 1947 show a fifty percent increase in Negro voter registration in 1947 above that of the previous year. Negro leaders in the state point out that perhaps the crucial factor in this remarkable increase was the stimulation and courage which the investigation of Senator Bilbo in 1946 provided.

William Buchanan, in a study sponsored by the Social Science Research Center at Mississippi State College, estimates that there were ". . . about 17,000 registrations as of September, 1952, of whom some 5,600 actually voted in 1951."[4] This estimate was

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[1] U. S., Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population, P-B 24, 1950, p. 23. This census shows the state's total population to be 2,178,914 of which 990,282 were Negroes.

[2] Luther P. Jackson, "Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940," New South, (June-July, 1948), p. 4. Dr. Jackson, until his death, was probably the most informed person on the extent of Negro voting throughout the South.

[3] Professor Heard's estimates are found in Alexander Heard, A Two-Party South? (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1952), p. 302.

[4] William Buchanan, The Mississippi Electorate (State College, Mississippi, Social Science Research Center, 1953), p. 10.

based on the number of Negro names which were found on the poll books checked during the survey. A total of 19,000, however, was estimated for the same period when appraisals from "informed persons" in the counties were used. One of the most thorough and recent studies of Negro voting and registration in Mississippi was prepared as a Master's thesis at the University of Mississippi by James F. Barnes. After pointing out the factors which may have accounted for some discrepancy in his estimates, Barnes compiled figures based on a county by county tabulation of estimates which showed that in 1954 some 19,975 Negroes were registered in the state.[1]

The higher estimate of Negro registration in Mississippi for 1954 was made as a result of a survey of the present governor of the state, J. P. Coleman, during his tenure as attorney general of the state. The Southern School News, in reporting the results of the governor's survey in December of 1954, stated that 22,104 Negroes were qualified to vote out of an estimated voting potential of 500,000.[2] In his testimony before the House Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary on February 6, 1957, Governor Coleman told the Committee that: "I went out as attorney general and run a survey to see. In 1954 we did have 22,000 registered but of that 22,000 who were registered only 8,000 of them had paid their poll tax."[3] In the most recent and crucial state primary election held in 1955, Governor Coleman won the Democratic nomination for governor, which in view of the one-party character of Mississippi politics, was tantamount to election to that office. The governor testified as to the extent of Negro voting in that election. He said that: "In the 1955 primary for Governor, which is when most people vote, because at that election we elect everything in Mississippi from Governor on down to constable, it was said that approximately 7,000 of them voted."[4] There seems to be no reasonable basis for regarding

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[1] Barnes, "Negro Voting in Mississippi," pp. 30-38.

[2] Southern School News, December 1, 1954.

[3] U. S., Congress, House, Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, Hearings, Civil Rights, 85th Cong., 1st Sess., 1957, p. 736.

[4] Ibid.

the governor's statements before the committee, in so far as they relate to Negro voter registration within the state in 1954, as other than highly reliable. However, in view of the Mississippi secretary of state's reported statement respecting Negro voting in the 1955 primary, some question does arise as to the accuracy of the governor's report of estimates that 7,000 Negroes voted in that election. According to the New York Times, "Heber Ladner, Mississippi Secretary of State, said 22,000 Negroes had been registered to vote, but that no figures were available as to how many had cast ballots."[1]

It is quite clear that only a negligible number of Negroes has ever been qualified to vote in any Mississippi election. It seems equally clear that a substantial decline in the number of registered Negroes has occurred since 1954. The estimates which have been cited here reflect the keen interest in politics which developed among many Negroes throughout the state following the Smith v. Allwright decision in 1944. The resistance of white citizens and officials to this political participation which manifested itself in the 1946 primary effectively strangled the first significant post-Reconstruction striving for political equality by an appreciable number of Negro citizens.

Following the Senate investigation of Senator Bilbo's contribution to the discrimination and intimidation imposed by whites on Negroes who sought to register and vote in the 1946 primary, there occurred a sharp and quick upswing in the number of Negroes who sought and were permitted to register. This increase seems to have continued at a steady, though reduced, rate after 1947, reaching its maximum of approximately 22,000 persons in 1954. Informed observers and competent persons within the state report that during and since 1955 a precipitous decline in Negro registration and voting within the state set in. The factors which have contributed to this decline seem to fall into one of two general categories. One of those categories has involved those forces which have been set in operation under the color of law. The second includes a wide range of extralegal and illegal factors.

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[1] New York Times, September 3, 1955. Dr. T. M. R. Howard, former president of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership in the state, estimated that on the eve of the 1955 Mississippi primary only 19,000 Negroes had registered to vote. New York Times, November, 12, 1955.

Legal and Quasi-legal Restrictive Factors on Negro Registration and Voting

Before the establishment and after the constitutional invalidation of the white primary, the Constitution of 1890 and certain of its amendments relative to voting have were been important factors in blocking Negro political participation in Mississippi elections. The primary purpose for which the state's constitution was adopted was to eliminate Negro voting, and there is no doubt or secrecy respecting this motivation among the officials and electorate of the state in the preparation and adoption of the state's fundamental law.[1] In the search for legal methods through which to deprive Negroes of the right to vote, the delegates to the State Constitutional Convention of 1890 decided to exploit what they conceived to be the autochthonous social and cultural characteristics of the Negro race.[2]

Out of the seven provisions which were incorporated to disfranchise Negro citizens, principal reliance was placed on four features. The first of these is the state's requirement that the potential voter must have resided within the state for two years and within the county in which he expects to vote for one year.[3] Citing the constitution's residence requirement as one of the most "drastic" restrictive factors on the electorate, Buchanan stated that only five states equal Mississippi's state residence requirement and three its county residence requirement.[4] The convention delegates in 1890 were prompted to incorporate this feature because of what they regarded as the inevitable mobility of Negroes. Section 241 also bars persons from the exercise of the suffrage who have been convicted of ". . .brib-

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[1] Barnes, "Negro Voting in Mississippi," p. 48; Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi, pp. 206-208. See also Governor Coleman's testimony in hearings before a House subcommittee investigating civil rights. House Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, Civil Rights Hearings, 1957, pp. 736-737.

[2] "The residence provisions . . . were aimed at the drifting element of the population. The Negro was hit by this requirement because he usually did not own any land and therefore had no ties to any community." Barnes, "Negro Voting in Mississippi," p. 48.

[3] Mississippi, Constitution (1890), Art. 12, sec. 241.

[4] Buchanan, Mississippi Electorate, p. 3.

ery, theft, arson, obtaining money or goods under false pretense, perjury, forgery, embezzlement or bigamy. . . ."

Another crucial provision of the 1890 Constitution which has been most effective since 1944 in curbing Negro registration and voting is the requirement that the potential voter shall be duly registered. The registration process consists of two elements. The first of these elements involves the taking of an oath in which the citizen swears to such matters as his residence, nonconviction of crime, and allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and the state of Mississippi.[1]

Section 243 requires that citizens between 21 and 60 years of age who are not deaf, dumb, blind, or maimed by loss of hand or foot pay a poll tax of two dollars.[2] The state requires that the tax be paid when due during each of the two years prior to the election in which the citizen proposes to vote. "Satisfactory evidence," presumably poll tax receipts, must be presented by the voter at the polls where he expects to vote. By requiring the citizen to present his receipts after retaining them for such a period, the framers of the constitution sought to exploit what they regarded as the Negro citizen's inherent lack of ability to keep records.

The effect of the poll tax as a deterrent to voting by Negro and white Mississippians has probably declined with the rise in the standard of living within the state. The argument that the tax is not a crucial restriction on Negro voting is perhaps quite tenable. One should be careful, however, not to discount excessively its effects. Key concluded, after an intensive study of poll tax payments in one Southern state, that elimination of the poll tax would probably increase the size of the white electorate by five to ten per cent. This, of course, indicates a significant impact of the tax on voting by Southern whites. It could hardly be less in its adverse effect on Negro voting in Mississippi.

The most important feature of the constitution which was expected to effectively eliminate Negroes from political participation in the state provided that ". . . every

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[1] Mississippi, Constitution (1890), Art. 12, sec. 242. Registration in the state is neither annual nor permanent. Once registered, the citizen remains so until the County Board of Supervisors decides to hold a new registration within the county. The citizen's registration must occur at least four months prior to the election in which he proposes to vote.

[2] Ibid., sec. 243.

elector shall, in addition to the foregoing qualifications, be able to read any section of the Constitution of this state; or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof."[1] According to the repeated statements of Negroes, often based on personal experience, county registrars throughout the state have used this provision to practice blatant discrimination against Negroes who seek to register by asking spurious and improper questions and requiring higher standards of Negroes than whites.[2]

Many Negroes who testified during the course of the Bilbo hearings cited many of these improper verbal questions which registrars had employed to deny them the opportunity to register. One of the most ridiculous of such questions which reportedly has been put to Negroes seeking to register under the constitutional requirements before 1955 was "How many bubbles are there in a bar of soap?"[3] In his testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Reverend Gus Courts testified that he was shot by unknown white men in Belzoni, Mississippi because he refused to take his name off of the register of voters in Humphreys county and because he refused to resign the presidency of the county chapter of the NAACP. Reverend Courts also told the subcommittee that when he and 22 other Negroes presented themselves to vote in the August, 1955 primary, someone in the registrar's office handed them a sheet of paper which contained ten questions. Reverend Courts' statement to the Committee describing this experience was as follows:

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[1] Ibid., sec. 244. The United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of this provision in Williams v. Mississippi 170 U. S. 213 (1898).

[2] Apparently basing his statement on evidence taken from an edition of a leading newspaper published in 1890, Dr. Wharton wrote that: "There was a general understanding that the interpretation of the constitution offered by an illiterate white man would be acceptable to the registrars; that of a Negro would not. As the best method that could be found to achieve their purpose, it was soon accepted by the white people of Mississippi and imitated, in one form or another by a number of the Southern states." Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi, p. 215.

[3] H. L. Moon, "The New Subversion of the Fifteenth Amendment," Paper read at the Eighteenth Annual Conference of the Division of Social Sciences, Howard University, Washington, D. C., April 12, 1957.

> They told us we could not have the ballots until we had answered the questions. The first question was, "Are you a member of the primary Democratic Party?" The next question was "Do you want your children to go to school with the white children?"
>
> The next question was, "Are you a member of or do you support the NAACP?" Those are the only three questions I remember. They refused to let us vote.[1]

In 1956 the Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Herbert Brownell, told the Senate Committee on the Judiciary that his department had received affidavits in 1952 from Negro citizens in Mississippi who charged that the registrar of a certain county had refused to register them after asking improper questions. Attorney General Brownell told the Committee that:

> Although the Mississippi statutes at that time required only that an applicant be able to read and write the Constitution, the affidavits alleged that the Registrar demanded that the Negro citizens answer such questions as "What is due process of law?" "How many bubbles are there in a bar of soap?", etc. Those submitting affidavits included college graduates, teachers and businessmen yet none of them, according to the Registrar, could meet the voting requirements.[2]

The use of this system of verbal interrogation by white officials has been just as effective in suppressing political participation in Mississippi as it has been without valid foundation in law. Under section 244 of the Constitution of 1890 the citizen is required to do one of two things in order to qualify for registration. He may read any part of the state constitution which the registrar designates; or, if he cannot read, he must be able to understand and interpret any section of the state constitution that is read to him. No questions relevant to the general content of the constitution are authorized. On June 19, 1946, the Attorney General of Mississippi, Greek L. Rice, submitted an advisory legal opinion to the county clerk of Adams county giving precisely this construction of section 244 of the state constitution.[3]

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[1] U. S., Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, Hearings, Civil Rights, 85th Cong., 1st Sess., 1957, pp. 533-534.

[2] Herbert Brownell, Press Release, "Statement by the Attorney General on Civil Rights Legislation Before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary," May 16, 1956. Governor Coleman, during his appearance before the House subcommittee investigating civil rights on February 6, 1957, expressed regret that the Attorney General had not released the names of the persons who submitted the affidavits so that the state officials could investigate. House Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, Civil Rights Hearings, 1957, p. 735.

[3] Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures, Campaign Expenditures Hearings, 1946, p. 393.

After refusing in 1952 to approve a constitutional amendment which would substantially raise the qualifications for voting, Mississippi voters ratified such an amendment in November, 1954. A total of 75,448 votes were cast for and 15,718 against.[1] It was universally understood that the purpose of the amendment was to curb voting by Negroes.[2] The amendment provides that in order to vote one must be able to read and write any section of the constitution and give a reasonable interpretation of it to the registrar. It provides that the citizen execute a written application for registration in the presence of the registrar without assistance. In addition, it requires the citizen to demonstrate an understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government. Substantially these same provisions were adopted as the Boswell Amendment to the Alabama constitution in 1946. The Supreme Court declared the Boswell Amendment unconstitutional. The Mississippi state conference of the NAACP announced in 1954 that it would seek federal court invalidation of the Mississippi amendment.[3] It was recognized, however, that the presence of the standard of reasonableness in the Mississippi law may ~~provide~~ enable it to meet one of the objections which the federal courts advanced respecting the Boswell Amendment.

The NAACP has also charged discriminatory enforcement of the amendment and cited such discrimination as one of the important factors in the sharp reduction of Negro registration and voting within the state since 1954. The crux of the NAACP indictment was as follows:

> In November of 1954 Mississippi enacted a constitutional amendment requiring voters to be able to read and write and interpret the State Constitution. This qualification judged by local white election boards has cut Mississippi's number of registered Negro voters from 22,104 down to 8,000 out of a total population of 986,500.[4]

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[1] Southern School News, December 1, 1954.

[2] The New Orleans Times-Picayune reported that "the sponsors of the amendment admitted that it was aimed at curbing Negro registration." New Orleans Times-Picayune, March 20, 1955; Birmingham News, November 4, 1954; Montgomery Advertiser, October 25, 1956; Memphis Commercial Appeal, March 20, 1955.

[3] Southern School News, December 1, 1954.

[4] New York Times, October 3, 1955.

Support of this charge comes both from Negroes whose registrations have been denied under the new amendment and from reports of these denials in the daily press. W. F. Minor, writing in the New Orleans Times-Picayune relative to the effects of the citizenship understanding test in the new amendment on Negro registration, made the following assertion: "This provision has been interpreted by most clerks to require a written essay and has provided a new lever to make it harder for Negroes to pass the registration test."[1] Mr. Minor also asserted that the net effect of the use of the 1954 amendment and other devices is that "the number of qualified voters is less than it was two years ago because of the removal of some names from the rolls and increased pressures on circuit clerks against registering Negroes."[2]

On March 24, 1955, by way of implementing the amendment, the legislature provided that in addition to the completion of a written application each voter must submit written responses to a questionnaire supplied by the registrar. During his appearance before the House subcommittee investigating civil rights, Governor Coleman stated that the questionnaire was presenting no discriminatory obstruction to Negro voting, and constituted an improvement over the previous system of verbal exchanges with the registrar.[3] A copy of the questionnaire employed by the state was made a part of the subcommittee's ~~hearings~~ record. The two questions in the questionnaire which permit the registering officials a broad range of discretion as to the citizen's qualifications are questions 19 and 20. These require the voter to write a "reasonable" interpretation of the section of the constitution which he has read and written as well as a statement of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship under a constitutional form of government.[4]

In clear conflict with Governor J. P. Coleman's statement that there is currently no race discrimination in the registration of Negroes within the state are the sworn affi-

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[1] New Orleans Times-Picayune, October 28, 1956.

[2] Ibid.

[3] House Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, Civil Rights Hearings, 1957, pp. 737-738.

[4] Ibid., p. 739.

davits of Negro citizens charging such discrimination. In his testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights on February 28, 1957, Reverend W. D. Ridgeway described his experience in Forrest County as follows: "On October 16, 1956, I was flatly refused the right to register along with 17 other Negroes who were in the office of the registrar at the same time that I was. Again and again, I have gone to qualify myself . . . only to find myself and other Negroes turned down."[1] Medgar W. Evers, state field secretary of the NAACP in Mississippi, has accused the governor of failing to give an "accurate picture" of the extent of voter discrimination against Negroes. Mr. Evers stated that 1000 qualified Negroes had been disenfranchised in Jefferson Davis county alone. Citing Forrest county as an example, Mr. Evers was quoted as saying that: "'There are counties where Negroes are not even given a (registration) application to fill out.'"[2]

In addition to the problem of securing and satisfactorily executing application forms as a means of registering, many Negroes have recently had their right to vote in Democratic primaries effectively challenged and denied. The legal basis of this instrument of disfranchisement was the statutory authority given political parties to define and regulate party membership. The statute provides that only those persons are eligible to vote who intend to support all the nominations of the party, who were in accord with the party in power during the preceding two years, and who are not barred by any regulation of the state executive committee. The law provides, further, that any member of the Democratic party or election official may challenge the vote of anyone else in a primary contest on any of the grounds cited above.[3] In such event the contested ballot is not counted until it is adjudged legitimate. In spite of the clear language of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing the white primary, the Senate committe which investigated Senator Bilbo's campaign in 1946 found officials who claimed the authority based on state law to challenge and cast out votes of Negro citizens even when these citizens expressed support of the Democratic party of Mississippi. The Senate committee majority of Southern

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[1] Ibid., p. 564. [2] New Orleans Times-Picayune, October 13, 1956.
[3] Mississippi Code, 1942, sec. 3129.

Democrats explicitly supported the legal validity of the statute and indirectly the legality of the discrimination against Negroes under it.[1] With little exertion the committee minority report emasculated the majority's position.[2]

In 1947 the Mississippi legislature improved the efficiency of the challenge device as an instrument of disfranchisement. It enacted a statute which provided that in order to vote in primary elections one must be in accord with the "principles" of the party.[3] In the words of Professor O. Douglas Weeks, the provisions of the statute had "obvious possibilities." The State Executive Committee of the Democratic party promptly moved to exploit them. It adopted a set of party "principles" which it felt few, if any, Negroes would swear allegiance to. The creed which the state committee adopted expressed opposition to the following: any F.E.P.C. legislation at any level, federal anti-poll tax or anti-lynching legislation, and any movement which tended to subvert the "cherished traditions of the South."[4] When this test was applied in the gubernatorial primary in 1947, the Mississippi Progressive Voters League, a nonpartisan Negro organization concerned with increasing Negro registration and voting, encouraged Negroes to express support of the party's "principles" and to withdraw quietly from the polls if their votes were challenged.

There seems to be considerable evidence of discrimination against Negroes in the important primary in 1955. Just prior to this election, the chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee in a meeting of the committee ". . . suggested . . . [that] the party consider doing something to keep Negroes from voting in state primaries."[5] Chairman Tom Tubb said: "'I don't believe that the Negro ought to be allowed to vote in

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[1] Senate Special Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, Report, 1946, pp. 10-11.

[2] Ibid., p. 17.

[3] Mississippi Code, 1952, Supplement, Section 3129.

[4] Barnes, "Negro Voting in Mississippi," p. 26.

[5] Delta Democrat-Times, June 7, 1955

Democratic primaries. . . . The white man founded Mississippi and it ought to remain that way.'"[1] The Delta Democrat-Times, reporting the State Committee's reaction to Tubb's suggestion, stated that "no one opposed his position that Negroes should not be permitted to vote, but Tom Garrett of Tunica and W. H. Sanford of Philadelphia said they thought disfranchising could be done better on the local level."[2] Some indication of the discrimination practiced in connection with the 1955 primary was provided by members of the State Committee: "Edd Underwood of Grenada said, 'We're not letting Negroes vote in our county.' He said a number of Negroes withdrew their registrations after 'a committee of white people talked to them.' He said several volunteered to withdraw their names to avoid 'trouble between the races.'"[3]

Consistent with his advocacy of wholesale disfranchisement of the state's Negro citizens, Tubb is said to have ". . . ordered election managers in his home county of Clay to challenge the votes of any of the 10 or 12 qualified Negro voters who might attempt to vote on the grounds 'they do not belong to the Mississippi Democratic primary'"[4] The NAACP field secretary reported that Negroes were challenged in Cleveland, Mississippi on this basis.[5] Tubb reported, however, that by mid-afternoon of election day no Negroes in Clay county had appeared to vote.

Under the caption, "Mississippi Moves to Cut Negro Vote," the New York Times reported that a "special committee" of the Mississippi Democratic party would begin work to study methods of reducing the number of Negro voters.[6] The report quoted state chairman Tubb's statement that Negroes had probably played too large a part in the 1955 primary. This and other actions by white Mississippians taken under the color of law have been deliberate and effective instruments of Negro disfranchisement. They have not been the most effective restrictions on Negro voting in Mississippi, however. Professor Key found that throughout the South "the fundamental bases of Negro dis-

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

[4] Greensboro Daily News, August 3, 1955. [5] Ibid. It was reported, however, that Negro voting was relatively heavy and unobstructed in several of the larger cities of the state such as Jackson, Meridian, and the Delta city of Greenville.

[6] New York Times, September 3, 1955.

franchisement have been informal rather than legal."[1] Mississippi represents no exception to this finding.

Extra-legal and Illegal Factors in Negro Disfranchisement

The most fundamental factor in the entire scheme of racial relations in Mississippi, as elsewhere in the South, is the widespread assumption by white Southerners of the inherent inferiority of Negroes to whites.[2] It is against this background of pervasive belief in white supremacy that extra-legal and illegal conditions, institutions, and practices which prevent or delimit Negro political participation have developed.

The proportion of Negro population to white in the counties and sections of Mississippi greatly influences the extent of Negro registration and voting. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this factor of numbers on the efforts of whites to deprive Negroes of the right to vote in Mississippi. According to the 1950 census, 41 per cent of the eligible voters in the state were Negroes, and Negroes outnumber whites in 31 of the state's 82 counties. The heaviest concentration of Negroes is found in the Delta section, and it is no accident that much of the overt resistance to Negro voting has had its origin there. In his study of Negro suffrage in Mississippi, Barnes found that: "As the percentage of the Negro population increases, a subjective evaluation of attitudes encountered in the courthouses of the various counties indicates that antagonism toward Negro voting increases."[3] One of the New England editors invited by leading whites in Mississippi to survey the situation in the state reacted in this language: "This business of numbers, has its bearing on the problem, no doubt about that, but numbers is not a logical reason to keep a man from being free."[4]

Another rather crucial factor in nonvoting by Negroes in Mississippi in recent years has been the existence and activities of the Association of White Citizens Councils, an organization of "white males dedicated to the preservation of segregation." Since the

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[1] Key, Southern Politics, p. 555.

[2] A distinguished Southern sociologist has described clearly the role of the concept of white supremacy in the Southern credo. Howard W. Odum, Race and Rumors of Race (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1943), pp. 18-20.

[3] Barnes, "Negro Voting in Mississippi," pp. 36-37.

[4] Southern School News, November, 1956.

organization of the first council chapter on July 11, 1954, in Sunflower county,[1] chapters are reported to have been established in all of Mississippi's 82 counties and a total membership of 100,000 has been claimed.[2] What appears to be rather convincing evidence of the councils' official policy of Negro disfranchisement is found in a mimeographed form letter which the councils' sent to prospective members. The letter outlined the functions of each of the organization's four major committees. The statement of the functions of the Political and Elections Committee was as follows: "'It will screen all candidates in local and state elections against those who might be seeking the Negro vote. If necessary, organize a white private election within the group to combat the Negro bloc vote. Discourage Negro registration by every legal means.'"[3]

Reports from observers and Negroes who have been victims of its activities indicate to some degree the success of the councils' policy of suppressing Negro political participation.[4] A group of Belzoni Negroes reported that the Citizens Councils had undertaken to force many of them to remove their names from the register by economic pressures.[5] H. L. Moon, director of public relations of the NAACP, in an indictment of the suppressive program of the councils presented evidence of wholesale disfranchisement.

> In 1954, Jefferson Davis County had 1,221 Negro voters reports the NAACP field secretary for Mississippi [the report was dated April 3, 1957]. After the organization of the White Citizens Councils in that county there was a demand for re-registration of all voters on the basis of the new voter qualification amendment. . . . The voters roll was cleaned of Negroes, he reports, including "some who had been registered for 20 years or more." Only 65 of the more than 1,000 were permitted to re-register.[6]

Within the state, the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership heard one of its members charge the councils with bribing certain Negroes to cooperate in promoting its activities.[7]

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[1] Sunflower county is a Delta county which the most recent decennial census showed to have a population which was 68.1 per cent Negro.

[2] Southern School News, June, 1956.

[3] Southern School News, October 1, 1954.

[4] See statement by Dr. T. M. R. Howard relative to Citizens Councils' economic coercion of Negroes. Southern School News, February 3, 1955.

[5] Delta Democrat-Times, August 1, 1955.

[6] H. L. Moon, "New Subversion of the Fifteenth Amendment," p. 5.

[7] Southern School News, May, 1957.

Probably the most effective of all the methods of disfranchising Negroes in Mississippi has been the use of violence by whites against Negroes seeking to vote or encouraging others to do so.[1] Earlier reference was made to the record of the Bilbo investigation of 1946 which is rather liberally strewn with sworn testimony of Negroes from different sections of the state who were threatened with violence or beaten because they sought to register or to vote. In 1955 two Negroes, Reverend G. W. Lee and Lamar Smith, were murdered. Both of these leaders were active in the movement to increase Negro voting. Another leader, Gus Courts, who was active in the fight for increased Negro voting was shot in Belzoni, Mississippi on November 25, 1955 while conducting his business. In his testimony before a subcommittee of the Senate on February 28, 1957, Reverend Courts testified that a member of the White Citizens Councils came to his store the morning following the murder of Reverend Lee and told him in effect that Reverend Lee had been murdered by whites for refusing to take his name off the voting register. Reverend Courts told the committee that the White Citizens Councils' representative warned him that "if you don't go down and get your name off the register, you are going to be next."[2] The Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership charged that both Reverend Lee and Reverend Courts had been shot because of their NAACP activities and their efforts to get Negroes to vote.[3]

In his appearance before the House subcommittee, Governor Coleman of Mississippi testified that intensive, though unsuccessful, efforts were being made to locate the persons who shot Reverend Lee and Reverend Courts. The governor was firm in his statement that as of the date of his testimony Mississippi officials had no knowledge as to the identity of the criminals. Speaking for the entire state, the governor assured the subcommittee and the nation that: "There is no discrimination in Mississippi as to voting. . . . that intimidation is often talked about, but is a figment of the imagination. It is a product of fantasy."[4] While his testimony stressed the absence of overt violence

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[1]Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi, pp. 186-198.

[2]Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, Civil Rights Hearings, 1957, p. 533.

[3]Southern School News, April, 1956.

[4]House Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, Civil Rights Hearings, 1957, p. 735.

during the preceding year, the governor clearly and firmly took the position that the instances of violence during 1955 were unconnected with the attempts by whites to eliminate Negro political participation. When questioned as to the reason for the sharp decline in voting during the 1955 primary, where according to his estimate approximately 8,000 Negroes voted out of an estimated 22,000 registered, the governor said the failure of 14,000 of the registered Negroes to pay their poll tax was the explanation. He stated that this explanation was the "only answer I can give" and the one which the facts support.[1] Contrary to reports from other sources,[2] the governor expressed the opinion that hundreds of Negroes are currently registering in many counties,[3] and stated that he knew he was correct in saying more rather than fewer Negroes are registered currently than in 1954.[4]

Governor Coleman's general and rather encomiastic picture of conditions as they relate to Negro voting in Mississippi has been challenged in several quarters. The most impressive and authoritative evidence which has been advanced to refute his testimony comes from Negroes in the state who are firsthand observers or victims of the political suppression which they protest. Commenting on Governor Coleman's testimony to the effect that there is no intimidation or violence in Mississippi today by whites seeking to deprive Negroes of their right to vote, Reverend Gus Courts stated:

> I understand that Governor Coleman, of Mississippi, when testifying before the House Judiciary subcommittee last week said that he assumed that failure to pay poll taxes was one of the reasons why the Negro vote had been reduced. The governor knows that this is not so. I now tell this committee that the Negro vote in Mississippi has been reduced because of intimidation, violence, and fraud on the part of those who operate the election machinery and their associates.[5]

After Governor Coleman had made similar assurances in 1956 to the effect that Negroes were not being denied their constitutional rights in Mississippi, the Mississippi

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[1] Ibid., p. 738. [2] Delta Democrat-Times, May 6, 1956.

[3] House Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, Civil Rights Hearings, 1957, p. 738.

[4] Ibid., p. 735.

[5] Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, Civil Rights Hearings, 1957, p. 534. See also the testimony of Reverend W. D. Ridgeway of Hattiesburg, Mississippi in the same hearings. Ibid., p. 564.

Regional Council of Negro Leadership adopted a Resolution in opposition to the governor's statement. The Resolution said in part:

> We further deplore the effort put forth by Governor Coleman to give the outside world the impression that there is a tranquil state of race relations in Mississippi. Nothing has been done by our Governor or the legislature to correct the existing evils against Negro citizens.
>
> As long as the 986,000 Negroes in Mississippi are denied their God-given American rights in the fields of education, voting and justice, there will be no tranquil era in Mississippi.
>
> It is therefore incumbent upon our governor to recognize this situation and know that there is unrest among the Negroes in Mississippi.[1]

In April, 1957, the Regional Council of Negro Leadership repeated its criticism of Governor Coleman for giving an erroneous impression to persons outside the state respecting the peace and tranquillity which allegedly exists between the races in Mississippi.[2]

Following Governor Coleman's testimony before the House subcommittee on February 6, 1957, the Mississippi State Council of Branches of the NAACP directed a letter to the subcommittee chairman, Congressman Emanuel Celler. The letter, dated February 10, 1957, contained the following statement.

> The executive committee of the NAACP conference branches on Mississippi meeting in Jackson today wish to call your attention to a few facts that citizens of Mississippi of Negro extraction have experienced that the representatives of our fair State evidently do not know or have not reported. First, many counties would not allow Negroes to pay poll tax which is a requirement for voting. No. 2, many counties would not allow Negroes to register if they paid the poll tax--counties such as [sic] Forrest, Clark, Jefferson Davis, and so forth. No. 3, many counties would not allow Negroes to vote if even they have waived the many technicalities and other means to prevent them from registering --Humphrey[s] County is an example. No. 4, economic pressure is applied to Negroes who dare advocate freedom for all people. No. 5, murder of Rev. G. W. Lee, Mr. Lamar Smith, and the attempted murder of Mr. Gus Coats[Courts] is the result of their effort to get Negroes to vote. No.6, Negro schoolteachers in Mississippi must swear in effect that they don't want full freedom to hold their job[s] No. 7, police brutality has increased on the State, county, and city levels since the Supreme Court school desegregation decision which in our opinion is another form of intimidation. No. 8, under the State laws as they are administered it is impossible for Negroes to get justice under the law in civil rights in the right-to-vote cases by reason of the above-stated facts. We urge the passage of all civil-rights bill[s] before Congress as the only means by which Negroes in Mississippi may attain that freedom that all men cherish.[3]

All nonvoting among Mississippi Negroes is not a result of lawlessness and coercion

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[1] Southern School News, May, 1956.

[2] Ibid., May, 1957.

[3] House Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, Civil Rights Hearings, 1957, pp. 1217-1218.

by whites. One factor is political apathy. This, of course, is a general American affliction which appears in an especially severe form in the South. It is a disease to which Negroes are not immune. The seriousness of the problem of political apathy among Negroes in the state is indicated by the failure of many of them to register and vote in cities such as Jackson, Meridian, and Greenville, where, as was pointed out earlier, few, if any, serious deterrents to Negro political participation are imposed. No particularly profound analysis is necessary to distill at least two causal factors in this apathy. The historical exclusion of Negroes from politics has contributed to their failure to exploit the ballot. A second factor, related to the first, is the fear born of experience and intimate knowledge of the possible penalties Negroes may suffer in some sections of the state when they assert their claims as citizens.

Factors Promotive of Negro Voting

As of this writing the future of the Negro voter in Mississippi does not appear bright. There are, however, some specific factors which have contributed to the present level of Negro voting, however low, and may raise the level in the future. After checking the relationship between the presence of urban areas in counties and the extent of Negro registration in the same counties, Barnes concluded that "the distribution of qualified Negro electors about the state seems to be the same as the location of large cities within the state with but a few exceptions."[1] Conversely, where the number of Negroes is small, the level of voting is likely to be appreciably higher. Recent federal censuses have revealed a steady decline in Negro population, and this has caused some persons to conclude that the Negro vote under the influence of this population trend will increase because whites will no longer fear political domination by Negroes. United States census data reveal that there were 38 Mississippi counties in 1900 with more Negroes than whites. In 1940 there were 35 such counties, and in 1950 there were 31. If this trend continues, Barnes estimates that there will be only 17 of the state's 82 counties with Negro majorities in 1960. He predicts a steady increase in Negro voting in Mississippi due to his

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[1] Barnes, "Negro Voting in Mississippi," p. 39.

anticipation of a steady decline in the Negro population.[1]

There is some evidence that projections of a declining Negro population for Mississippi and the assumptions based on it may be faulty. Post-1950 population data for the state, as calculated by Dr. Harold Pedersen of Mississippi State College, show that the total population of the state has declined since 1950; and the percentage of Negro population has increased from its estimated low of 42 per cent in 1952 to 46 per cent in 1956. In an article analyzing and summarizing this population data, the following summary was given:

> On the basis of our estimates, the white civilian population in the state has decreased from 1,175,000 to 1,124,000 from April 1, 1950 to July 1, 1956. There are nine counties in which the white population shows an increase whereas the nonwhite population shows a decrease. There are 16 counties where the white population shows a decrease and the nonwhite population shows an increase. Finally, there are 32 counties in which the decrease in the white population is greater than the decrease in the nonwhite population.[2]

Obviously, Dr. Pedersen's data, if valid, means an increase in the percentage of Negroes in the state. Such an increase may intensify efforts by whites to block Negro voting.

One of the main stimuli to Negro voting in Mississippi since 1945 has been the work of organizations within the state comprised exclusively or predominantly of Negroes. In Mississippi, as elsewhere in the South, the NAACP has played an important role in stimulating Negro registration. Mississippi was one of the few states where, in a small number of towns, political clubs preceded NAACP branches.[3] Under vigorous, able, and responsible leadership the NAACP in Mississippi has been most active in prompting Negroes to register and providing legal protection in cases of conflict. The very presence of the organization has been a source of comfort to many of the state's citizens who entertain little real expectation of justice at the hands of many of the state's public officials. NAACP membership in Mississippi was estimated by the Jackson Daily News at 25,000 on July 25, 1955.[4] Some indication of the current work of the organization under Medgar

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[1] Ibid., p. 58.

[2] Harold A. Pedersen and Leila H. Thomas, "Estimated Population Trends, '50-'56", Mississippi Farm Research, IV, No. 4 (April, 1957), 4-5.

[3] Heard, A Two-Party South?, p. 191.

[4] Barnes, "Negro Voting in Mississippi," p. 53.

W. Evers, field secretary of the NAACP in Mississippi, has been given earlier in this discussion.

In 1946, the nonpartisan Mississippi Progressive Voters League was organized.[1] There seems to have been close collaboration between the League and the NAACP in stimulating Negro registration in the early years following the Smith v. Allwright decision. The president of the League told the Senate subcommittee investigating Senator Bilbo that the complaint against the Senator had been co-sponsored by the Jackson branch of the NAACP and the Progressive Voters League.[2] By 1947 there were 12 chapters of the League throughout the state. Since then the number of chapters has fluctuated, but the work of the League in prompting Negroes to register has been steady. The Jackson chapter has launched a determined drive to increase Negro registration in that city from 4,000 to 25,000, according to James A. White, the chapter president.[3]

The Mississippi Negro Democrats Association was founded by the editor and publisher of the leading Negro newspaper in the state, Percy Greene. This organization has endeavored to encourage Negroes to register and to vote, and it is also committed to the support of the principles of the Democratic party. While Editor Greene pioneered in the Negro vote fight in 1946 and has consistently sought to encourage Negro voting in the state since that time, he is a severe critic of the NAACP. Neither the Negro Democrats Association nor the Progressive Voters League is a firmly knit state-wide organization. Both seem to operate through local autonomous chapters in a few of the state's communities.

Currently one of the most important organizations of Negroes working to stimulate Negro voting in the state, as well as effect other advances, is the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership. Under the presidency of Dr. T. M. R. Howard in 1955, this organization claimed to be Mississippi's largest Negro civic group with 4,000 members in

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[1] Heard, A Two-Party South?, p. 191.

[2] Senate Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures, Campaign Expenditures Hearings, 1946, p. 23.

[3] Southern School News, December, 1956.

42 of the state's 82 counties.[1] It ranks close to the NAACP in the state today in its importance as an agency working to secure and protect the exercise of their constitutional rights by Negroes. The work of these three state-wide Negro organizations has been supplemented by the activities of fraternal orders and local civic and business clubs. The educative and stimulating role of an increasing number of Negro ministers has sharpened Negro political interest in registering and voting.[2]

Perhaps the two most important forces operative today which tend to increase Negro political participation in Mississippi originate outside the state. One of these is the force of national and world opinion which is quite out of sympathy with the efforts of Southern whites to maintain their "cherished traditions" at such great cost to the Negro in freedom, opportunity, and dignity. Writing in Hodding Carter's Delta Democrat-Times, John Herbers said that: "Bars against Negro voting, against his right to participate in the functions of government is the point outsiders always find the most shocking about the Southern way of life despite its sanction by white officials all the way up to the top."[3] The impact of this clash between the national conscience and the strategy and practices of white supremacy within the state has tended to liberalize the attitudes of some of the state's white citizens respecting Negro voting.[4]

In view of the present complexion of the problem of Negro voting in Mississippi, the most effective existent and potential stimulus to Negro voting is the threat of or actual federal investigation and prosecution of whites who may be involved in depriving Negroes of their right to vote. Historically, federal intervention and protection, or the prospect of them, have been the chief sources of the establishment of the Negroes' legal right to vote. The estimated 50 per cent increase in Negro registration in the year following the federal investigation of Bilbo's 1946 campaign has been noted. One of the most informed persons on the current posture of this problem in Mississippi writes on

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[1] Southern School News, May 4, 1955.

[2] Barnes, "Negro Voting in Mississippi," pp. 52-53.

[3] Delta Democrat-Times, October 21, 1956.

[4] Barnes, "Negro Voting in Mississippi," pp. 28-29.

this point that: "In recent years investigation of activities tending to restrict Negro suffrage has been made or threatened by agents of the Federal Government; this has tended to make some of the circuit clerks less anxious to take part in such activities. This has, naturally, tended to increase the ease with which Negroes may register."[1] The inefficacy of present federal statutory authority to protect the right of suffrage for Negroes in the South generally was stated clearly by Assistant United States Attorney General Warren Olney III as follows: "Under present laws, . . . the Justice Department cannot prosecute until a voter has been denied the right to vote on Election Day. It cannot take civil action in advance against individual acts or conspiracies to deprive citizens of their voting rights."[2] Many of the civil rights bills introduced in the present session of the Congress provide that the Attorney General of the United States shall have the power to go before federal judges in civil actions and seek temporary or permanent injunctive relief against private persons or officials undertaking to deprive Negroes of the right to vote. In his appearance before the Senate subcommittee on February 14, 1957, Attorney General Brownell, in support of the so-called administration's civil rights bill, urged congressional enactment of such legislation as a method of equipping the national government with the power to give the Fifteenth Amendment real meaning and vitality.[3]

In such a situation as exists in Mississippi today, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that the most acutely needed instrument through which Negro voting in Mississippi can be appreciably increased in the immediate future is the enactment of congressional legislation authorizing injunctive proceedings in federal courts against individual acts or conspiracies to deprive Negro citizens of the right to vote.

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[1] Barnes, "Negro Voting in Mississippi," p. 28.

[2] New York Times, October 25, 1956.

[3] Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, Civil Rights Hearings, 1957, p. 3.

Rec'd 3/31/64

COPY

March 28, 1964

Dr. Martin M. Volz
Dean, School of Law
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Volz:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing herewith a preliminary draft of my report on Louisville, which will probably be of interest to you.

I will be grateful for any corrections or comment that may occur to you.

I enjoyed meeting you in Louisville and appreciate the help given me by you and Mr. Tydings.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

COPY

March 28, 1964

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Chairman, Dept. Of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Here is the preliminary draft of my report. I Hope you will be kind enough to give me your corrections and comment.

With renewed thanks.

Sincerely,

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40208

SCHOOL OF LAW
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

April 2, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Post Office Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of the preliminary draft of your report on Louisville.

It is excellently written, comprehensive, and as far as I know, completely accurate. It is the best thing that has been written about our race relations situation in Louisville. I have only these suggestions to make.

In the second page in the second paragraph, I believe that your use of the word "barred" in the third sentence may be a little too strong. Our Religious Committee Group has worked hard on this problem and I am rather sure that a Negro would be welcome to attend almost any church in town, and in many instances would be welcomed as a member. Also, on page 34 I believe that 1954 should be 1964.

Delete sentence. B.M

Our commission is about to publish a report on Negro unemployment and ~~over~~ under-employment which may include information which you do not now have. Also, we have prepared a preliminary draft of our second annual report which will be available soon. When compared with your 1962-63 report it shows the extent of progress made during the past year. I will remind Mansir Tydings to send you a copy of all of this new material.

We are most grateful to you for an excellent and objective reporting job.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Marlin M. Volz

Marlin M. Volz
Dean

MMV:sfs

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

LWD

LOUISVILLE'S HANDLING OF ITS RACE RELATIONS PROBLEM

~~Population~~ Louisville, ~~Kentucky.~~

Population

	1950	1960
Total	369,129	390,639
Negro	57,772	70,447
Per cent Negro	15.65	18.03

The Situation in Brief

The city of Louisville, Kentucky, has made notable progress in the elimination of race discrimination, with a minimum of turmoil and with the evident approval of a substantial majority of its citizens of both races. Of its four ~~major~~ mean desegregation hurdles -- public schools, public accommodations, employment, and housing -- it may be said that the first two have been practically surmounted in that city, the third is being approached with some visible success, and the fourth is the object of an intensive and imaginative and a hopeful effort.

The situation in Louisville has many shortcomings from the standpoint of human understanding and interracial justice. Race prejudice is still present in varying degrees among a majority of that city's white population. ~~The~~ A white cab driver, ~~who took me to the University of Louisville campus~~ ~~was~~ a fat, oldish, talkative individual, ~~I remarked:~~

"I'm in Louisville to study race relations here. I understand they are very good."

~~Without further comment from me he~~ launched upon a lengthy monologue from which the following is quoted:

"Negroes? Yes we're getting along all right. They can go into almost any place now. But I don't see many of them doing it. Some of them get dressed up and go into the big hotels and restaurants and nobody pays any attention. But the little places don't let them in. They haven't got strong enough locks on their doors. Negroes would ransack the place. Every one of them will steal. Every Negro you see on the street has got a knife or a razor in his pocket, maybe a gun. Did you ever see a Negro drunk? I've seen lots of them -- mean, big-mouthed.... But I ain't got nothing against them, and the way it is they can't do much harm."

This man's ~~concepts~~ views are shared by a substantial element of Louisville's population -- though many would express them differently or not at all. Negroes are excluded from country clubs and civic clubs. ~~They are barred from an estimated two thirds of the city's white Protestant~~ churches. White families tend to move away from neighborhoods where Negro families are moving in. Few white people are willing to dine with Negroes in a public place, and only a rare handful invite Negroes to their homes. Much subtle discrimination is practiced. Some Negro leaders say that "integration is a farce in Louisville."

Nevertheless, race prejudice may be said to be <u>contained</u> in this city. It is viewed by the community leadership as an evil to be combatted, and it is being combatted steadily and with increasing effectiveness. The interracial behavior

pattern keeps almost entirely within the bounds of order and decorum. Discrimination on account of race is frowned upon in principle -- though still far from being eliminated in practice; it is recognized even by many prejudiced people as inconsistent with Christian and American ideals and out of keeping with the changing order. New advances in racial integration are accepted cheerfully on the whole by the public. The city administration and the economic "power structure" are firmly behind a movement of civil-rights advance, which, not only has registered exceptional accomplishments, but is moving on to further progress.

Basic in the Louisville effort is a consciousness that this social change cannot be accomplished by a few dramatic steps, but demands a massive and continuous undertaking, with the dedicated efforts of many groups and individuals. In efforts of this kind the city is well served. In the private sector, a number of organizations are active -- the ~~major~~ numerous so-called "Negro" civil rights organizations and many other groups concerned with human relations. Several hundred individuals, in biracial organizations or independently, are giving much of their time to this cause. Yet the role of the public sector in race-relations reform has been particularly striking in Louisville. To an unusual degree initiative has come from the public school administration, mayors, aldermen, the police department, and other city officials and agencies. Since May, 1962, an official Louisville

Human Relations Commission has marshaled a massive private effort in this field.

Background and Chronology

Though Kentucky is not one of the eleven states which formed the Southern Confederacy, it is the border state most commonly regarded as Southern. If that identification is less pronounced today than it was eight years ago, the change is largely due to Kentucky's progress in adjusting to the new order in race relations. Of the state's metropolis, it is sometimes said that "Louisville has integrated itself out of the South."

In 1956, at a time when hostility in the South to the Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation was at its height, the public schools of Louisville were desegregated in a sweeping manner and without disorder. The late Omer Carmichael, the able and courageous superintendent of schools, to whom the feat was largely due, later collaborated with Weldon James, of the Louisville Courier-Journal, in producing a valuable book, The Louisville Story (Simon and Schuster) telling how it was done.

These writers noted that Louisville "long has had a strong two-party system, with a healthy balance of independent-minded voters." (However, Louisville elected its first Republican mayor in 28 years in 1961.) But the book added: "Politics aside, Louisville has faced the South since 1865. Its customs and its outlook have been almost professionally Southern...."

At the same time the atmosphere in Louisville for a generation has been one of exceptional tolerance, moving toward liberalism, in race relations. This trend has been immeasurably aided by the city's two ~~great~~ excellent newspapers (under joint ownership), the morning Courier-Journal and the afternoon Louisville Times, and the administration and faculty of the University of Louisville have exercised a ~~significantly~~ constructive influence.

Louisville elected the first Negro member of the Kentucky legislature, Charles Anderson, in 1934, and the first Negro member of the city's board of aldermen, Eugene S. Clayton, in 1945. Negro alderman William W. Beckett in 1955 served as Acting Mayor of Louisville. Two Negroes, James E. Smith and Arthur Johnson, are among Louisville's representatives in the state legislature now, and two, Mrs. Louise Reynolds and Russell Lee, sit on its board of aldermen, while a Negro, Woodford R. Porter, is a member of its board of education, having served last year as its president. A distinguished Louisville Negro, Dr. C. H. Parrish, of the University of Louisville, was recently appointed to the 50-member Kentucky Constitutional Revision Assembly.

The following moves preceded the 1956 school desegregation:

1948: The Louisville Free Public Library (downtown unit) was opened to Negroes. (The library branches were opened to Negroes in 1952. Since 1959, a Negro lady, Mrs. Barbara S. Miller, has served as director of children's work for the public library system.)

1950: The new Louisville Catholic college, Bellarmine, was opened to Negroes as well as whites, and Negroes were

Negroes have served on the library board, all other important municipal boards, Tax Reform Commission, & 1962-1963 Citizens Committee on Public Schools.

admitted to graduate study at the University of Louisville. The Louisville police were provided with a manual to promote racial tolerance and impartiality.

1951: Negro undergraduates were admitted to the University of Louisville.

1952. Public golf courses were desegregated following court action.

1953: The General Hospital School of Nursing was opened to Negro girls. Mayor Andrew Broaddus in his inaugural statement announced in January 1954 that city jobs would be open to all qualified applicants without regard to race.

1955: City swimming pools were integrated, quietly and without prior public notice.

1957: The Municipal Housing Commission announced desegregation of its housing projects. Some downtown hotels desegregated partially.

1958: Early ~~Negro~~ sit-ins resulted in the desegregation of lunch counters in a few downtown variety stores.

The civil rights movement received new impetus with the wave of sit-ins which began in the South during the spring of 1960 and reached spectacular proportions in Louisville in 1961.

Louisville has long been free from the type of demagogic appeal to race prejudice which has plagued many Southern cities, and the race question in that sense has not for a generation been an issue in Louisville politics. It figured, however, in a positive sense in the city election of 1961. Although steady progress had been made under three Democratic

administrations, a belief that Republican candidates were more committed to take a leap forward in the fight against race discrimination was a factor in the election of a Republican mayor and board of aldermen. After the election, William S. ~~Milbourne,~~ Milburn the defeated Democratic candidate for mayor, then president of the board of aldermen, commented aptly: "We came along at the end of an era and got squeezed in the gap when it closed."

Three months after taking office, on March 27, 1962, with the backing of Mayor William O. Cowger, the board of aldermen unanimously adopted an ordinance setting up a Louisville Human Relations Commission. On May 14, 1963, the board of aldermen adopted an ordinance, submitted by the Commission, banning discrimination in places of public accommodation.

School Desegregation

Although the problem of school desegregation was met with sensational success in 1956, it is appropriate to glance briefly at the school situation in Louisville today.

Of the 50,249 pupils in the city's public schools, 19,366, or 38.5 ~~per cent~~ %, are Negroes. The number of pupils attending integrated schools is 41,490, or 82.6 ~~per cent~~ % of the total. Only 8.6 ~~per cent~~ % of the pupils are in all-white schools, 12.5 ~~per cent~~ % in all-Negro schools. The figures tend to give an exaggerated impression of the extent of integration, since three predominantly white schools have only one Negro each in attendance and two predominantly Negro schools have each enrolled only one white pupil. However, 58 of the 71

public schools are integrated and the racial balance is generally substantial.

"De facto" segregation, now a subject of controversy in many cities, is present in Louisville in a number of instances, but it is mitigated in a sense by a liberal transfer privilege. Transfers are granted by informal arrangement within the capacities of the schools and with ~~due~~ regard for the preferences and conveniences of other parents and children. Transfers are not permitted to crowd out any pupils in the residential area of a school. Pupils are not "bussed across town", however, to achieve a racial balance in schools, or for any other reason; except in unusual cases, free transportation is not provided for a pupil attending a school outside ~~of~~ his district of residence.

The transfer privilege does not ~~on balance~~ markedly diminish the racial ~~un~~imbalance in schools, but it permits some freedom of choice for both white and colored pupils. It may affect the racial balance either way, and whites and Negroes both contribute to the degree of de facto segregation that results from it. Louisville's Central High School, in a heavily Negro residential area, is a conspicuous case in point. The handful of whites living in its neighborhood generally send their children to another school. At the same time, Central High, ~~which is~~ one of Louisville's newest and best ~~high~~ schools, is especially popular with Negroes and draws Negro pupils from outside ~~of~~ its attendance district.

At present 127 Negro teachers are serving in integrated faculties, and nine Negro principals preside over biracial

schools. Two Negroes serve as supervisors in the central office of the public school administration.

The racial pattern of the public school system is not a source of serious complaint among Negroes nor a part of their agenda of protest in Louisville.

The public schools of adjoining Jefferson County were also desegregated in 1956, as were the Roman Catholic parochial schools of the Louisville area. The Catholic school enrollment is approximately 28 ~~per cent~~ % of the total school population of city and county. The Louisville school district census shows 16,472 pupils enrolled in private and parochial schools. The integration of Negro teachers in the Catholic schools has presented a special problem due to the difficulty of obtaining qualified Negro lay personnel at the low compensation offered and the lack of Negro nuns, but seven Negro lay teachers are now employed.

The Sit-Ins and the Louisville Police

A few sit-ins which occurred in the latter half of 1960 and the large scale Negro drive to open places of public accommodation which came in March, 1961, were both a part of the new wave of Negro militancy and a reflection of impatience on the part of Louisville Negroes with many aspects of race discrimination. They resulted in the opening of 200 previously white-only eating places to Negroes, and caused the city to come to grips with the race problem in many of its ramifications.

The 1961 protest demonstrations, which were staged almost daily for several weeks and sporadically for a longer period, took a variety of forms of marching, picketing, and sitting in. Scuffles occurred with police seeking to prevent obstruction of traffic and flagrant disorder, and with some white hoodlums. An estimated 1,000 arrests were made, but, many being arrested repeatedly, the number of individuals arrested was fewer than 500. The cases of all the demonstrators arrested were ~~promptly~~ dismissed after negotiations. White harassment of the demonstrators was largely confined to a handful of youths who made repeated attempts to break the Negro picket line at an amusement park. A dozen of these whites were arrested and several were fined.

Massive Negro protest demonstrations were a new phenomenon for the Louisville police force, but its performance in this crisis is not a source of serious complaint in retrospect even in Negro quarters. (The behavior of some privately employed security officers aroused more criticism.) In routine law enforcement pains have been taken to school the city's police force in the avoidance of race discrimination, and it has made an important, though little publicized, contribution to the peaceful progress of Louisville in adjustment to the new order.

The Division of Police, in 1950, published a hard-cover, 129-page manual, ~~en~~titled <u>Principles of Police Work with Minority Groups</u>. Adapted from a Chicago manual prepared by Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, Chairman of the Illinois Division of Corrections, the book contains a comprehensive and scholarly discussion of the race problem. It explodes some of the myths upon

which race prejudice is often based, and then directs that whatever "personal theories on race relations" he may have, the officer must be completely impartial in the performance of his duties. The manual is still in regular use. For example, Colonel William E. Bender, Chief of Police, ~~informed me~~ commented that "15 recruits are studying it now."

~~The manual project arose from a study instituted by Col. David A. McCandless, Director of Public Safety.~~ Col. McCandless ~~resigned following its completion to become~~ became director of the Southern Police Institute, sponsored by the University of Louisville. Three representatives of the Louisville police force attend each of the four seminars held annually by the Institute.

Negroes have served as policemen in Louisville for 35 years. Thirty-eight Negroes are now on the force, one of them being a lieutenant and four of them sergeants.

Places of Public Accommodation

A few restaurants, drug stores, lunch counters, and hotels in Louisville were already serving Negroes along with whites in the late 1950's, but segregation was the general rule. Attention was drawn to the practice in an embarrassing manner by an incident which occurred in December, 1958, when Mrs. Iris King, the mayor of Kingston, Jamaica, visited that city as a guest of the State Department. Mrs. King stayed in the presidential suite at the Sheraton Hotel and received generally VIP treatment. But a local drug store refused to serve her a cup of coffee. She retired to

(Insert as second paragraph Page 11)

The manual project arose from a study instituted by Col.David A. McCandless, Director of Public ~~Safety~~ Safety, in 1948, following a conference with a delegation from the Urban League, ~~in 1948.~~ A biracial committee was set up in that year to plan for the training of Louisville police in the application of the ~~science~~ precepts of good race relations to police functioning. The committee included six representatives of the Police Division, two representatives of the Urban League, a professor of sociology from the Louisville Municipal College, and three members of the faculty of the University of Louisville. Many meetings were held by the committee before Dr.Lohman was called in as a consultant, and, after the resignation of Col. McCandless in January, 1950, it continued under the leadership of the new commissioner, John Moreman.

her hotel in tears, calling it a "gross insult." In the absence of Mayor Bruce Hoblitzell from the city, an administrative assistant expressed regret for the "unfortunate incident" -- which remained unfortunate nonetheless. An official of the drug store said its policy was to give "carry-out service only for colored customers" -- which made matters emphatically no better.

The determined Negro drive to bring discrimination to an end in places of public accommodation may be said to have begun in 1959, though direct action pressure was not resorted to on a significant scale until 1961. Many white community leaders, including the mayor and members of the board of aldermen, expressed sympathy with the Negro drive, but hoped the reform could be accomplished by voluntary action. These attitudes themselves ~~have~~ had prompted some voluntary desegregation here and there.

The late Charles W. Anderson, Jr., a distinguished Negro attorney and a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations Assembly, led a delegation of 35 Negroes and whites who visited Mayor Bruce Hoblitzell on January 4, 1960. Anderson praised Louisville's "excellent race relations, particularly as compared to other Southern and border cities" and urged the mayor to "take the lead in seeing that theaters, hotels, restaurants, stores, and other places of public service and accommodations cease to discriminate or segregate." Mayor Hoblitzell replied that Louisville had reached "a most enviable position" by its

race-relations accomplishment and that the city had done all that could be done to end discrimination in public facilities, but that "trying to force integration in private business is another matter."

The mayor re-assembled a long dormant biracial Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, which resumed monthly meetings. This Committee, which was headed by Dr. Philip W. Davidson, president of the University of Louisville, heard appeals for action by NAACP leaders and Unitarians for Social Action and invited representatives of affected businesses to discuss the possibility of lifting racial barriers voluntarily.

Meanwhile, on February 10, William W. Beckett, the only Negro member of the board of aldermen, introduced a proposed ordinance banning discrimination in theaters, hotels, and restaurants, but not in bars or taverns. After the City Law Department ruled that the city could "not pass any laws in conflict with constitutional guarantees of private property," the ordinance was rejected by voice vote. Alderman Clifford J. ~~Henry~~ HAURY, who had read the opinion, said: "I sincerely believe and hope that the good people of Louisville will iron out this problem voluntarily."

The Louisville Courier-Journal commented: "The issue was not squarely met ... the issue of further integration in Louisville is for the moment at a standstill. It could now move forward again, by voluntary choice of the community, or it could slip tragically backward...."

Alderman Beckett, insisting that a general lifting of racial barriers would not come by voluntary action, asked

State Attorney General John B. Breckinridge for an opinion on his ordinance. A few weeks later the state attorney general ruled that "there is no conflict between the proposed ordinance and the Constitutions and laws of the United States and the Commonwealth, and the subject matter being within the police power of the state and the city of Louisville, it is our opinion that, if adopted, it would constitute a valid exercise of police power."

However, following a caucus at which letters and telegrams from opposing business men were read, the board of aldermen on March 22, by a vote of 11 to 1, approved the following resolution:

"We, the board of aldermen of the city of Louisville, are opposed to any ordinance which takes away the right of an owner of a private business to select his or its customers or clientele."

Beckett also urged the establishment of a human relations commission for the city, but this proposal was rejected by a vote of 11 to 1, opposing aldermen saying that it would "substantially duplicate the work of the state commission."

Alarmed at the continuing sit-ins in the South, the City Law Department now came forward with a proposed anti-trespassing ordinance. However, when this was vehemently opposed by Negro leaders, the city's two daily newspapers and others, both the police court prosecutor and Mayor Hoblitzell announced their opposition to it.

The biracial Louisville Ministerial Association took a strong stand against racial segregation in theaters and restaurants. It urged its members to seek voluntary desegregation by persuasion in personal contacts with business men, but it pledged support for a public accommodations ordinance should such efforts fail. The Mayor's Advisory Committee on Human Relations announced that it "considered any racial discrimination contrary to the public interest." Start p. 17 In conveying the Committee's finding to the board of aldermen, Mayor Hoblitzell expressed agreement, but reiterated his opposition to "any kind of force."

insert order

With the sit-ins and other pressures, considerable voluntary desegregation of places of public accommodation had taken place by the end of 1961, but Louisville Negroes were increasingly irked by the failure of the board of aldermen to adopt a public accommodations ordinance or set up a human relations commission. Numerous groups and individuals were now urging anti-discrimination legislation, including ~~significantly~~ several owners of segregated restaurants who felt the need of an ordinance to protect them from criticism and from competition when they should take the step.

The Louisville Human Relations Commission was finally set up in May, 1962. The ordinance establishing it was expressly aimed at the elimination of "discriminatory practices", and the Commission was directed to recommend "such legislation as may be necessary" for this purpose. The new commission, and the mayor himself, labored diligently -- and

The Mayor's Advisory Committee represented a stage in the groping toward an official body to deal with race relations, which had begun with the formation of an advisory group of religious leaders in 1958. ~~The~~ It ~~had been~~ ~~had been~~ ~~given~~ ~~was given~~ grew into a more formal status in May 1961, as the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, under the chairmanship of ~~Dr.~~ Philip W. Davidson, president of the University of Louisville.

with some success -- to bring about desegregation of still segregated places of public accommodation. A survey showed that 268 of 410 restaurants in the city had desegregated by early 1963.

However, on February 9, 1963, the Commission adopted a resolution saying: "It is now evident that voluntary efforts by themselves are not sufficient to effectively accomplish the purposes set forth in the ordinance which established the Commission. Therefore, the Commission has decided to recommend to the mayor and the board of aldermen, the passage of appropriate anti-discrimination legislation, the nature and scope of which will be determined in the near future." A sub-committee of the Commission's Legal Committee, including the chairman and the director of the City Law Department, went to work on an ordinance which was adopted by the board of aldermen on May 14, 1963, and signed by Mayor Cowger.

The ordinance was to run into legal difficulties and its status is not clear today, but the fact that a law had been passed banning segregation in places of public accommodation was effective in accelerating the desegregation of many ~~of the remaining segregated~~ establishments.

A survey made by the Human Relations Commission before the adoption of the ordinance in May found that accommodations in the chain and franchise category were "generally open with the exception of two establishments... under single local ownership." The Commission reported further:

1. Approximately 65% of all restaurants are integrated; of the remaining 35%, few seem likely to desegregate in the near future.

2. The better restaurants downtown accept the Negro as a patron, as do the short order cafes and chain store facilities.

3. The Negro will encounter segregation in the better restaurants in outlying areas.

4. Near his home, only one out of five restaurants will serve the Negro.

5. When he is served he is treated the same as a white person.

6. Whites seem indifferent to his presence in the restaurant and apparently are equally indifferent to his being refused service.

7. Most managers state their policy of segregation dispassionately.

Bowling lanes the Commission found to be "the most tightly closed category of services in Louisville." Privately-owned amusement parks, ice and roller skating rinks were "generally tightly closed." All downtown theaters and two of the three drive-ins within the city limits, but only a few of the neighborhood theaters, were integrated. The previously segregated Louisville Automobile Club, following conferences within the month, had begun actively to ~~actively~~ solicit Negro membership -- with the understanding that reservations could not be made in southern states.

The public accommodations ordinance (No. 66, Series 1963) became effective, 120 days after its passage, on September 12, 1963. Promptly at the lunch hour on September 12, a testing campaign began. Frank L. Stanley, Jr., ~~president~~ Chairman of Allied Organizations for Civil Rights and editor of the Louisville Defender, reported that within a few hours 73 Negroes, acting individually or as husband-and-wife teams, entered 49 restaurants "without objection or rejection." Restaurants "received Negroes courteously and served them promptly," Stanley said, adding: "These restaurants are to be congratulated, along with the bowlers association (the Bowling Proprietors' Association of Louisville) ... for their acceptance of desegregation." A total of 98 restaurants were visited in the initial testing period, with negative results in only three cases.

Four tavern operators, members of the Louisville Tavern Operators Association, filed suit in a circuit court asking that the authorities be restrained from enforcing the ordinance on the ground that "the plaintiffs have a constitutional right to restrict their customers to such (Start) page 21) persons as they see fit to serve, and to refuse service to anyone for any reason." The case is still in litigation, but to a large extent the ordinance has done its work. Although, pending the outcome of the litigation, the Commission is unable ~~at present~~ to enforce the punitive provisions of the ordinance, it is following the situation closely and several recalcitrant restaurants have been persuaded informally to comply with it. ~~Significantly,~~ In no instance has a restaurant, once desegregated, returned to the practice of barring Negroes.

The Human Relations Commission

We come now to an examination of the Louisville Human Relations Commission itself, its organizational structure and its program.

The ordinance establishing the Commission (No. 33, Series 1962) set forth the reasons for it and its purpose as follows:

> Whereas, the Board of Aldermen and the Mayor of the City of Louisville find that prejudice and the practice of discrimination against any individual or group because of race, creed, color, or national origin, is contrary to good public policy and detrimental to the peace, progress, and welfare of the City, and
>
> Whereas, the lack of full participation of any individual in the privileges of full membership in the community retards the progress of the community, and affects the general well-being of all its citizens,
>
> Whereas, for these reasons and to implement a constructive approach to the problems involved in improving inter-group and inter-racial relations leading to the elimination of discriminatory practices in the City,...

The commission was to be composed of ~~11~~ eleven residents (later increased to 15), appointed by the mayor, as "nearly as possible representative of the several social, economic, religious, cultural, ethnic and racial groups which comprise the population of the city of Louisville." No city official, elected or appointed, is eligible. Commission members serve, without compensation, for one year, except in the case of an

interim vacancy, when a member may be appointed to fill the unexpired term, and members are eligible for re-appointment for additional terms. The mayor designates the member to act as chairman. The Commission is required, with the approval of the mayor, to employ an executive director, whose compensation is fixed by the mayor.

The executive director, with the mayor's approval and within the limits of his budget, employs staff and fixes its compensation. The Commission was voted an initial annual operating budget of $25,000; its current operating budget is $26,055.80. It occupies offices in the Mayor's suite in City Hall, the only agency in such proximity to the city executive.

There is general ~~I found no dis~~satisfaction with the ~~general~~ plan embodied in Ordinance No. 33, a copy of which will be found in the appendix, but the chairman and others suggested that in principle it might be preferable to have Commission members appointed for staggered terms to insure greater continuity of experience and policy during changes of administration.

Of the original eleven members of the Commission, eight were white and three Negro. The enlarged 15-member body contains eleven white and four Negro members. In appointments to the Commission and to its various committees it is sought to have the three major faiths, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, represented in each group.

Dr. Marlin M. Volz, dean of the University of Louisville Law School, was designated chairman of the Commission. A

treasurer and a secretary and such other officers as are deemed necessary, are elected by the Commission. James A. Crumlin, a Negro attorney for the Kentucky NAACP, was chosen treasurer and Mrs. William Florsheim, secretary; the Rt. Rev. Alfred F. Horrigan, president of Bellarmine College, was elected vice-chairman. These three, together with the Rev. D. E. King, a Negro clergyman, form the Commission's executive committee.

Mansir Tydings, executive director of the Lincoln Foundation and a veteran of race relations work, was engaged as executive director of the Commission. His staff now consists of Arthur Evans, assistant executive director, and Mrs. Erma B. Coleman, secretary-treasurer. Both of these are Negroes.

In addition to the Commission a broad apparatus of Associated Committees was set up to carry forward the campaign against race discrimination in its many phases. During the summer of 1962 the Commission was chiefly engaged in enlisting community leaders to serve on these committees; by October 180 had rallied to the undertaking. Approximately 200, about evenly divided between whites and Negroes, are now serving. Committee members include the directors of the employment and housing committees of the NAACP and the executive director and two other members of the Urban League.

Eleven Associated Committees were formed to work in the following areas: Education, Employment, Housing, Public Accommodations, Supportive Community Organizations, Religious Groups, Institutions and Agencies, Professional Advisory

(legal), Programming, Research, and Communications. Associated Committee appointments are made by a letter from the mayor in each case, after informal consultation. Following the adoption of Ordinance No. 66, the Public Accommodations Committee was replaced by an Anti-Discrimination Division. The Research Committee was also later replaced by a General Advisory Committee, and the Institutions and Agencies Committee has been dissolved, some of its members being transferred to other committees, while a new Women's Committee for Civil Rights has been formed.

The Commission meets regularly once a month, and its executive committee meets on call. The Associated Committees have regular monthly meeting days, and sometimes meet more often; with the exception of the General Advisory Committee, which meets semi-annually with the Commission and the Associated Committees for an overall review of the Commission's work, ~~though~~ Its members are available for counsel at other times. A newspaper reporter attends every Commission meeting.

seems, however, to be

One is likely to be skeptical of a system which relies upon so many citizens to engage without compensation in any sustained altruistic endeavor. ~~I concluded, however, after conversation with many members, and attendance at one meeting, that~~ The Associated Committees plan working. It may be the most valuable feature of Louisville's effort in the race-relations field. Not all committee members are active; ~~I gather that~~ about half of them give little time

to this work. But the fact that ~~two hundred~~ 200 respected citizens are committed in this manner to the elimination of race discrimination is a powerful influence. An estimated ~~one hundred~~ 100 Associated Committee members are very active indeed; they are rendering unflagging service in the many complex and often delicate phases of the battle against discrimination.

Actually, the ideal of interracial justice tends to make crusaders out of many who are imbued with it, but a dynamic and infectious enthusiasm on the part of its leaders is essential to the cohesion and success of so large a group of volunteers. This quality ~~are~~ is not lacking among the leaders of the Louisville Human Relations ~~Council~~ Commission. ~~They are~~ It is present to a superlative degree in Dr. Volz, its chairman. Mr. Tydings brings also to the position of executive director a high degree of good-humored tact, which his duties of administrator and negotiator require.

When an official human relations agency is set up by a city or state government, the suspicion often arises that it is for appearances only and that it may be used even to frustrate Negro objectives. ~~I cannot find that~~ This view is not seriously held of the Louisville Commission in any quarter. As elsewhere, Negro leaders in Louisville are reluctant to express satisfaction with, or even approval of, the accomplishments of their community in civil rights. It is considered bad form or un-militant. "Moderates" are unpopular among many Negroes. However, ~~I find that~~ even aggressive

Negro leaders agree privately that Louisville is making exceptional progress in civil rights, that "the thing is moving" in that city. The Louisville Human Relations Commission, they say, is "making an honest effort." Lyman T. Johnson, president of the Louisville chapter of the NAACP and a veteran of civil rights struggles, is ~~more frank~~ less reserved than most in this regard and is sometimes labeled a "moderate" for that reason. Johnson was active in earlier demonstrations, but has used his influence to prevent further demonstrations since the work of the Commission has gotten under way.

The establishing ordinance gave the Commission a scope broad enough to embrace the objectives of civil rights organizations themselves. Its charter said: "The Commission shall cooperate with Federal, state and other city agencies in an effort to develop harmonious inter-group and inter-racial relations and shall endeavor to enlist the support of civic, religious, labor, industrial and commercial groups and civic leaders dedicated to the improvement of inter-group and inter-racial relations and the elimination of discriminatory practices." Louisville thus recognized this endeavor as a matter of concern to the city, and it has brought the civil rights movement largely into the framework of public administration.

After the completion of the organizational structure of the Commission and its Associated Committees, late in 1962, a word should be said about the manner of its embarking upon its task. According to its first-year report, "in

less than six months the Associated Committees had held 76 meetings. The Commission had had 27 meetings, of which 16 were with groups of citizens interested in knowing more about the Commission's objectives, as well as with business groups whose cooperation was sought for the removal of discriminatory practices. There were meetings with the Louisville Restaurant Association, theater-owners, proprietors of bowling lanes, directors of secretarial schools, and similar groups. In a number of instances, the mayor has participated personally, applying the prestige of his office and his convictions, by writing letters, by issuing invitations to conferences, and by leading discussions in several of the meetings."

In establishing its alliance with private human-relations groups and agencies, the Commission's report continued: "A series of weekly conferences were held with individuals and with representatives of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, Inc., the Lincoln Foundation, Inc., Louisville Urban League, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Kentucky Civil Liberties Union, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Conference of Jewish Organizations, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the American Friends Service Committee. Members of these organizations now actively participate as members of the Associated Committees...."

To learn from the experience of other similar bodies, the Commission devoted one full meeting to a conference

with the executive directors of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee of Cincinnatti and the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights. On February 9, 1963, there was held at the University of Louisville an all-day work-shop meeting of the Commission and its Associated Committees, attended also by the mayor and nine members of the board of aldermen. The executive director of the Kansas City Human Relations Commission served as a consultant at this meeting. Incidentally, all of the committees of the work-shop, on the basis of their experience in seeking voluntary action, recommended suitable legislation for the removal of racial barriers.

The Commission has since settled down to a routine of operation -- or as much of "settling-down" and as much of "routine" as the dynamic and changing situation permits. ~~For~~ The more we delve into the problem of race relations, the more we are impressed with its magnitude and complexity. As the Commission's report said, "the more there is of personal involvement in this important task, the more it is apparent that there is much yet to be done."

Employment

A number of observers remarked that "the Commission is doing its best job in the employment field."

The public sector had already a good record in the matter of equal employment opportunity when the Commission was established. Apart from the integrated school administration, 23 ~~per cent~~ % of the city department jobs are held by Negroes and only about half of these are employed in non-skilled

capacities. The police and fire departments are both integrated. The mayor's receptionist is a Negro lady. Judge J. Earl Dearing, who presides over the night court division of the police court, is a Negro and a former NAACP president. Charles J. Lunderman, Jr., assistant city attorney, and James A. Crumlin, traffic court prosecutor, are both Negroes. Other Negroes in public office in Louisville were mentioned earlier.

It is in the field of employment in private business now that the most intensive efforts are being made and most conspicuous results are being accomplished. In this endeavor a busy and efficient Louisville Urban League, under the able direction of Charles T. Steele, collaborates closely and constantly with the Commission and its Employment Committee.

~~One day last year a department store manager discovered accidentally that a Negro operating his elevator was a college graduate. He moved the young lady to his bookkeeping department, where her services have been highly satisfactory.~~ The Commission and the Urban League have been busy identifying Negroes in the ranks of elevator operators, janitors, and even floor-sweepers who are qualified for employment at higher levels, and ~~it has~~ have been successful in securing the upgrading of many.

The Commission recently conducted a survey of employment integration in 26 leading stores, whose owners + managers were 1963 officers + directors of the Retail Merchants Association + the Retail division of the Chamber of Commerce. ~~the members of the chamber of commerce merchants' committee being selected for the purpose.~~ These 26 stores employ a total of 3,304

persons, of whom 396 ~~393~~, or 11.7% ~~approximately 12 per cent~~, are Negroes. Of the latter, 299, or 75.5% ~~approximately 76 per cent~~, are employed in the humble capacities in which Negroes traditionally served; 97 ~~94~~, or 24.5% ~~per cent~~, now have supervisory or other superior positions. In non-traditional job categories, figures were reported ~~The positions of the upgraded Negro employees are listed~~ as follows: department manager, three ~~3~~; sales supervisor, one ~~1~~; maintenance shop foreman, three ~~3~~; ~~sales supervisor, 1~~ bookkeeper, one ~~1~~; cashier, one ~~1~~; office or clerical worker ~~assistant~~, ten ~~10~~; sales clerk, 21; price-marker, ten ~~10~~; fitter (men's clothing), six ~~6~~; sign-painter or window-dresser, eight ~~8~~; department clerk, 15; wrapper, ten ~~10~~; appliance repair-man, three ~~2~~; customer service assistant, one ~~1~~; and security officer, one ~~1~~.

None of the Negroes employed in the drive, which began last August, in the 26 stores under survey has proven unsatisfactory in his new duties, though one man has been called up for military service. A department store recently asked for 15 ~~fifteen~~ Negro high school graduates to be trained for clerical positions. ~~In one bank a young lady was found educationally unqualified for the clerical work to which she was assigned.~~ Two Negroes are now serving as bank tellers and two more are in training for this position. The Courier Journal has one Negro reporter.

In the field of industrial employment accurate surveys are not available, but comparable progress is being made. Arthur M. Walters, industrial secretary of the Urban League, is a member of the Human Relations Commission's Employment Committee and the two groups collaborate diligently in

negotiations with both management and labor to secure better jobs for Negroes. The League maintains a regular register of job and apprenticeship opportunities and of Negroes seeking placement. The task of matching qualifications with openings is a ~~major~~ principal activity. A number of Negroes are now employed as assistant personnel directors, time study engineers, and in other superior positions. Rufus Stout, personnel manager at the ~~Louisville Union~~ Air Reduction and National Carbide Corporation plant, is a Negro.

The Commission has prepared, for early publication, a directory of employment opportunities and of training programs available to Negroes in Louisville. It is recognized that long exclusion from the better jobs has left many Negroes deficient in the experience and education required for the positions ~~which~~ that are now open to them. Consequently, present planning includes night classes and other vocational instruction for Louisville youth of both races. The Employment Committee and the Education Committee collaborate in this field. The Education Committee has a subcommittee for job training and another subcommittee seeking to reduce school drop-outs and raise the aspirations of Negro youth. The Commission has recommended that a separate Youth Commission be established to coordinate the efforts of existing organizations, & the schools, in this field.

A great deal remains to be done before the doors of employment are freely open to Negroes throughout the city, but a substantial entering wedge has been made. Though continued prodding will be necessary, something like a trend has been established.

Housing

The population changes registered in the Louisville area by the census figures of 1950 and 1960 indicate a movement of whites to the suburbs and of Negroes to the city. During the ten-year period the white population of adjoining Jefferson County grew from 125,486 to 220,308, while the Negro population of the city proper increased from 57,657 to 70,075. However, the number of whites within the city limits increased at the same time from 311,472 to 320,190 and the Negro population of the county increased from 4,858 to 8,275. Many well-to-do white families moved from city to county, but there are some signs now of a return trend: a new 28-story apartment building just opening is drawing some of these families back to the city, and a contemplated housing development on the river front is expected to bring more.

The problem of housing or neighborhood desegregation -- the most widely encountered and in a sense the most baffling of all problems in the race relations field -- is centered in Louisville around a large residential area within the city limits known as the West End. At an earlier period the residents of this section were nearly all white. The influx of Negroes began during the housing boom after World War II, when many white residents moved to suburban homes and Negroes in better-paying jobs than before began moving into the vacated West End houses. The trend has continued and accelerated since, as is shown by the 1950-1960 figures for several West End census tracts: in tract No. 10, the

Negro population rose from 1,457 to 3,270; in tract No. 11 it increased from 222 to 2,325; and in tract No. 12, from 177 to 1,460.

The West End is still predominantly white. If the racial elements were distributed and the pattern were stabilized the situation would be wholesome. What gives cause for alarm is the continuing trend -- whites moving away and Negroes moving in, and solid blocks of Negro homes developing. "Block-busting" tactics have been observed at times; they have not been in evidence in recent months, but similar influences have operated in a subtler manner. Most realtors express a willingness to cooperate with the Human Relations Commission; a past president of the Louisville Real Estate Board and two other realtors are members of its Housing Committee. The State Real Estate Commission, at the instance of the Louisville Commission, has condemned tactics tending to promote panic selling.

But the problem is infinitely complex. For instance, many Negroes desire homes in the West End and many of them are unmindful of the danger of turning the area into a ghetto. In these circumstances the duty of the real estate agent is not always clear to him; Negro realtors themselves feel obligated to satisfy the wishes of their customers.

The question also arises of where else the Negro can go to escape from the crowded old Negro quarters of the city. In the scattered white residential districts and the

fashionable East End Negroes are generally unwelcome. Pressures are sometimes used to deter them. Lending agencies formerly refused loans to Negroes for the purchase of homes in these areas, and, though this practice has ostensibly ceased, it is said to be difficult still for a Negro to obtain credit for the purchase of a home in a white neighborhood.

The desires and conveniences of individual Negro families pose difficulties which underline the close relationship of the housing problem to the whole pattern of prejudice and segregation in a community. Not only do many Negroes object to being pioneers in an unfriendly neighborhood, but the location of available houses is often inconvenient for them. The older Negro residential areas and the center of Negro social and civic activities are nearer the West End. A well-to-do Negro physician found an available home in the East End too far from his practice.

The Commission's Housing Committee and allied human relations groups are attacking the problem of finding suitable houses for Negroes outside of the West End, with steady success here and there. One dedicated white lady is in the real estate business with the sole aim of finding suitable non-West End homes for Negro families in places where they will be contented ~~with~~ and where their presence will tend to break down the barriers of prejudice.

Meanwhile, the campaign to bring about a friendly assimilation of the Negro contingent in the West End community and prevent the departure of white residents is a ~~major~~ chief activity in the race relations field. The effort is aided by the relatively high cultural and economic level of the Negro new-comers. The educational status of West End Negroes, as reflected in the 1960 census is interesting in this regard. In Census Tract 11, where the white population was 3,190 and the Negro population 2,325, the median school grades completed by Negroes 25 years of age and older was 11.3 compared with ~~only 10.7 median school grades completed by Negroes 25 years of age and older was 11.3 compared with~~ only 10.7 median school grades completed by the total adult population. In the same age category in Tract 10, the median school grades completed by Negroes was 10.6 and by the total population 9.7.

The direct attack upon the West End problem is centered in the West End Community Council, of which Dr. George B. Kimbrough is an energetic leader. This organization was launched last August, with the desegregation at the same time of the local Y.W.C.A., which became its headquarters. It is aided by the Commission and other human relations groups, notably a Catholic organization, the Christian Family.

Biracial block meetings are being held and couples and teams, with representatives of both races, are going from house to house to further the integrated community idea.

"I know of instances where 'For Sale' signs have come down," Dr. Kimbrough said, "after families living in the homes have met some of their Negro neighbors." "Not For Sale" signs have been distributed and many of these have been posted by whites with good psychological effect. In one five-block section "Not for Sale" signs have been posted in front of nearly every house. Many white residents have also posted a sign saying simply: "We Welcome You."

A folder entitled, "Well, I'm Not Moving," prepared by the Community Council and published with financial help from the Human Relations Commission, has been distributed to West End Homes. The sub-heads in the folder's text are illustrative of its appeal: "This is a Good Place to Live," "We Won't Lose Money If we Stay," "In Fact, We'll Make Money If We Don't Move," "Maybe It's All A Hoax," "And We Prefer an Integrated Neighborhood," and "Will You Help Us Build a Community?" A series of films is being shown of the same tenor.

insert over

The campaign is proceeding with genuine enthusiasm on the part of a large group, and in ~~March~~ April, 1954, ~~it~~ was still gathering momentum. The West End Community Council meets twice monthly: 110 had attended its last meeting. "We are only now getting into full swing," Dr. Kimbrough says.

Planning for the Future

The tendency of the Louisville Human Relations Commission, its Associated Committees, and the allied private organizations is not to taper off, but to expand to meet the formidable remaining problems in the city's race relations.

In a survey of a section of the West End, conducted March 21, 1964 by the Community Council, 406 white families were visited. Thirty-nine said they definitely intend to move, 29 were undecided, and 17 refused to be interviewed, but 321 said they planned to stay, + 172 expressed an interest in joining the Community Council.

Planning for the future has a large part in the movement's activity and concern.

The Commission's 1962-1963 report said with reference to the public accommodations ordinance that it is "mindful that similar remedies should be applied particularly in the areas of employment and housing." It added that though "these problem areas are much more complex and confront long-established customs based on a heritage of prejudice," its "experiences have already borne out that in due course the people of Louisville will accept the challenge of the changes involved." The Commission is studying legislation to promote equal employment opportunity and open housing.

Elaborate planning is being directed to the problems of youth and community improvement. As Negroes comprise a disproportionate number of the underprivileged, work in these areas has an important bearing upon race relations and the problem of equal opportunity.

The underprivileged Negro has long suffered from a vicious circle in which poverty, squalor, and ignorance increase the prejudice against him and the same race prejudice deprives him of the opportunity to escape from those afflictions. On the other hand, education and a clean wholesome environment for Negroes tends to open doors that were formerly closed to them, including the door of economic progress in which these advantages can be increasingly enjoyed. Education and vocational training are necessary to enable Negroes to qualify for many of the better-paying jobs to which their race itself is no longer a barrier. Hence a

broad program of advance in these areas is essential to a solution of the race problem. In Louisville, this kind of program is supported by the same individuals and agencies ~~that are~~ engaged in the direct attack upon race discrimination.

In August, 1963, a biracial commission of approximately 65 men and women was appointed by the mayor and the county judge to consider the need for a Commission on Children and Youth for Louisville and Jefferson County. The executive director of the Human Relations Commission was prominent in this undertaking. This body, which rendered its report on February 24, 1964, was "unable to recommend an over-all commission encompassing all the problems of youth," but it urged improved services for youth through the coordination -- and some consolidation -- of services to youth being provided by existing local and state public agencies, such as the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Louisville Police Department, the Jefferson County Juvenile Court, the Children's Home, and the Welfare Department, the Kentucky Department of Child Welfare, etc. The study commission recommended further that "full support" should be given to a proposal known as "Futures Unlimited," and to a plan of the Louisville Board of Education for a school-neighborhood project in an area of the city producing major problems of youth. The board of education program is to start with the school and reach out to parents, neighborhood agencies, the juvenile court, the welfare department, the library, the recreation department, and other agencies.

"Futures Unlimited" is a project advanced by the Health and Welfare Council, a body made up of representatives of organizations participating in the Community Chest. This project is also co-sponsored by the mayor, the county judge, and the city board of education. It has not been adopted; controversy has arisen over administrative and other details and it is unlikely to be embraced in its present form. It is interesting, nonetheless, as indicating activities envisioned for the future, and in part already under way, in Louisville.

The Health and Welfare Council's memorandum of January 19, 1964 describes Futures Unlimited as, "A Plan to Assure a Future Unlimited for Youth, the Family, and the Neighborhood in Communities Bordering on Urban Renewal Areas." It states: "The general purpose is to improve the level of living in sections of the city fringing upon urban renewal and redevelopment areas, utilizing this change in the physical environment as the opportunity for human renewal as well...." In order to observe results of the contemplated program, "two areas of the most deteriorated central part of the city will be designated as 'Target Areas' A and B, which will in effect be laboratories for testing new and improved social work, educational and community organization methods...."

While these plans embrace the whole population of the designated areas, the population there is largely Negro and the objectives are closely related to the problems of equal opportunity in housing and employment and of the harmonious development of biracial communities. Some figures from the 1960 census on the comparative condition of white and Negro

homes in Louisville are pertinent here: ~~Eighty-eight and two-tenths per cent~~ 88.270 of the white population was found to be living in "sound" housing units; only 59.7 ~~per cent~~ % of the Negro population was so housed. Twelve and four-tenths per cent of the whites and 28.4 ~~per cent~~ % of the Negroes were living in "deteriorating" housing units. Eleven and nine-tenths per cent of the Negroes, but only 2.6 ~~per cent~~ % of the whites, had "dilapidated" homes.

The Health and Welfare Council's report notes that during the past year three neighborhood councils, or "block clubs" (self-improvement citizen organizations), have been initiated "with help from the Health and Welfare Council staff, the Louisville Urban League, and the Louisville Human Relations Commission."

The Council expressly acknowledges the role of the Urban League, an organization long devoted to improving the lot of Negroes. "This agency," the report notes, "has long extended neighborhood services into this as well as other parts of the city and has established historical as well as practical priorities in Target Area A,..."

Among the objectives contemplated for Futures Unlimited are:

Further organization and development of block clubs;

Door-to-door surveys to gain information and enlist citizen support of block clubs and of the project as a whole.

A thorough program of code enforcement to be carried out by inspectors from the fire, health, sanitation, and

city housing departments.

"Housing clinics", to which tenants, landlords, and developers can turn for advice on improving homes.

Recruitment of a corps of retired persons to serve as consultants on construction and finance problems.

A continuous project of neighborhood beautification.

Communication and cooperation in the solution of neighborhood problems of all kinds.

Raising the educational and cultural level of the ~~under-privileged~~ poor through closer cooperation between the schools and the social, recreational, and health agencies.

Jobs and preparation for jobs are prominent in the activities contemplated for Futures Unlimited, including personal counselling, job development and placement, and special technical classroom or on-the-job training -- with the openings in Louisville especially in view. This program is to be financed by the U.S. Office of Manpower and Development Training.

The organization plan and proposed first-year budget of Futures Unlimited contemplate the employment of a director (at $9,000), four neighborhood organizers (at $5,000 each), clerical help whose aggregate compensation would total $19,800, and part-time workers in research, casework, and youth services. Counting office-rent and other expenses, the total budget is $69,800, the money to come from a variety of sources: the Urban Renewal Agency, city and county governments, and local and foundation contributions.

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Cole

This is a suggestive, if unexciting, note on which to end this story of Louisville. For perhaps the most revealing fact about the city's race relations now is that they ~~have passed~~ are passing into the hands of boards, commissions, official & semi-official committees, into, that is, the normal, institutionalized processes of municipal life.

separate page if needed.

For Further Information

Omer Carmichael and Weldon James, The Louisville Story (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1957) contains much background information as well as an account of the desegregation of Louisville public schools.

The "1962-1963 Annual Report" of the Louisville Human Relations Commission (City Hall, Louisville, Kentucky), published in a 38-page pamphlet, gives a comprehensive picture of the organization and program of that agency. This includes an abridged text of Ordinance No. 33 (Series 1962), establishing the Commission, and the full text of Ordinance No. 66 (Series 1963) on public accommodations.

In January, 1964, the Louisville Human Relations Commission issued a 6-page mimeograph describing revisions in its "Organizational Structure."

A copy of the mimeograph of February 25, 1964, outlining the Futures Unlimited project, may be had by addressing Norman L. Anderson, executive secretary, Health and Welfare Council, Community Chest Building, 2nd and Market Sts., Louisville, Kentucky.

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

MEMPHIS' HANDLING OF ITS RACE RELATIONS PROBLEM

Population, Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee.
(Shelby County is the Memphis Metropolitan area.)

	1950		1960	
	Memphis	Shelby	Memphis	Shelby
Total	396,000	482,393	497,524	627,019
Negro	147,287	180,185	184,320	227,941
Percent Negro	37.2	37.4	37	36.03

General

In view of its heavy Negro population and its Deep South location, the progress of Memphis toward the elimination of race discrimination is remarkable. Memphis lies only eight miles north of the Mississippi line; it is the metropolis of a large northern section of that state. Memphis is the apex of a strip of country along the Mississippi River, with Vicksburg at its southern extremity, known as "The Delta". The Delta is one of the regions of deepest anti-Negro prejudice and most stubborn resistance to change in the South. Memphis State University, which, without incident, has enrolled ~~110~~ 250 Negro students along with whites, is only 60 miles from stormy "Ole Miss."

Memphis has made conspicuous, though still token, strides toward desegregation and equality of treatment in schools and employment. In the desegregation of public cultural and recreational facilities, of places of amusement and of public accommodation Memphis desegregation has gone well beyond the token stage. A dozen Negroes ~~hold~~ sit on official boards or hold other responsible positions in the city government. Furthermore, the movement toward equality of opportunity in Memphis is going forward with increasing momentum and with the support of the dominant white leadership and the approval of a large element of the white public.

The traditionally large Negro vote in Memphis, always present in the calculations of the political confraternity, has done much to lubricate the wheels of race-relations reform in that city. Negroes have been encouraged to vote in Memphis for many years. As a leading citizen remarked to the writer: "No one even thinks of interfering with Negro voting here." Today 82,000 Negroes are registered to vote in county and city out of a potential 119,000. This is a consideration which tends to liberalize all attitudes and decisions by public officials in matters affecting Negroes. Negro leaders are frequently consulted. Racist demagoguery has been practically eliminated from Memphis politics.

A certain unity in the movement toward equal opportunities for Negroes, the prevailing policy of quiet, unsensational advance, and rigorous, but generally fair law enforcement, have been mainly responsible for the accomplishments of the past three years. The turmoil in Little Rock, ~~Arkansas,~~ and the damage to that [redacted] city's economy in the late 1950's, had a salutary effect upon the thinking of Memphians; Little Rock is only 139 miles away. A further helpful circumstance is the fact that Memphis, though lying in Tennessee's Deep-South southwest corner, is in a state with a relatively liberal official attitude. Desegregation moves in Memphis run no risk of being repressed, but are rather encouraged by the state administration. Tennessee on January 1, 1964, established an official Commission on Human Relations, the only such body in any of the eleven former Confederate states.

Notable too is the high caliber of the leaders of the white community who are active in the Memphis movement. [redacted]

E. B. LeMaster, president of the Chamber of commerce when desegregation was getting under way, gave it strong support.

(is conspicuous among them.)

~~is~~ former Mayor Edmund Orgill, Arthur W. McCain, president of the Union Planters Bank, now retired, and Edward J. Meeman, editor emeritus of the Press Scimitar, have served successively as chairman of the MCCR. George W. Grider, prominent attorney, now a candidate for Congress, is president of the Council on Human Relations; a former president of this group, Hunter Lane, ~~was~~ is a member of the ~~city council.~~ City Commission.

It is noteworthy, incidentally, that the most conspicuous white champions of racial justice in Memphis today, with a few exceptions, are over 50 years of age. Chairman Meeman is 74; many active leaders are in their 60's. Some who have retired from business, or, like former Mayor Orgill, from politics, are making a new career of furthering the city's peaceful transition to the new order. It is an interesting answer to those who fancy that liberalism is a monopoly of youth, and expect Southerners of the older generation to be chained to the traditions of the past.

Memphis has been free in recent years from organized segregationist activity of significant strength. A feeble Citizens' Council has an office and five so-called "chapters" in the city, with a not very prominent attorney, Richard T. Ely, as president. None of the higher echelons of business or community leaders are identified with it. It is making a rather furtive effort to embarrass integrated restaurants, but this campaign is making little impression on the general public. "The Citizens' Council doesn't amount to much here," is a common remark.

A recently-discovered Black Muslim temple in Memphis is generally regarded as a joke or a curiosity by both whites and Negroes. As many

as 30 were reported to have attended one meeting in its small, shuttered, and tightly-guarded building at 364 Beale Street. Its leader, a young man calling himself "Nathaniel X," is voluble on the philosophy and theology of the group, but evasive as to practical details.

While Memphis has its full share of political controversy and rivalry, there is ~~a certain~~ notable unity in the steady trend toward the elimination of discrimination against its Negro citizens. Motivations vary. A growing number support the change because "it is right." However, very many white people go along with it merely because "it is inevitable," and because it is better than having demonstrations or turmoil. There are differences of opinion as to the desirable tempo of change and on the question of race itself. But the city's course is set in a liberal direction and there is no strong effort in any quarter to bring the advance to a halt.

The mayor is gratified at the progress made and hopes it will continue. The press and the chamber of commerce are giving effective cooperation. The Restaurant Association, more than any other group, feels that it is "the sacrificial lamb" in the desegregation process and some of its members are bitter, but for the most part they are anxious to hold the line for a united posture of non-discriminatory service. The Memphis Committee on Community Relations, whose leaders include some of the city's most respected citizens, is devoted to orderly adjustment to the new order. The Memphis Council on Human Relations, a biracial group, frankly committed to racial integration and working for interracial friendship and understanding, cooperates with the MCCR, and the two organizations have overlapping membership.

On the Negro side the unity is even more noteworthy. Only one of the ~~major~~ principal ~~direct~~ action organizations is represented in Memphis and it completely dominates the field. White negotiators do not have to deal with rival Negro groups. When they have talked with the leaders of the NAACP, they "know where they stand" with the Negro Community. The Memphis branch, with approximately 7,000 members, boasts the largest NAACP membership of any Southern city. It formulates the Negro objectives, prods the white community, and marshals the Negro advance. The MCCR is the body in which the NAACP objectives receive biracial consideration and, generally, support. The Urban League, a Community Chest organization, is closely linked with both the white and the Negro communities. It cooperates smoothly with both the NAACP and the MCCR with efficient, but more routine, service in the employment field.

The Memphis Committee on Community Relations itself is preeminently an element of unity. The Chamber of Commerce, the churches, business and professional groups, civic organizations -- as well as the Council on Human Relations, the Urban League, and the NAACP -- are all strongly represented in it, and most public officials cooperate with it.

The Committee on Community Relations was established as early as 1958. Memphis Negroes, sharing the rising spirit of Negro militancy in the South, moved aggressively in agitation and demonstrations in 1960. But it was in 1961 that the walls of segregation began to crumble in a substantial way.

~~Nineteen-sixty~~ 1960 and most of 1961 was a period of protest on the part of the Negro community, expressed in sit-ins, picketing, meetings, public statements, and law suits. Negroes protested their ex-

clusion from the Memphis Automobile Show in a spirited meeting and urged a boycott of local automobile dealers. Since the annual Mid-South Fair was traditionally for whites only, the separate all-Negro Tri-State Fair was suspended "because of the spirit of the times." (The Automobile Show has since been discontinued, and the Mid-South Fair has been desegregated.) In a meeting with the City Commission in March, the Committee on Community Relations urged "constructive steps in the direction of desegregation" and the appointment of Negroes to various boards and agencies.

Meanwhile Negroes pressed in court litigation for desegregation of schools, buses, the municipal auditorium, museums, art galleries, golf courses, tennis courts, playgrounds, parks and boat docks. The school integration " breakthrough" was effected with surprising tranquility in October, 1961, when ~~thirteen~~ 13 Negro children were admitted to previously all-white public schools without incident.

The "Freedom" movement, as it was designated by the NAACP, continued and reached a crescendo in early November 1961. Regular picket and sit-in schools were held. Picketing and sit-ins were being staged daily; "Freedom Marches" and "Neighborhood Freedom Rides", weekly. Then, on November 14, the NAACP announced the suspension of demonstrations "as a result of favorable negotiations with downtown merchants." Some desegregation of eating places occurred shortly afterward. Desegration of public facilities and places of public accommodation continued, under persistent prodding, and improvement was made in the employment situation and other areas during the ensuing two and a half years. November 14, 1961, was a milestone date. Since then demonstrations have been ~~few~~ rare; the progress has been made by negotiation and conference and broad community effort.

Negroes in Public Office and in Politics

Although no Negro has been elected to public office in Memphis, a number hold appointive public offices. A milestone was passed in 1961, when A. Maceo Walker, a Negro insurance company executive, was appointed to the important three-member Memphis Transit Authority; he was succeeded by another Negro upon the expiration of his ~~three-year~~ term of office. The present city commission, elected last November, has given official responsibilities to no less than ten Negroes, as follows:

T. H. Hayes, Jr., member Transit Authority.

S. A. Wilbun, Assistant City Attorney.

Robert Lewis, member Alcohol Licensing Commission.

A. A. Latting, member Civil Service Commission.

Harold Whalum, member Traffic Advisory Committee.

Whittier A. Sengstacke, member Memphis-Arkansas Bridge Commission.

Hollis F. Price, member Inter-Agency Health Committee.

Mesdames Calverta Ishmael, Margaret Rivers and Ophelia Byas, members City Beautiful Commission.

Among Negro officials serving by earlier appointment are B. L. Hooks, assistant public defender (county), and Charles L. Dunkins, a member of the Memphis Hospital Board.

(At lower levels of city employment in Memphis, although statistics are not available, Negroes are heavily represented. Negroes have served the city from time immemorial in manual-labor capacities. Garbage collection, for instance, is largely a Negro activity.)

Three of the Negro appointees listed above, Hayes, Wilbun and Latting, were nominated by William B. Ingram, the new mayor. In

Mayor Ingram's election last November he is said to have had the support of both the Citizens' Council and the Negroes! In his former position of city judge he had been little identified with the desegregation movement, and the Citizens' Council, which has difficulty in finding sympathy with its aims in any political leader, decided that Mr. Ingram was more congenial than either of the other two candidates. Negroes in the lower income brackets were impressed with Mr. Ingram's record as judge and gave him their votes. Most Negro leaders supported the other candidates.

Interviewed in his office in City Hall, the mayor expressed pride in Memphis' progress in race relations and praised the work of the MCCR, which he hoped would go on to greater accomplishments.

~~No Negro has yet been elected to~~ a number of Negroes have run for public office in Memphis. Two ~~Negro Candidates~~ received record-breaking votes last November, but none was successful in winning election. Assistant Public Defender Ben L. Hooks, running for judge of the city court, Division 3, was endorsed by the Memphis Commercial Appeal. He received 41,948 votes to 43,209 for Ray W. Churchill, a white attorney, the remaining 30,000 votes being divided among seven other candidates for the position.

Another Negro candidate, Dr. Hollis F. Price, running for a seat on the public school board, was endorsed by the Memphis Press Scimitar. In this two-man race, Dr. Price received 40,518 votes to 61,019 for his single opponent, a white man. Three other Negro candidates, running, one for commissioner of public works and two for school board seats, received each from 30,000 to 35,000 votes.

Dr. Price, who is president of LeMoyne College and highly respected in both white and Negro circles, is an astute observer of

the Memphis scene. He did not conceal his gratification at recent civil-rights progress in that city. "Many Negroes avoid saying that things have improved," he said, "because so much more needs to be done and we don't want anyone to feel that we can stop where we are. But everybody knows we have come a long way in three years. I don't mind telling you I think it's tremendous!"

In public accommodations he felt that the battle had been practically won. The greatest danger now was that some of the gains might be lost by default. He said few Negroes were patronizing the newly desegregated restaurants, and he feared that some restaurants might drop back to segregation again. He was seriously considering a program under which LeMoyne students would visit desegregated restaurants systematically during the summer. "It might cost $700 or $800," he said.

Dr. Price attributed the civil-rights progress in Memphis to the large Negro vote and to an unusual unity in the movement in both its white and its Negro leadership. The white business community was supporting the social change; its cooperation had "helped enormously" in the areas of public accommodations and employment opportunity and in city government and police attitudes. The agencies and individuals propelling the movement worked smoothly together.

There was virtually no ~~significant~~ dissension among Memphis Negroes, he said. An ably led NAACP was the dominant, and, in fact, the only ~~direct-~~ action organization and the Negro community was united behind it. CORE, SNCC, and SCLC were practically non-existent as local entities. In the Memphis Committee on Community Relations Negro leadership and white leadership joined in an effective partnership; the NAACP

often found it effective to work through the MCCR in pursuing its objectives.

Individual clergymen, both white and colored, ~~he said,~~ had worked valiantly in the movement, he said, but the ministerial associat~~es~~ion as such had been of little help. The National Conference of Christians and Jews in Memphis, which earlier concentrated entirely on religious tolerance, had moved into the field of interracial brotherhood, especially in connection with religious worship. Negroes are included in its Memphis Round Table and are invited to its annual dinners. It is putting on Sunday afternoon TV programs, with Negro participants, emphasizing brotherhood.

Dr. Price expressed a high opinion of the Memphis Council on Human Relations, of which he is a member. The MCHR is overshadowed by the MCCR as ~~an action~~ a reform mechanism, but ~~its~~ the members of the former are more frankly dedicated, not merely to community harmony, but to the cause of racial justice and brotherhood.

Dr. Price said he had "great respect" for Claude Armour, the Memphis police and fire commissioner, a public figure who looms large in all civil-rights discussion.

Schools

Memphis has had token public school integration since the fall of 1961. This year, 287 Negro children are enrolled in the four first grades of 14 predominantly white schools. No ~~significant~~ notable disorder has attended the mingling of white and colored children in the schools.

A suit seeking desegregation of the Memphis public school system was filed in federal court in March 1960. In a ruling ~~in~~ of April 1961 District Judge Marion S. Boyd refused to order the immediate de-

segregation of the entire system, noting that the school board had expressed a desire to integrate the schools through compliance with the state pupil assignment law. The case was appealed; but without waiting for further court action the school board proceeded with the first admission of Negro children to predominantly white schools the following October.

The public school "breakthrough" was typical of the insistence upon quiet procedure and the avoidance of sensation which has characterized the advance of Memphis on the whole civil-rights front. The operation was carried out with a minimum of preparation or previous notice to the public. During the previous month the cooperation of the city's political and civic leadership and of the press was quietly secured, [redacted] Brief public statements conveyed the suggestion, but not a formal announcement, that some school desegregation might be in the offing. The news media were definitely informed at a briefing the evening before the event; the president of the school board made it clear that full news coverage was desired afterward, but secured a promise from the press to withhold announcement until the children had entered school. The plan went off without a hitch. Neither reporters nor spectators were allowed in the vicinity of the schools during the first few days, but, on the critical first day, a press headquarters, set up across the street from the school board offices, was relayed information as fast as it came in from school authorities and police.

On March 23, 1962, the United States ~~Sixth~~ Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit ruled that the state assignment law could not serve as a desegregation plan, and the Supreme Court refused to review this decision. Judge Boyd then ordered the school board to submit a new plan, and the board came forward with one for biracial classes in the first

three grades, which the court approved. The school board proceeded to put its plan into effect the following September, enrolling ~~12~~ eleven Negroes in the first grade, 21 in the second, and ~~12~~ twelve in the third in schools with whites, bringing the total of Negroes in formerly all-white schools to 53. Judge Boyd rejected a NAACP plan for the desegregation of all grades by 1965 and he refused to order faculty desegregation. An appeal by the Negro plaintiffs from this ruling is still pending before the Court of Appeals, but in 1963 the school board extended desegregation further in accordance with its plan.

In the Shelby County public schools, six Negro children were admitted to one previously all-white elementary school in September, 1963. A suit had been filed in June ~~seeking~~ desegregation of the county's school system, including the teaching staff. In February 1964, the court approved a county school board plan for the desegregation of all twelve grades in all schools in the fall of this year, with limited transfer privileges. Judge Boyd rejected a proposal of the NAACP to require a 68-32 racial balance in all the county's schools. The public school enrollment in Shelby consists of 28,084 white, and 13,216 Negro pupils.

Memphis State University has ~~110~~ 250 Negroes among its 8,215 students, having admitted its first Negro students (eight) in 1959. The city's two Roman Catholic Colleges, Christian Brothers and Siena, are both integrated, each with three Negro students in attendance. The Presbyterian Southwestern College in Memphis has announced that it will be integrated in the fall of 1964. The Memphis Technical School, for both adult and high school students, has one Negro along with whites in day classes and ten in night classes. The area Vocational School,

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with classes from 4 to 10 P.M., is integrated.

Approximately 8,000 Memphis and Shelby County children are enrolled in Catholic parochial schools, including 612 Negroes, most of them in two all-Negro schools. Four grades were desegregated in September, 1963, as part of a four-step plan to extend biracial classes through the ninth grade in 1966.

The limited nature of integration at Memphis State University has been a constant source of complaint by the NAACP, which contends that Negroes are still excluded from some recreational and other extra-curricular activities. Only in April, 1964, were Negro students admitted to full participation in the university's athletic program. Dissatisfaction with the public school situation has also simmered; last September it produced the only Negro demonstrations that Memphis has seen for the past two years.

There is growing impatience with the slow pace of public school integration, which is under litigation. In addition to that a dispute arose over a double-shift schedule at five Negro schools and over other school board policies. Several hundred Negro pickets paraded around the school board office repeatedly over a nine-day period before a truce was reached. The school board, while continuing the double-shift schedule, made a slight revision for greater pupil convenience and agreed to study its policy of hiring Negro teachers, to add distributive education courses to the Negro high school curriculum, and to consider the employment of Negroes in administrative offices.

The Negro demonstrations last September were orderly. There was no violence -- due in the opinion of some, to a large deployment of police. It was reported that the demonstrations had cost

the city $9,000 in overtime pay for patrolmen.

The Memphis Committee on Community Relations

The Memphis Committee on Community Relations is a voluntary and unofficial group of civic leaders, with no office and no paid staff, but its prestige is such that it is almost as effective as an official human relations commission. It has, in fact, accomplished more than some so-called "Mayors' Committees."

Originally the MCCR was not devoted to civil rights; it was even regarded by some of its early members as a means of arresting the Negro advance. It sought to preserve order and interracial harmony in the city, and -- with an increasing recognition of the necessity for change -- that remains its stated purpose.

The evolution of the MCCR is an interesting psychological study. Its forerunner was a "Race Relations Committee," set up, with prompting from several city officials, in 1956. This group was biracial in composition, but it is a significant commentary on the earlier interracial climate that some of its white members were unwilling to meet with Negroes! It became necessary to divide the Race Relations Committee into two subcommittees, which met separately and then negotiated through chosen delegates. The emmissaries from the white and Negro subcommittees met frequently and gradually became the committee itself.

The Race Relations Committee had become sufficiently "moderate" to arouse suspicion in the emotional atmosphere of 1958. When a prominent banker became its chairman, he was threatened with dismissal by his board of directors and, in the ensuing unpleasantness, the Committee itself dissolved. After only a brief lapse, however, the new and stronger Memphis Committee on Community Relations was

formed. The purpose of the MCCR, as stated in its charter and constitution when it was incorporated on January 26, 1959, are "to provide a meeting place for calm discussion and such responsible action as may be agreed upon to preserve order, under law, as interpreted by courts of competent jurisdiction and the peace, happiness and continued progress of the great and growing city of Memphis and all of its people."

When the sit-in movement erupted around the South in early 1960, the executive committee of the MCCR arranged a meeting with the mayor and commissioners of Memphis. The nature of this Committee's activities ~~were~~ was forecast better in a formal statement, presented to the city's governing body at that time. ~~which~~ This said in part:

> During the past year committees from our membership have been studying various phases of our community relations and have held meetings of our members and the Board of Directors. Concerned about the recent outbreaks and sometimes violent occurrences in other southern cities, and convinced that some prompt, positive steps must be taken to forestall the probability of similar occurrences in Memphis, our Board of Directors met on March 10, 1960. This meeting by resolution instructed the Executive Committee to request this meeting with you, to say to you that as you seek solutions for community problems our organization is ready now and in the future to serve you in any way that it can within the limitation of its charter.
>
> The Committee believes that goodwill and understanding in our community can best be promoted by

Peace

planned, voluntary and constructive change. It is the feeling of our Committee that steps should be voluntarily taken in Memphis in the direction of desegregation. We believe that this is necessary for the ultimate welfare of our community.

Furthermore, we feel that the Negro segment of our population is inadequately represented in local government and toward the end of rectifying this condition we respectfully request that the City Commission give consideration to the appointment of qualified Negroes to membership on the various boards of agencies which operate under the jurisdiction of the Commission.

We were also instructed to assure you that when such appointments are made our organization will not only give its own full support, but will also use its best efforts to explain to all the citizens of the community the desirability and wisdom of such action.

Lucius Burch, the MCCR's first chairman, and the Rev. Paul Tudor Jones, a Presbyterian minister, Arthur W. McCain, a retired banker, and Edward J. Meeman, the men who have followed Mr. Burch, are four of Memphis's most prominent civic leaders. Former Mayor Orgill has been an active worker, as have Frank R. Ahlgren, editor of the Commercial Appeal, who is chairman of the subcommittee on public accommodations, and other outstanding citizens.

Mr. Meeman, the present chairman, is editor emeritus of the Press Scimitar, and he presides over the committee from his office in the Press Scimitar building. Rabbi James A. Wax, of Temple Israel, is the Committee's dedicated secretary. There are five

vice-chairmen: former Mayor Orgill; Mr. Ahlgren; Carl Carson, a business man; Dr. Price, and Dr. Vasco Smith, Jr. The last two named are Negroes; Dr. Smith is also vice president of the NAACP.

Membership in the MCCR is open to all; approximately 150 members are now enrolled at a fee of one dollar a year. Meetings of the full membership are held only rarely and meetings of its board of directors are infrequent. An executive committee, meeting once a month, and various subcommittees do most of the Committee's work. There are, or have been, subcommittees on schools, libraries, hotels, restaurants, and employment. Meetings of these are held once a week or oftener while a project is under way, and ~~then~~ are more or less suspended afterwards. The employment subcommittee is now the most active, and it is permanent for the forseeable future. Approximately one-third of the 28 executive committee members are Negroes, and ~~including~~ include both the president and the vice president of the NAACP.

The emphasis of the MCCR has been on quiet work behind the scenes. Many point to this fact as the secret of its success in the delicate matter of race relations. Much planning and negotiation take place without publicity. Substantial progress is often made in the fields of public accommodations and employment before the fact is generally known. This quietness of operation, of course, would not be possible without the cooperation of the news media, but in Memphis the editors of the daily newspaper are leading exponents of the "quietness principle."

Mr. Meeman said that the Committee serves as an arena of compromise, with everyone speaking frankly. Once a decision is made, the group unites in the effort to put it into effect and

the city and county governments usually cooperate.

He said also that firm and fair law enforcement and the absence of disorder had made everything easier. He had high praise for Police and Fire Commissioner Claude Armour.

In 1963 Mr. Meeman received the National Human Relations Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. In accepting the honor at a Memphis meeting, he said in part:

"We have come to the next phase in race relations in Memphis.

"We have already accomplished more difficult tasks. We have desegregated buses, schools, libraries and the art gallery, a university, parks and playgrounds, restaurants; what is now our task is less of a break with our traditions.... Our task now is to widen the opportunities for employment of our Negro citizens.... Everyone is now agreed that Negroes should have the opportunity to obtain an education as good as that which is available to whites. Having been prepared to hold good jobs by this training, they should not be shut out from the opportunity to get them.

"When we upgrade a large portion of our population, the South will raise its standard of living, improve the labor supply, become an area with greater attractions to industry and distributive commerce, and provide a greater prosperity for all of us who live here and the peace of mind that comes from friendship and cooperation between the races."

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The NAACP

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the spearhead of the Negro push. Though it works through the Committee on Community Relations in the pursuit of many of its objectives, it furnishes a constant and necessary spur to that

organization. The Memphis branch, with approximately 7,000 members, boasts the largest membership of any NAACP unit in the South. The figure for 1963 membership was 6,900; the initial success of the drive now under way suggests that the number will exceed 7,000 in 1964.

The ~~assistant's~~ Association's well-ordered Memphis office is run by Mrs. Maxine Smith, executive secretary, with several clerical assistants. Mrs. Smith is the wife of Vice President Vasco Smith. It is the busy office of a busy organization.

In addition to steady pressure in the areas of public accommodations and employment, the branch's regular reports describe an endless variety of activities: continuing litigation over public recreational facilities, schools, etc.; complaints to the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity of Employment; voter registration drives; and intervention in innumerable incidents and situations involving discrimination against Negroes. Letters of congratulation are regularly sent to individuals and agencies making favorable moves, such as the appointment of Negroes to responsible positions. When congratulations are not in order, communications of a different kind go forth, for example, The NAACP protested to the Social Security Administration the ommission of courtesy titles in dealing with Negroes at its Memphis office, leading to prompt corrective action. Complaints of police mistreatment of Negroes, numerous during the agitation of 1961, are still handled from time to time.

Even as the situation improves, lingering prejudice against Negroes is ~~in~~ manifested in public functions and in many ~~minor~~ small incidents ~~which are~~ spotted by ~~the~~ a vigilant NAACP. In 1962 a receptionist at the out-patient clinic of the John Gaston Hospital erased "Mrs." from the identification card of a Negro patient in

her ~~their~~ presence, politely explaining that this was necessary to distinguish her from white patients! When the NAACP reported the incident to the hospital chief of staff (whom it finds cooperative) the latter took immediate steps to have the practice stopped.

Officially, city hospitals are now operating on a nondiscriminatory basis, but the NAACP finds much still to be done in this area. It has secured the removal of "WHITE" and "COLORED" signs from hospital toilets, desegregation of cafeterias and nurses' rooms, and the upgrading of some Negro hospital employees. Yet discrimination remains in ward segregation, nurse training, and higher-level employment. The NAACP reported in January, 1964, that "segregation is still deeply entrenched in city hospitals."

The prestige of the NAACP among the public in Memphis, both white and colored, is enhanced by the personality and stature of its president, Jesse H. Turner. Mr. Turner is firm and militant in the Negro cause, and at the same time, courteous and understanding. A banker--president of the Tri-State Bank on Beale Street --, whites remark that Mr. Turner "knows the business man's problems--He's a man we can talk with." Even restaurant operators, many of them resentful of the pressures which they feel forced them to desegregate, find comfort in the attitude of the NAACP president. They say that Mr. Turner could be relied upon to make the change gradual and to see that judicious use was made of the desegregated facilities, protecting them from being overrun by irresponsible persons. ~~Negroes.~~

Mr. Turner concedes that Memphis has made unusual civil-rights progress in comparison with other Deep South communities. He expresses admiration for various white leaders of the MCCR. But his emphasis is on the shortcomings, on the mass of prejudice and dis-

crimination still to be overcome. He says that much of the desegregation that has taken place has been only token and halfhearted. The 287 Negro children in school with whites is only a handful out of 54,407 Negroes in Memphis public schools. (NAACP lawyers are pressing in the federal courts for complete desegregation.) Hotel desegregation is limited to rooms and eating facilities, and "not too many Negroes at a time;" Negroes are still excluded from bars, ballrooms, etc. City swimming pools are still closed to prevent desegregation. (This matter is also under litigation in federal courts.) Negro advances were being made on the employment front, but a steady unremitting campaign was necessary in that area. In the situation as a whole there was still a long way to go, but Mr. Turner was prepared to keep on fighting every step of the way.

The Press

The daily newspapers, the morning Commercial Appeal (Memphis Publishing Co.) and the afternoon Memphis Press Scimitar (Scripps Howard) are not unqualified champions of civil rights. Both are opposed to the civil rights bill, although the Press Scimitar favors some kind of federal legislation in this field. (The latter applauded the Supreme Court decision denying jury trial to Mississippi's former governor and lieutenant governor.) In the local scene the two papers -- both in their editorials and in their news coverage -- have followed a policy of constant cooperation and of skillful encouragement in the campaign against race prejudice and discrimination.

Mr. Meeman described the press policy as one of keeping the public fully informed, but discreetly, without sensational reporting and with judicious timing of some announcements. Negotiations

to secure the desegregation of places of public accommodation were not embarrassed by premature news of each individual move; likewise the opening of employment in one establishment is not made public while negotiations with a group in the same business are in progress. Instead, articles are published from time to time giving summaries of desegregation, and these are presented in language tending to make the public proud of the progress Memphis is making.

An article which appeared in the Commercial Appeal of May 21, 1963, is an example of this kind of reporting. Headed "Memphis Group Quietly Widens Negro Horizons," it said in part:

> Quietly during the last few months there has been a gradual increase in the number of job opportunities available to Negroes here, as well as a general upgrading in Negro employment.
>
> Without fanfare, Memphis' Committee on Community Relations has been holding conciliatory talks between white and Negro leaders, securing additional employment for Negroes in sales and other areas in large retail and specialty stores; in bread, soft drink, and beer distributing firms, and in similar fields of work.
>
> The new employment positions are in addition to a general increase in the status of Negro workers in areas in which they have long held jobs.
>
> There are now 16 Negro bus drivers employed by the Memphis Transit Authority. The Memphis Police Department has 28 Negro officers, and interviews will be held tomorrow to select members of a training class expected to furnish 25 more.

Police

The Sheriff's Department has three Negro deputies, and others are being added from time to time. Other agencies of city, county, and state governments are constantly upgrading employment opportunities for Negroes.

These changes in the community social structure have been achieved without incident, a major contrast with other Southern cities such as Birmingham and Nashville.

The following (May 20, 1963) is typical of the helpful reporting in the Press Scimitar.

Memphis has been outstanding in its peaceful desegregation.

The latest development in the peaceful change in Memphis, improvement in job opportunities, was preceded by gradual desegregation of public facilities, step by step, without discussion or violence.

Downtown theaters have been desegregated this year, quietly and smoothly. Patrons now see Negroes sitting where they wish in theaters and seem to think nothing of it. Negroes sat with whites when the Metropolitan Opera came to the Auditorium recently.

The Memphis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been strong in desegregation demands, but also reasonable. There have not been many demonstrations, and these were done peacefully. There have been none recently, despite demonstrations in Birmingham and other Southern cities.

.....Among the first facilities to be desegregated in Memphis were the two railroad stations. This was done on

federal order. It was done smoothly, and there are no longer separate waiting rooms or eating places. This dates back to 1955.

There has been much desegregation since:.... The bus stations.... city passenger bus service.... Some city schools, libraries, the zoo, some public golf courses and other recreational facilities.... Many downtown eating places....

A number of citizens have given and are still giving their time to help Memphis desegregate peacefully.

This has helped make Memphis a model in peaceful desegregation.

Some events call for prompt reporting. Mr. Meeman recalled, for instance, that, when the city buses were desegregated, it was necessary to advise the public at once that the change had been officially made; otherwise the spectacle of Negroes suddenly taking seats where they had not been allowed before could easily have led to serious interracial disorder.

On the other hand, when the theaters were desegregated, the fact was not mentioned in the press until long afterward. The downtown theaters merely agreed privately to cease excluding Negroes; when the next Negroes applied they were to be sold tickets and admitted without discrimination. A few Negro leaders were quietly informed and Negroes began gradually to attend the theaters that had been previously barred to them.

Two Negro newspapers, the Tri-State Defender and the Memphis World, serve the Negro community. Edited respectively by Thaddeus T. Stokes and J. A. Beauchamp, they are staunch supporters of the

NAACP and the civil-rights cause.

Municipal Facilities and Public Accommodations

Federal court rulings impelled most of the earlier desegregation in Memphis, reflecting aggressive work on the part of the NAACP. Railway, airline, and bus terminal facilities, municipal parks, and other city-operated recreational facilities were desegregated in compliance with court orders. Public schools were desegregated in the shadow of federal court litigation in which NAACP lawyers were asking, and are still asking, for more extensive action.

In the matter of municipal facilities the Memphis litigation drew from the Supreme Court on May 27, 1963, a somewhat famous opinion, expressing impatience with the slow response generally to the condemnation of segregation in its 1954 Brown decision. In Watson v. Memphis the high court recalled that "it was almost eight years ago -- in 1955, the year after the decision on the merits in Brown -- that the constitutional proscription of state enforced racial segregation was found to apply to public recreational facilities." (Dawson v. Baltimore).

A suit was filed in May, 1960, seeking desegregation of the city's auditorium, museums, art galleries, parks, golf courses, tennis courts, playgrounds, boat docks, and other recreational facilities. Some desegregation in this area had already taken place at the time and the city authorities indicated an intention to continue the process over a period of years, at the slow pace it considered necessary to prevent public turmoil. More progress had been made by the time the Supreme Court dealt with the case in 1963.

The high court noted in its ruling:

"....Memphis owns 131 parks, all of which are operated by the Memphis Park Commission. Of these, only 25 were at the time of trial open to use without regard to race; 58 were restricted to use by whites and 25 to use by Negroes; the remaining 23 parks were undeveloped raw land. Subject to exceptions, neighborhood parks were generally segregated according to the racial character of the area in which located. The City Park Commission also operated a number of additional recreational facilities, by far the largest share of which were found to be racially segregated. Though a zoo, an art gallery and certain boating and other facilities are now desegregated, about two-thirds (40) of the 61 city-owned playgrounds were at the time of the trial reserved for whites only, and the remainder were set aside for Negro use. Thirty of the 56 playgrounds and other facilities operated by the municipal Park Commission on property owned by churches, private groups, or the school board were set aside for the exclusive use of whites, while 26 were reserved for Negroes. All 12 of the municipal community centers were segregated, 8 being available only to whites and 4 to Negroes. Only 2 of the 7 city golf courses were open to Negroes; play on the remaining 5 was limited to whites...."

The case was remanded to the District Court for appropriate action, and all of the public facilities mentioned above have now been desegregated. There was no turmoil or disorder. Only municipal swimming pools were closed; the constitutionality of that ~~subterfuge~~ action is being challenged in federal court.

Incidentally, the Supreme Court uttered a reproof heard widely across the South: "Brown never contemplated that the concept of 'deliberate speed' would countenance indefinite delay in elimination

of racial barriers in schools, let alone other public facilities not involving the same physical problems or comparable conditions."

Restaurants at railway, bus, and airline terminals were also desegregated under federal court orders, but for the most part privately operated facilities in Memphis -- theaters, hotels, restaurants, etc. -- were desegregated as a result of Negro pressure and the work of the MCCR and other liberal groups. After 18 months of sit-ins, etc., and the negotiations of November 1961, racial barriers were dropped at 28 lunch counters in various branches of ten department stores in February 1962. Prodding continued, and the targets broadened to include hotels, restaurants, and theaters. ~~Nineteen~~ 1963 ~~sixty-three~~ saw a wave of desegregation of such places.

The theater problem was approached in a spirit of general good will on the part of theater operators, but with great wariness ~~in the fear of~~ of white protest and possible disorder. The NAACP addressed letters to the theaters in September 1962, asking them to cease barring Negroes. The theaters referred the matter to the MCCR and indicated a willingness to negotiate. All of this was handled discreetly, and a satisfactory agreement was reached.

Desegregation began in January, four theaters at first and then others, on an unpublicized "controlled" basis. The NAACP undertook to control the attendance of Negroes, ~~at the previously white-only theaters;~~ it was asked to send a designated number ~~of Negroes~~ to a designated theater at a designated time. No unpleasantness occurred; little attention was paid to the Negroes in the theaters, and the operation expanded. By February 25, Negroes were completely at home in ten downtown theaters which they had previously been forbidden to enter. The principal downtown hotels and motels removed racial

barriers (though some of their facilities are still closed to Negroes) in concert, following an agreement negotiated under the auspices of the MCCR.

Restaurants began to desegregate slowly, only a handful at first. A long struggle and much controversy developed in this area, not only between the restaurants and the NAACP, but among the restaurant operators themselves. Each of these feared that upon opening his doors to Negro customers he would suffer from competition with the establishments which continued to serve whites exclusively. The dissension within the Memphis Restaurant Association reached such a point that by the end of 1963 the Association decided to have nothing more to do with the matter. But by then the battle for desegregation had been practically won. Forty previously all-white establishments had opened their doors to Negroes. Five more restaurants took the step during the next two months and 30 more simultaneously on February 27, 1964, bringing the total of desegregated restaurants to 75. By April the number had reached 100. ~~About 90 percent of the better restaurants in Memphis.~~

Few restaurant operators made the change cheerfully. In spite of an unmistakable trend toward a more liberal attitude toward civil-rights in Memphis, many business men are supporting the trend because they consider it better than racial turmoil and because they do not want to resist a very respectable civic movement. Most restaurant operators are serving Negroes merely as a "lesser evil" than harassment from civil rights agitators and out of a sense of solidarity with their associates.

A prime example of this is Harlon Fields, proprietor of The Flame and The Pancake Man and president of the Memphis Restaurant Association. Mr. Fields expressed strong disapproval of restaurant

integration in principle; he said "every one" of the Association's members was against it. Yet he had worked energetically to bring about united action in opening Memphis restaurants to Negroes. The Association had made a survey last year of a representative group of restaurants, and the study had led to a realistic conclusion that the loss of trade caused by Negro demonstrations was greater than the loss which could be expected to result from removing racial barriers. It was a matter of dollars and cents.

The restaurants have also been under pressure from the Memphis Chamber of Commerce and, of course, from the influential Memphis Committee on Community Relations. As Mr. Fields saw it, "it was the people who had nothing to lose" who were pressing for restaurant desegregation.

The restaurants have lost money -- "all of them," he said -- both by exposure to demonstrations and by integration, and he added: "It is hurting business now." The damage was only slight in many cases -- a white customer walking out in a huff now and then; in other cases, he said, white trade had fallen off considerably and the loss had not been offset by Negro trade. According to Mr. Fields, "a well-dressed Negro alone" or mixed white and Negro parties did not matter, but the sight of a party of a dozen Negroes was sure to alienate white customers.

However, Mr. Fields found the influence of Jesse H. Turner, the NAACP president, effective and Mr. Turner cooperative. He said you could depend on Mr. Turner to "regulate the thing," if he was informed in advance.

Mr. Fields' main concern was the effort to secure united action by the Memphis restaurants. All, he felt, should be "in the same boat." It was unfair for a few restaurants to profit at the

expense of others by clinging to the white-only policy. The "hold-outs" in restaurant desegregation seemed to arouse his wrath as much as the civil-rights movement.

He was also disturbed over the action of the Memphis Citizens' Council in circulating lists of still segregated restaurants. He had heard that it was preparing to ~~disturbe~~ distribute lists of the desegregated places also. He only hoped they hadn't enough money to give these lists wide circulation!

In other quarters there was little mention of the Citizens' Council restaurant guides; they did not appear to have had much impact. Restaurant integration seemed to be going much more smoothly than Mr. Fields indicated and was being increasingly accepted by the Memphis public.

Employment

Comprehensive data registering progress in the field of equal employment opportunity in Memphis are not available, but the progress has been ~~extraordinary~~ large. Many business and industrial establishments have hired their first Negroes, or placed their first Negroes in superior positions, during the past several years. Most of this has happened during the past twelve months, and the opening of new employment opportunities for Negroes is still going on with increasing momentum.

This phase of desegregation business me~~l~~n like. ~~Although~~ Many employers, who were nervous and apprehensive of white reaction at first, nevertheless welcomed the systematic effort to open jobs to Negroes in their industries. Those who have employed or upgraded Negroes are almost invariably pleased with the result.

Under the headline, "MEMPHIS PROVIDES MORE AND BETTER JOBS FOR NEGROES," the Memphis Press Scimitar reported on May 20, 1963:

Increased employment opportunities are being given Memphis Negroes through action taken by many employers throughout the city.

This includes upgrading of Negroes already employed and making jobs available that generally were not given Negroes in the past.

The employment committee of the Memphis Committee on Community Relations has been working on this problem for more than a year, and the rate of increased employment has been stepped up recently.

Most downtown stores have given better jobs to Negroes, including jobs as sales personnel. Some 25 to 30 stores are already participating, doing more than 60 per cent of retail business, a spokesman for the committee said.

A number of other businesses, including soft drink bottlers, bakeries, super market groups and others are participating. The spokesman said more than 100 firms are participating, and already several hundred Negroes have received new jobs or been promoted in jobs previously not available to Negroes.

The spokesman said that almost all firms are employing on a basis of character, aptitude and ability regardless of race. He said a check with participating firms reveals that they plan to add more Negro employees, and that they are well pleased with Negro employees so far. He said the companies have had few complaints about Negro employees.

It was a surprise to the employment committee to find out that a number of firms had already started upgrading Negroes, before they were asked to do so by the committee. Some already had Negroes in supervisory capacities.

The upgrading is expected to continue gradually, and expand until Negroes are given their fair share of jobs for which they are qualified.

An example of employment of Negroes is at the city-owned bus service, which put on one Negro bus driver two years ago, and now has 16, all doing satisfactory work.

There are now approximately 25 Negro bus drivers in industrial plants, International Harvester, Otis Elevator, Southern Bell Telephone and other corporations have opened new positions to Negroes. Banks have employed a Negro here and there in a clerical capacity; the Memphis branch of the St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank has two Negro clerks. A recent Retail Merchants Association survey showed these stores with Negro sales clerks: Graysons (1); Three Sisters (1); Perel and Lowenstein (4); Goldsmiths (9); Sam Shainberg Co. stores (9); and Pantage Drug Stores (14). These are in addition to Katz, Woolworth, and other variety stores. (A NAACP survey at the beginning of 1963 had found that Negro employment in such stores was almost completely confined to janitorial and related jobs.)

The Rev. J. A. McDaniel, who combines the duties of pastor of Bethel Presbyterian Church with those of executive director of the Memphis Urban League, is one of the Negroes who are frankly elated

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over the progress being made. The change in the employment picture is particularly impressive when viewed from an office which had struggled for so long for small Negro gains. Mr. McDaniel finds that "things are moving now."

"I lost my secretary yesterday to the American Airlines, "he remarked. "Of course I was glad. She will earn twice as much there, and it is a breakthrough for American Airlines."

The Urban League has a spacious office in a former residence on Beale Street, where Mr. McDaniel is assisted by Mack Arnold, assistant director, and Mrs. S. A. Owens, Jr., secretary. Mr. McDaniel is enthusiastic about the NAACP - MCCR - Urban League team work. He had high praise for the white leaders in the movement, who are heavily represented on the Urban League Board. "Seven or eight members of our board are members of the MCCR, including Carl Carson, chairman of the MCCR employment subcommittee," he said.

Incidentally, Mr. McDaniel praised the Memphis police: "They don't use dogs or firehose here." Referring to Claude A. Armour, the police and fire commissioner, he said: "Claude has gained the respect of both races; he relies on the Negro vote, and he gets it." However, he added: "White and Negro leaders have worked together, so we haven't needed police too much."

Carl Carson, chairman of the MCCR's employment subcommittee, is at the center of the busiest and most fruitful phase of the movement for equal opportunity in Memphis now. He is the head of several Carson companies in the automobile rental field, and he begins with heavy employment of Negroes at all levels in his own enterprises. "Every one of them," he said, "is doing a bang-up job. You see that fellow at the counter? I can go away and leave him in charge!" He said he had had some fear at first of losing

white customers, that "some ~~redneck from Mississippi~~ customer might walk out rather than do business with a Negro clerk." But he had lost very little business on account of his Negro employees at any time, loses none now.

Mr. Carson uses the hard-headed business approach in his persuasion of other employers. He emphasizes the advantages of interracial harmony in the community and the efficiency of Negro personnel. But his own motivation is on the basis of conscience and morality. A deeply religious person, he loves his fellow man and he joys in the crusade to break down the racial barriers which prevent Negroes from working in the capacities for which they are qualified. The colored Carson employee who drove me back from his office to my hotel obviously idolized his boss. I remarked that Mr. Carson was a "fine man." "Whoo-e-e-e!" he exclaimed, as if he had no words to fit his own sentiment. "You think so too?"

Mr. Carson likened Memphis acceptance of racial integration to customer acceptance of mechanical improvements in earlier years of the automobile. He remembered when many customers refused to pay the extra charge for cars with self-starters; they thought "any able-bodied man ought to be willing to crank his own machine!" People are afraid of change, but they often liked it when they got used to it. He said employers who hired Negroes were almost invariably glad afterward that they had done so.

Mr. Carson said his committee occasionally meets with unpleasantness on the part of one or two "hold-outs" in a particular line of business after general agreement has been reached. These were sometimes angry at "all the pressure." Then a few weeks later one of them would call him up and ask if he could come and talk about hiring some Negroes!

The employment subcommittee approaches its problem systematically, with constant adherence to the principle of united action. Individual establishments are not approached at random, but through negotiation, industry by industry. Mr. Carson's committee concentrated first, for example, on the soft drink bottling industry, and a conference was held with representatives of all of the bottling firms. Similarly the milk dealers, bread suppliers, chain stores, etc. were tackled, each group in turn. Mr. Carson found that this plan works wonders. The employer is much readier to hire Negroes when he knows that the policy is being adopted at the same time by all his associates in the same line of business.

The Police

In a summing-up of civil-rights progress in Memphis, the Press Scimitar aptly displayed as photos of the three key figures those of Arthur W. McCain, then president of the MCCR, Jess H. Turner, president of the NAACP, and Claude A. Armour, the police and fire commissioner. Commissioner Armour and law enforcement, which he directs and symbolizes, have had an extraordinary part in Memphis' adjustment to the new order in race relations.

In some cities the police have won notoriety by the mischief which their brutality and ineptitude have caused. In Memphis the police and their commissioner have achieved distinction of a different kind. In few cities have the police been so largely and so favorably identified with the civil-rights advance. Public order has been maintained in Memphis -- tranquility in which negotiations could quietly proceed and insurance against disorder which enabled desegregation steps to be confidently taken. With small exceptions, police brutality, which is incompatible with any

durable public order, has been absent, but the police "mean business," and the public knows it.

Nearly everybody likes this. Segregationists say approvingly that Armour has kept the Negroes from getting out of hand. Negroes feel that he has protected them from racist fanatics. There are no bombings or cross-burnings in Memphis. Negro demonstrators are kept within bounds, but they are not harassed by white hoodlums.

Mr. Armour is a "tough guy." Again and again at signs of unusual agitation or of impending disturbance the police commissioner has sounded the stern warning:

"No law-breaking or violence will be tolerated. Anyone who attempts it, white or colored, will be arrested."

Memphis has learned that Mr. Armour means what he says, and would-be trouble-makers abstain. Incidentally, the commissioner takes no chances. He deploys police in numbers that some consider excessive. One hundred and sixty patrolmen were assigned as a precaution against interference with public school desegregation in 1961.

Some Negroes were handled roughly during the sit-ins of that year. Mr. Meeman recalled that the Negroes were not so fond of Armour then. There have been cases subsequently in which the treatment of Negroes by individual policemen has aroused complaint. Editor Stokes cites instance after instance of "police brutality" from the files of the Tri-State Defender. But Mr. Stokes thought Commissioner Armour was "doing a good job" on the whole and that Memphis Negroes were fortunate in having him for police commissioner. NAACP President Turner -- in the midst of some argument with the commissioner -- was "not sure Negroes will support him again," but

he ~~agreed~~ believed that police behavior had been better in Memphis than elsewhere in the Deep South. Negroes generally express "respect" for the police commissioner and find no cause for complaint.

Paradoxically, this man, to whom it appears to owe so much in Memphis, may not be in sympathy with the civil-rights movement. Some who know him say that he is privately opposed to racial integration (though the police force is integrated). His conversation throws no light on this point. He sums up his philosophy in the simple statement:

"I am a policeman."

And that is all that is necessary. For ~~he~~ it is not the policeman, in the highest sense of the word, who makes all progress possible?

"I don't necessarily believe in this stuff," he told this writer. "But that doesn't make any difference. I'm a policeman." And a policeman he is, every inch of him. He has never been anything else. He entered the force as a patrolman in 1941, rose through various ranks to be chief of police in 1949, at the age of 29. He was elected police and fire commissioner in 1950 and has been regularly re-elected since. Now he is also vice-mayor.

The sit-ins of 1960-1961 raised some new police and legal problems. Incidentally, those demonstrations were larger and more disruptive than many realized -- owing to the policy of the Memphis press of minimizing the publicity. Some say that Memphis had more sit-ins than any other Southern city. Police action was harsh. Hundreds of Negroes were arrested, though nearly all of their cases were ultimately dismissed. In 318 cases in city court, 163 defendants were convicted and 155 of the cases were dismissed; 119 more of these cases were dismissed on appeal to the circuit court.

Of 123 cases with state charges, 93 were dismissed.

Many Negroes, despite their kindly feelings toward Commissioner Armour now, look back upon his performance during the sit-in agitation with resentment. Some observers say that the commissioner's attitude toward Negroes has changed since. The attitude of many white leaders has changed during the past three catalytic years. Mr. Armour said that sit-in demonstrators were arrested only on warrant from the proprietors of affected business establishments. He was not quite clear on the legal points involved. He expressed relief that "the police don't have this problem any more, because nearly all of the places are integrated."

The largest single mobilization of police was directed against possible white trouble-makers -- at the time of the initial public school desegregation in October, 1961. Mr. Armour recalled that in a preparatory lecture to the 160-man detachment he directed them to arrest anyone who "gets out of line -- I don't care who it is." Speaking to men most of whom were themselves probably opposed to school integration, he added sternly: "Anyone who can't carry out this assignment, can hand in his badge." Public school desegregation was carried out with exemplary order and tranquility.

Incidentally, Mr. Armour remarked that three United States marshals appeared in his office the day before the event. He told them they would not be needed, and added: "If ever I ask for federal marshals, don't send me three, send me 300!"

The commissioner objected to "so much talk about race. To us, "he said," people are just violators or law-abiding citizens." Conversation with the assistant chief of police in charge of personnel and with several other officials confirmed the impression that the Memphis police department is permeated with the spirit of

rigorous but evenhanded law enforcement. There is no instruction in race problems as such, only in the various types of disorder and the policeman's duty in the circumstances, whoever the offenders may be.

Referring to the MCCR, Mr. Armour said he cooperated constantly with it; he had helped to set up its forerunner, the Race Relations Committee. But he was careful to point out that his encouragement of negotiation was not because of any personal feeling about the race issue. It was because negotiation lessened the police problem.

The Memphis department has ten police dogs, none of which has ever been used in a civil-rights disturbance. Mr. Armour did not say that none ever would be used in such situations, but that would be only as a "last resort." He told of a case when dogs were used to beat off Negroes who were trying to prevent police from arresting one of their number in a drunken brawl. (But most Negroes seem unaware the police dogs are ever used.) There have been Negro policemen in Memphis for the past ~~sixteen~~ 16 years; there are now 42 on the 900-man force.

The Press Scimitar in reviewing civil-rights progress in Memphis said: "The conferences of citizen and officials were indispensible and invaluable to keep peace and order in a time of inevitable change, but these conferences could not have been enough. We had to have a police commissioner who would not play the demagogue but would enforce the law without fear or favor. We had it...."

Approximately 1,000 persons attended a "Claude A. Armour Recognition Dinner" ~~was planned for~~ on April 30, 1964. The organizations working for race-relations progress were heavily represented on the sponsoring committee, ~~which aimed at an attendance of 1,000~~. Former Tennessee Governor Buford

Ellington was ~~announced~~ among the ~~list of~~ speakers for the occasion ~~the list also~~ who included also the president and the secretary of the MCCR and Negro leader A. Maceo Walker.

Memphis has not gotten around to the housing problem, though housing is becoming more segregated every day. Dr. Price remarked: "We haven't touched the housing problem. Nothing whatever is being done about that." White and Negro firemen serve in separate companies; bowling lanes are segregated. There are imperfections in all phases of desegregation. The civil-rights advance is still far short of the open society. But Memphis nonetheless has begun to shine as a beacon of reason and decency for the Deep South.

The cotton capital of song and story, the great port of "Ole Man River," is moving into the new era in race relations irrevocably and with a speed which almost startles anyone returning to the city after a lapse of years. The change in three years has been striking, that in ~~19~~ 20 years almost unbelievable. Among the letters to the editor of the Commercial Appeal of April 12, 1964, was one from an Ohio lady which said in part:

"My last trip to Memphis was in 1945, when I flew in as a hostess with Eastern Airlines. I cannot believe that the same people who lived there then, live there now....

"I travel with my husband and as a stranger in town you can become aware of the underlying 'tone' of the town....

"Although the Negro population surrounding the activities of the hotel bespeak a passing generation, the young generation of Negroes display the eager excitement of their new life.

"Congratulations! Your city is beautiful, your buildings are exciting and your high moral conduct is apparent.

"At Goldsmith's I tried on a hat. Sitting next to me was a beautiful Negro lady, trying on hats also. I laughed at my image in a strange piece of headgear that I had tried on. Simultaneously she placed a hat of strange proportions on her head and she laughed at her image in the mirror. We looked at each other and understood the reason for the laughter and we laughed together...."

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title page

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The Lives of Migrant Farmers

Robert Coles, M.D.

The Migrant Life — 14 Sp H Italics caps J23C

Living in America today are many hundreds of thousands of people whose lives are characterized by continual movement ~~by~~ each crop season from town to town, state to state, and region to region. They are people whose hands harvest the fruit and vegetables we eat.

There are three large-scale pathways they follow (called "streams" by the farmers, public health doctors, or government officials who are involved in one way or another with their lives). One is along the Pacific Coast, drawing upon native white and Negro workers, or Mexican workers, and moving from southern California up along to Washington and back as the harvesting season itself moves northward, then southward. There is a middle stream--heavily Mexican, but with a good number of whites and Negroes--which starts in the south-central region of Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma and moves northward in a wide area, terminating in states like Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin. ¶ The third stream is the Atlantic Seaboard one. It is made up mainly of Negroes, but has some whites too. Starting in Florida in late May and June its workers move steadily northward, up through Georgia, settling into the Carolinas and Virginia for some weeks, then into Delaware, New Jersey, and New York, a few going on into New England. They stay north for the rest of the Summer and early Fall. Then by the thousands they return to Florida for a Winter

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and Spring of gathering crops there, sometimes in one general area (from farm to farm) or sometimes moving from county to county. ~~in that state.~~

In a very real sense the migrant farmers form a "sub-culture" in this nation. They live apart from the rest of us in a number of ways. By definition they are on the move, regularly or irregularly living each year in several states and in the process managing usually to lose the many advantages of a permanent residence in any one of them. For example, migrants usually do not vote. They are rarely eligible for any local unemployment assistance. They may hardly see the towns whose nearby fields they harvest. Their rights to adequate schooling for their children, to police protection, to sanitary inspection and regulation of their homes, to enforcement of fire regulations for those same homes, are in many cases prejudiced.

They come and they soon leave. They not only do this but they know they do, and they <u>feel</u> the implications of their behavior, the facts of their arrival, work, and departure in isolation from the life of the various communities whose fields they infiltrate and work. Whether they travel in caravans of trucks and buses, as many do, or by their own cars, they ignore most of the roadside stopping places as they move along from state to state. They have their own places to eat and sleep, to stop and obtain service for themselves and their cars; there are a few stations, or there are simply fields along the highways. Migrants know their "place," they know the houses to seek out when they arrive in a county, the stores which are theirs, offering their kind of food for their kind of

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cooking, and if you haven't lived in their homes and tasted the food, seen it being prepared and eaten, it is hard with words alone to do justice to the grease and starch, the common lack of utensils, the consequent vitamin deficiencies suffered by people whose diet ignores food picked by their very hands and rich as is possible in vitamins.

Most of the activities which Americans of different classes and regions call upon for their leisure time are not typically chosen by migrants. They usually have no neighborhood churches or movie houses. They join no social clubs and take no countryside trips or picnics. Their children do not go to scout meetings nor do they launch charity drives or attend book club meetings. Family visits are a matter of seeing the part of the family also on the road and hoping someday for a word or a few days with the rest of the family far away. Phones are not customary, and mail is rare indeed. There may be church services brought to them by ministers themselves migrant in order to reach them. There may be "platter parties," records played in a cabin to hard dancing and soft and hard drink. Television is not rare, bringing all of America into the lives of those who look at it (and, because watched by neighbors, a kind of rallying instrument). More accurately, television sets come and go, purchased by some for small down payments, ~~watched by their neighbors, a kind of rallying instrument~~ often quickly taken away when payments are not forthcoming. And so there is no comparing the unstable, disorganized social life of migrants with that of the large majority of Americans. They are separated from us by their hand-to-mouth existence, their migratory habits which deprive them from intimacy with any solid residential condition, and, in the case of

the majority of them, Negroes or Puerto Ricans or Mexicans, by their racial handicaps in our country.

The history of migratory farm labor goes back well into the Nineteenth Century when roving bands of men moved about reaping and bundling our wheat crops. However, much of American agriculture slowly became heavily mechanized, so that by the 1920's there was a serious crisis developing in the lives of millions of farm workers whose labor was simply no longer needed. To the cities many of them went, even from the South, whose farms and cotton plantations yielded more slowly to machines than the giant wheat and corn fields of the Mid-west. Many, however, stayed on the land seeking out what existence they could.

With the onset of the depression years of the 1930's, dispossessed sharecroppers, or small farmers whose income was near nothing because of the depression, or additional thousands driven from their dried, choked land by a series of droughts, combined to offer a frightful spectacle to their countrymen as they moved, by new thousands, hungry, fearful, and confused across the continent in search of a decent chance of work.

While many of these people also moved into the city, many others remained loyal to their competence in farming by taking jobs as fruit pickers and vegetable harvesters in the expanding farms dedicated to those crops in California, in the Mid-West, and in Florida. With rapid transportation by train and truck and refined methods of refrigerating these once perishable commodities, there had developed in the period after the First World War a large scale industry of growing fruit and vegetable

produce, once, of course, grown locally by farmers near the cities they supplied. As these new farms and the packing houses attached to them came into being they required workers to plant and gather their crops, then pack them and load them on waiting box cars and trucks. The farms themselves were scattered over great distances, and, in keeping with the changing seasons, over entire regions of the nation. To work on them, men and their families ~~would~~ have to be willing to move regularly and sometimes frequently too.

~~Nor do~~ These people do not have comfortable lives, in comparison with the way most of us live. In large measure they live in houses whose adequacy, let alone comfort, leave much to be desired. Often they are flimsy, rat infested, one-room hovels, with improper sanitation. In them live large families, sleeping at close quarters on cots or on the floors, often eating without utensils on the same floor. If some of these people live more comfortable lives, many live under conditions which ~~a paper~~ an essay like this cannot hope to describe fairly. What most migrants share is the more than occasional exposure to poor housing, bad sanitation, a diet poor in vitamins and protein, inadequate medical care, continual movement--and consequent lack of firm association with any particular community--, very limited incomes, and a lack of eligibility for a number of privileges many of us either take for granted or consider "rights": the vote, a telephone, a library card, unemployment or welfare benefits, minimum wage protection.

~~On numbers~~ In the Southern states alone there are an estimated quarter of a million migrant workers, according to figures issued in

1965 by the U.S. Department of Labor. In general, what is happening in the South, and elsewhere, is that the number of farms is dropping (by 18 ~~per cent~~ % from 1959 to 1965) while the actual land tilled holds the same or drops only slightly. The average farm thus tends to be larger, usually a matter of large farms absorbing small ones. As with farms, the number of sharecroppers has been slowly falling. For example, in the 1950's the sharecropping system of cotton farming in Mississippi gradually gave way to mechanized production and reduced cotton acreage. The number of tenant farmers dropped from 83,000 to 33,000 between 1954 and 1959, while the number of regular farm workers (no longer sharecroppers) rose from 24,000 to 39,000. In fact, the total number of sharecroppers in the 16 Southern states dropped by more than half in that time, leaving 121,000 sharecropper farms, according to the National Sharecropper's Fund.

Such political, economic, social, and cultural facts affect the lives of these people, influencing the way they act, their view of themselves in relationship to others around them, the assumptions they make about the world. Such facts also become psychological forces as they bear down and help shape the thinking of children, the behavior of parents, the experiences of both. In many respects these "environmental" forces determine the way migrants touch and feed their children, toilet-train them, bring them up to get along with one another and themselves as they grow and develop. These "external" facts become translated into internal ones, of fantasy, dream, action, and personality development.

Psychiatric research must, therefore, make proper mention of its necessary and affirming kinship to sociological and anthropological

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observation as well as historical knowledge. It is not simply a matter of seeing the impact of a social system on people. It is one of seeing how, out of historical events in a given political and economic system, a social system has developed, with its own culture and frame of mind. Migrants have a "sub-culture" within that of the poor, including their own non-migrant relatives.

In broad and over-simplified categories, these small, marginal southern farmers of yesteryear have done one of several things. Many, and those who are the subject of this short study, have adopted a migrant life, while continuing their occupation as workers of the soil. These people in their own way are showing as much determination and self-reliance as those others who have stayed at "home," and continue to struggle for economic survival, or those many others who have left the land and braved an alien city life but, with few marketable skills, have frequently and widely become public wards, living on relief. On the other hand, some of these rural dispossed have made the transition to self-sustaining city life. Quite often, I found that these successful ones had been those with military service from which they had learned to do things that cities want done.

Here are the words on tape of a Negro man whose six year old daughter pioneered school desegregation in Louisiana:

8 Back

> We just couldn't stay on the farm no longer. My daddy's still there, but there wasn't room for us, so we had to leave or we would have been taking our mother's food and bringing nothing in . . . I mean you can grow some food, but not enough to keep you fed all year, and there's no money for anything else . . . So we left one by one . . .

8 Back

> I went to New Orleans because I'd learned how to be an auto mechanic in the service. So I figured I could always get me a job there . . . My brother didn't have nothing he could do but farm and he figured he could go to Florida and get a living from that . . . We had some cousins do that a few years back, so he knew to go to them.

A white man is now telling his story. A deeply convinced segregationist brought up in Mississippi, he had withdrawn his child from school when the Negro man just quoted sent his child there, yet they grew up only 30 miles apart:

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> . . . It was the army that did it . . . I mean getting my trade . . . my electrician's training gave me the push to come here . . . One of my brothers is still home with my folks and there ain't much they're getting out of the farm to keep them but barely alive; and another's in Mobile and he ain't doing much of anything so far as we can hear. I think he works on the docks there when he can; but he's got no skill is the trouble . . . and we have a brother in Florida who works on farms there. He stays there most of the year, and they leave in the summer and do some picking North, and then they come back. It's better than no work at all . . . No, I think they'd rather be right where we are, to tell the truth. They came here before we did . . . yes, he's older than me . . . so he didn't get a job and he didn't get a job, and then he either had to stay on relief or leave, so they just packed up and went back to the farm (their father's small farm in Mississippi) and then I guess he had to leave that too, like we all do . . . so that's how he come upon Florida.

What emerges from these family histories is a small confirmation of what we all know about the serious troubles of millions of southern tenant farmers, black and white, and how these troubles cause emigration, and how the destination chosen can be influenced by educational experience, (the armed services were unwittingly serving as "vocational rehabilitation" centers for both of these men) and finally, how the difficulties of poor people lead to frustrations and animosities easily

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channelled, given any social and political encouragement, into racial antagonisms.

Nature of This Study

My interest in these people was aroused in the course of a study of the adjustment of Negro and white school children to school desegregation in the South. Several of the Negro children and one white child had been born in sharecropper cabins in Mississippi, Alabama, or South Carolina. Their early years had been spent on farms, and their parents had only recently moved into New Orleans or Atlanta, where they came upon the crisis of a serious social struggle that affected them and the education of their children. In the course of taking family histories I learned that in five families (four Negro and one white) there were uncles, aunts, and cousins who had left those same fixed, if no longer sustaining, farms to join the migrant labor force rather than the tide going steadily toward cities of the North or the South.

What made for such different choices, and what happened as a result of them to such differently lived lives? Through one Negro family in New Orleans I established preliminary contact with their relatives and other Negro families who harvest winter crops in Florida and move up the Atlantic states in summer and autumn doing likewise. I was unable to trace down the migrant relatives of the white family, but in the attempt met with other white migrant families in Florida and established effective communication with them. In preliminary visits I interviewed at length public health doctors and nurses who have long been concerned with the severe medical problems which afflict the bodies of these people, and the related sanitary problems which rise from their living and working conditions (contaminated drinking water, inadequate drainage and sewage facilities). I worked as a general physician in the mobile public health clinics which attempt to reach migrants (known to be suspicious and isolated) by seeking them out directly; accompanied nurses on their post-natal rounds; did likewise with dietitians whose job it is, often against stubborn emotional resistance, to try to educate people whose diet is woefully unhealthy about ways of improving health through modification of food habits. (The irony of people surrounded by fresh fruit and vegetables, yet shunning them for themselves and their children in the face of medical advice to the contrary, was one of the first reminders encountered that more than simply "material deprivation" was at work in these families.)

I also talked at considerable length with the farmers who employ, and often provide living quarters for, migrants and have had considerable experience and difficulty with them and their habits of living. I spent a good deal of time talking with county agricultural agents in

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Florida and some northern states, learning the history of agriculture (and hence migrations of people to support it) in the various counties and states; talked with some school teachers who must try to educate migrant children, and visited schools where they are taught; talked also with certain social workers who come into contact with these people, and with those from church groups who have come to know and try to help these people while others of us have scarcely heard of them and their kind of existence.

Eventually I selected ten families for more intensive study. Six were Negro and four white, all part of the eastern Seaboard migration. I interviewed these mothers, fathers, and children over a period of two years, some months visiting them weekly at home. On later occasions I followed them in their migration northward, traveling in busses and trucks with them or in two instances in family cars. I lived with two Negro families and one white family for two weeks each. I tape-recorded our interviews and with young children both played games and placed heavy emphasis on drawing and painting pictures. I photographed homes and their interiors, fields and the way bodies and hands must posture themselves in them to harvest their crops, or busses and trucks with their dense "loads," so that I might document such conditions of existence and study their meaning to the people who live under them, work under them, and move about under them.

new page

Observations and Discussion

14 Sp H italics caps 3 23 E

My primary interest has been with the relationship between the migrant and the "outside world" and the growth and development of the migrant child's mind. Migrant farmers live a kind of life that asserts itself upon their infants and children, and emerges once again in adults able to live with its demands. The extreme poverty, the cultural deprivation and social fragmentation, in sum the uprootedness which characterizes their lives, falls not suddenly upon them (as it does upon the observer who tries to comprehend their manner of survival) but is a constant fact of life from birth to death, summoning therefore a whole style of life, a full range of adaptive maneuvers. Perhaps if we take a migrant child at birth and follow his life along we shall best combine

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the telling of their lives with the psychodynamic developments in them.

Infancy) — 14 SH Italics c+ lc E23

In only two of the ten families were the children delivered by doctors. The rest of the mothers relied upon midwives or simply relatives and friends. Frequently a pregnant mother returns "home" (where relatives--parents, brothers and sisters, even cousins--maintain a permanent residence) to deliver a baby. In many instances such is not possible, and children are delivered wherever the mother happens to be, often enough "on the road," that is in the course of traveling for working purposes. One is struck by the casual attitude toward child birth displayed by these mothers, and their common knowledge of how to deliver children, remove the placenta, tie and sever the cord.

Many of them are quite afraid to deliver their babies in a hospital, fearful that the child in some way will be "hurt." For example, one of our mothers remarked that, "They say it's cleaner there and safer, but I tried it once and I got scared to death and my baby didn't behave good. He cried more and didn't take my milk so easy." While many also complain that they simply have not sufficient money to pay for good medical and obstetrical care, it seems clear that even were such facilities free to them, their substantial fear, suspicions, and superstitions would have to be overcome--and perhaps some accommodation on the part of the doctors and hospitals be made in keeping with the migrants' cultural attitudes toward child-bearing and rearing.

Migrants seem much less self-conscious about pregnancy and child birth than do not only middle-class families but many of the urban poor,

both Negro and white. During the pre-natal period the mothers constantly refer to their pregnancy even well before it is obvious. Other children are told about the fact as soon as menstruation stops. One mother told her four children, "We is getting a baby again, 'cause I don't bleed no more." As her abdominal wall swelled in later months the children would often come up to touch and fondle it, even to talk to the baby inside. There was similar behavior in the other families. Moreover, likely as not, the mother would wear little or no clothing in the early morning and evening hours. The mothers frequently wear heavy clothes during their work in the fields, pants, rubber boots, and rubber guards on their knees to protect them during stoop labor, and are sometimes relieved to be rid of all clothing at home. Thus, the unborn child is publicly seen, felt and followed along as he grows in the womb.

Many Negro migrant women--I did not notice this in whites--at this time become more religious, going with special frequency to the various churches that flourish among them. Names such as "The One and Only Church of God" or "God's True House of Faith" describe the more evangelical and customarily passionate among them. In addition, more conventional denominations send ministries to migrants, and these ministries come perhaps into closer and more directly helpful contact with them than does any other segment of "our" population with the exception of certain public health service doctors, nurses, social workers, and dieticians.

The increase in church attendance was attributed by several

mothers to a desire to insure a baby who would survive pregnancy, be born without complication, and live. The loss of children due to miscarriages, the mishaps of difficult deliveries, or the various untreated diseases of the first days and weeks of infancy are very much on the minds of these women.

Likely as not the child is born at home, in the presence of his brothers and sisters, or, if a first child, his "father." (Many Negro migrants do not formally marry, or may do so after several children have been born.) Of course, there may be several "fathers" to a given family of children, though the current husband is almost always called "father" by all children, and his name is assumed. Since residences and schools alike constantly shift, this is an easier practice to follow than in the cities or rural areas where some of these same customs hold for non-migrants, but with less formal cooperation from the society. White migrant families are much more likely to have a common father.

From the first day of birth the new child eats and sleeps with the rest of the family. Migrants quite often live in "one-room" houses, small shacks which are built to cover people with a roof rather than help them divide their activities and time with one another in certain ways. The children are breast fed, and so fed for a year or more without any other food, except perhaps soft drinks which are introduced in the first months. There is little of the modesty one sees in our predominant culture, and again even in the poorer sections of it. Children of five and six may fondle both baby and breast during the feeding period. There is no concept of a schedule of feeding. Infants are often brought

to work, watched over by their brothers and sister, or grandmothers; their mother is summoned when the child cries, there to be fed with little interest in covering the breast from anyone nearby.

The infant sleeps with his mother for the first few months, then is entrusted to the considerably older children, if there are any, rather than any siblings one or two years older. In such cases girls of five and six can become quite occupied with introducing food to the child, playing with him, clothing him. If there are only very young children the infant still will likely go to the oldest of these, almost as a gift or birthright. There are families within families, younger children "belonging" to various older ones.

The young child sleeps with the other children, if he is a first or even second child he or she may sleep with his or her parents until enough children come to warrant a second bed, or cot, or sleeping bag. The infant thus grows and becomes a child in the midst of the constant physical presence of others, their noises, smells, actions, and habits. He is constantly touched, held and seen by them and thus receives that sensory, especially tactile, stimulation; or we might say, metaphorically and literally both, that kind of nourishment.

The growing child of one or two responds to such an environment by talking and moving about with ease. He is often naked, allowed to be so and encouraged to be so. Since his parents follow the sun in pursuit of work made possible by the sun, he is usually quite comfortable without clothes. He is not toilet trained until he is well able to walk outside his house, usually in the second year, though sometimes well into the third year. The outside world is often his toilet, the nearby land

of trees, thickets, and grass. Many of these children have never been in a house that has a bathroom, never seen a bathtub or sink. The mothers tend to be fairly firm once they have decided to train the child. They or one of their other children quickly carry him outside, where he can continue, or, if he is finished, he may be left there a bit alone, told not to come in and prevented from doing so. That is a harsh fate, a cruel exile for children so constantly close to others. They rapidly seem to get the point. On the whole, then, toilet training seems to be accomplished quickly, without great self-consciousness on the part of anyone, indeed rather smoothly and effectively.

<u>Childhood</u> — 14 Sp H Italics C+lc E 23

The children are allowed great freedom in moving about--their very inheritance--as they leave the infant and baby years to become walking, talking boys and girls. They are extraordinarily responsible for one another. They feed one another, clothe one another, sleep together, and often work together, following their parents at picking in the fields as they become seven, eight, or nine and thus old enough to do so.

Migrants' ~~These~~ homes have practically no printed matter. Many migrants are illiterate. They do not read newspapers. They do not even receive mail. Their children fast pick up their parents' words, but they come to school with little preparation for books, maps, or pictures. The walls of their homes are barren. Some of them, however, have seen a good deal of television. On the road they often cannot have it, because they

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are in homes unequipped for electricity. In Florida the same may hold, but it may not if they live in certain camps or housing compounds. The first thing purchased is a television set, and the children become utterly taken up with it for a while. After a while the enthusiasm seems to subside and then stop altogether, enough so that the set is ignored for long spells. I wondered how the children--and for that matter their parents--responded to the comfortable world of America as it entered their world. I soon learned that they seemed to respond to it as "our" children do to adventure stories, science fiction, or plain comic strip stimulation of dream and fantasy.

For example, one child of six said that he would some day board a rocket to the moon, and on the way "get off to see the cities up there." Questioned earnestly about the existence of cities on the moon, he explained that he meant the cities, and the life in them, he saw on television and passed by, at small but significant distances, in his travels with his parents.

Particularly revealing are the drawings these children do at five and six or eight and ten. When asked to draw pictures of themselves they consistently sketch their brothers and sisters with themselves. When asked to limit themselves to a drawing of themselves, they hesitate, seemingly confused or paralyzed, or use the crayons in helter-skelter fashion that results in no picture at all. They seem very much afraid of being alone, of asserting on paper or in games the kind of individuality rather commonly sought by children from different backgrounds.

For example, a seven year old boy was asked what would happen to

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a soldier that was isolated from other soldiers in a game. He said the soldier would die of starvation. ("He'd better get back fast or he won't eat and that'll end him.") All such games showed the children anxious to have groups of soldiers close together. There were no isolated leaders, and when I tried to establish their presence the children wanted them back with the others, or feared for their lives. They seemed unable to command their imaginative resources for situations where people were on their own.

away from the presence of other people? isolated without help? [illegible]

The games and drawings also gave us some indication of how these children felt about themselves in relation to non-migrant children. They are, of course, well traveled, though they do not move on the main highways, or the planes and trains the rest of us use. Still, with their parents they see the land and its people, and from their parents they get a series of notions about others. "I tells my children we feeds the rest of the children," one mother told us. Another mother constantly told her children that the alternative to their kind of life was "trouble" or "no food and going to jail." Several parents frequently remarked upon the good fortune of being able to get what work they did as harvesters. The children were reminded that they had cousins whose parents didn't work at all, and "they takes to drinking and fighting all day long."

The children thus sense that they and their parents do something important for others, that those others have a better but distantly unobtainable life, that the alternative to the migrant life is not that better life but one even worse than the one they know--full of danger and pain--and that their present life (whatever its trials) serves to keep

them and their families from not only external hardship but internal disintegration.

One child was finally able to formulate (and confide) her impression of the life of city children. She drew a house so large as to cover almost the entire paper, then filled it with furniture. There was only one small window. The furniture seemed so abundant as to be a logjam. I had a sheaf of her drawings showing her <u>own</u> house; it had many windows and walls so drawn as to leave spaces that ranged from crevices to gaping holes. She invariably filled "her" house with six, seven, or nine people, but never any furniture. (She was one of six, her mother was pregnant, and with her father there were eight in the family.) The walls on the city home were scrupulously and thickly crayoned--and in red, instead of brown and black. The girl was telling that she knew that other children lived in more solid, perhaps brick, houses, less exposed and open to the wind or rain, filled with tables, chairs, and beds that she knew she did not have in her own. When asked about the people who lived in the urban home, they slowly took on shape at her hands; parents and two children, all bigger and stockier than her own family. She had to draw them, incidentally, on another piece of paper, there being no room for them on the first piece. The house and furniture had monopolized all the space.

Other children do consistently similar drawings. As they become nine and ten, they can speak their observations more readily. One little white boy of seven emphasized his own kind of living (its rootlessness) by spending considerable time on the kind of foundation

(including an elaborate cellar) he gave to the houses he imagined non-migrants to have. A migrant child of nine explained the differences between his family and many others as follows: "We has to keep moving or we don't eat except from relief, if they give it to us. . . . They have the work near their houses, and they has it all the time. . . . They takes the pictures on TV in their homes, because most people can recall them and there aren't but a few of us, so we aren't there on the picture."

As migrant children become four and five they learn their mothers' wishes and develop the controls necessary for their later life. The power of police, traffic lights, and other rules of the road are recited by their parents to them as they move along. Children are physically punished, hard and mean at times, for taking food not theirs, for squabbling with one another, or failing to execute assigned tasks promptly, fetching water from a pump, holding the baby, feeding the dog. (Stray dogs abound in migrant camps, and are ~~by no means~~ not ignored. One public health doctor said, "The dogs may symbolize what they think of themselves, because they sure take care of them and feed them whatever they have to eat.") Older children are trained to follow after their parents, harvesting in the fields. They must learn how to pick tomatoes or pluck beans, and if they become slow or careless they are hit and shouted down. I have noticed that when punished in the fields they are very often hit by hand on their legs. It is leg work and hand work that makes for harvesters.

By the time, then, a migrant child goes to school he has been taught his do's and don't's, to fear certain others, to get along with

people in certain ways. Impulsiveness, self-assertion, rivalrous expressions, and envious feelings tend to be strongly discouraged at home, but allowed to children as groups, that is in conjunction with brothers and sisters. Thus, groups of children can fight other groups, or envy one another openly so long as collectively. Mothers show great warmth and open affection, kissing and fondling their children, rubbing the skin on their arms, but also quick anger toward them and severe punishment of them, most often slapping accompanied by shouting. Rarely is one child punished alone, or often the mother will remind the others that they, too, have done similar wrongs in the past and will in the future. There is an absence of grudges in parents. A punished child will likely as not be embraced seconds or minutes after being punished, almost, sometimes, as <u>part</u> of it. The result seems to be a sharply defined sense of limitation or restriction, one that does not spread into general shyness or inhibition. This may explain what many observers of migrants notice, their capacity to change moods and behavior so rapidly; they can be fearfully, grimly silent (especially before the "strangers" of our world) and then quickly joyful and talkative with one another. "Their moods don't last," a nurse told me. I suspect that their early training sets the stage for what they will later need, a highly developed sense of flexibility in their personality, an ability to manage the constant restrictions of the external world, but still not succumb to the apathy and despair that would fatigue and immobilize them. In a sense then there is a "bounce" to the way these children are punished that teaches them fast recovery from a slap as well as specific, responsive obedience to it.

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Much of the hardest punishment goes into confirming the child's sense of submission to the non-migrant world, or passivity before it. There is a striking difference in the relationship between the child and his family "at home" or in travel, and the child at school, in the fields, even on the streets. At home the children play together easily and warmly. They are very free with their parents, and their parents with them. Open expression of love and demonstrations of it are seen. In children of eight and nine, when one might expect otherwise, boys talk openly of wishing to marry their mothers, girls of wishing to marry their fathers. There is, later on, a substantial incidence of step-father-step-daughter sexual liaison, and those between fathers and daughters have been noted by social workers who observe both white and Negro migrants. Two mothers said that such happenings were not rare; but were frowned upon and reported about as the "events" they apparently are: "It goes on sometimes, I think 'on the road' if the mother is getting ready to have a baby, or something like that. . . . I don't think it goes on a lot. No, it should't, but it does sometimes; maybe on account of drink, and you kind of get frustrated."

In point of fact the rigid incest barriers that hold for middle-class families seem less sturdy with these families, often fathered by several men, in constant movement, living and sleeping practically on top of one another despite their invariably large size. Their children are much less secretive, resort to much less furtive and symbolic maneuvers to express their attachment and direct love for their parents, and also their anger. Yet, in contrast to such physical intimacy and

propinquity, openness of feeling and of anger, closeness of relationship between children, when migrant children meet many people on the "outside" (as their parents are ~~apt~~ likely to refer to anyone from a teacher to a farm manager) they often appear isolated, guarded, withdrawn, suspicious, and apathetic or dull.

Thus, in many respects migrant children are brought up to have two rather explicit ways of responding to the two worlds of their family and "others." Though, of course, all children learn a version of that kind of distinction, there is a sharpness of contrast to the two-fold behavior in migrant children that is quite special. It is, at times, uncannily as if they had two sets of attitudes, two personalities, one for their family, one for the rest of the world.

<u>From Childhood Straight into Adulthood</u>) — 14 Sp H Italics c+lc E23

Migrant children become migrant adults with no ceremony, or time to be not quite either, so as to consolidate the one before taking up the other. There are two elements that mark the beginning of adulthood in the migrant, and, when both are fulfilled, he or she is an adult, and so treated by parents, brothers and sisters, and neighbors. These are experience in working the fields and the onset of puberty.

Start

By ten, many migrant children have put in considerable time at harvesting whatever crops their parents have worked at. In some southern states, school times used to be adjusted so that children could help with cotton or other crops, and that practice has not yet vanished for many sharecropping regions. With migrants there is an even greater possibility

for school schedules to yield to the needs of work; though the several states may insist that children within their territorial limits attend school, migrants tend to shuffle in and out of towns, counties and states, making it hard indeed for any regulatory agency to keep track of them. Their children may spend most of the Winter and Spring in one Florida school, or they may move about from one school to another, or not attend any school for very long. Dropouts among even the more "stable" migrant population--those who do less moving about--tend to be high in the junior high years.

At ten to twelve the children start becoming adults physiologically; many of them have already been working for several seasons. It is not long before they are marrying and having children. Brides of 14 and 15 are common, and their husbands are likely to be the same age or not very much older.

Before actual marriage the young men and women may live with their families and travel with them, but at ~~12~~ twelve to 14 they are "on their own time," as several mothers describe the fact that their sons and daughters were going out at night, and often staying out. They were, too, earning money and keeping it, rather than turning it in to their mothers. I noted that sexual maturation seemed to trigger the social and economic independence of the child with great speed. I wondered about the "defensive" nature of this fast departure, whether the highly crowded living conditions made a sexually aroused young man or woman "too much" for his parents to ~~bear~~ put up with. The parents said that they felt that migrants tended to "marry earlier" than sharecroppers, and certainly

part of their explanation is the ease with which older children can often make at least some money, and the fact that migrant farmers need their children rather less than do sharecroppers, whose children must help their parents work the land even when married, and often for no money at all.

Young Adulthood — 14 Sp H Statics c+lc E23

Married and parents, workers and housekeepers, young migrant men and women (at 16 or 18, for example) have their "platter parties" when they can join record machine with a source of electricity. On their way to work at six in the morning they can be seen literally dancing in the streets or pathways, often with a beer or two before they get on the buses which take them to the fields. Often their first child is given to the maternal grandmothers as a kind of "present," though slowly the mother accepts responsibility for the baby, and, with it, for adulthood itself.

Many of the younger migrants try very hard to break out of the migrant stream, to venture into cities for jobs, or at the least buy a car on time, which means they can travel by themselves rather than in the crowded trucks and buses that many of their parents may have to use, tired as those parents may be of depositing money for used cars that soon break hopelessly down. In large numbers they seem headed for disappointment. It is not only their lack of education and the unemployment which afflicts their segment of the economy. They themselves are at once afraid when they approach the city, many of them unaware of

just how to obtain work there. Moreover, many earnest young migrant workers are repelled by the prospect of sitting week after week waiting for jobs that do not in any case seem forthcoming. They are made anxious by the sight of relatives, friends, or simply fellow human beings drawing relief (as migrants they are ineligible for it until they establish residence, which may be easy or very hard, depending upon the state and its criteria for residence). Part of the explanation for their common anxious reluctance to join the ranks of the urban unemployed is perhaps based on fear of the city and its pervasive "authorities," and a developmental reliance upon the movement of travel, and farming done during it, for a sense of their own identity or self-respect.

One migrant (aged 17, two children) told his feelings as follows: "I tried the city for a job, and I moved in with a cousin, and no go. . . . They was all on relief and I was supposed to get on when I could, after applying; but we got tired of waiting, and we just left one day. . . . I'd rather keep 'on the season' and feel right than sit all day as they do and <u>do nothing</u>." There were several psychological themes in this and other interviews with him: his awe and confusion before the complexities of bureaucratic procedure; his fear of the city, its people, will, and customs; his restive inability to accommodate himself to a passive, idle, "taking" posture in contrast ~~to~~ with the one he grew up to know, the energetic, kinetic, changeable, and active one of migrants.

Young migrants, like their parents, show few inhibitions over sexuality. They have grown up with it, heard and seen it from their

first days. Their parents have never seen fit to restrict their love-making to private or relatively secluded places. (They are generally not to be had anyway.) In the evening hours as the children play noisily with one another, their parents will have sexual relations. I noticed, however, that many young, childless couples preferred privacy from their parents for such times--not always available while in transit. The woods are then often used.

Finally, I noticed a gradual change in mood or spirit in youthful migrants. At 20, at 22, they are full-fledged adults; we would call them "older" migrants. They have lost much of their interest in the possibilities of another kind of life; they often move about by themselves, no longer attached to their families, and little interested in seeing and visiting them even when near them or migrating with them; they are caring for their own children; they have settled into the curious combination of industry and initiative (needed to keep moving over such distances, to keep working at such back-breaking work) and lethargy and despair (reflected in their faces, their gestures, their way of slow movement, flattened speech, infrequent merrymaking). "We keeps going," said the father of one of the ten families, "but it ain't a good time like we once thought."

<u>Psychopathology</u> — 14 Sp H Statics E23

Having discussed some of the features of growth and development as they take place in migrant farm families, I might now mention some of the medical and psychiatric problems particularly evident in these

people. I have already noted the high infant mortality rate. From infancy through childhood a host of illnesses, uncorrected deformities, and congenital abnormalities, or developmental disorders face the children; and any psychiatric study cannot exclude such facts from a discussion of the sources of migrant psychopathology.

There was ~~Striking is the~~ evidence in the ten families, and in my work as a "general practice" physician beside the public health doctors, of tooth decay in children; of uncorrected disturbances of vision; of repeated ear infections that have resulted in faulty hearing; of valvular heart diseases, congenital and rheumatic, that are associated with impaired circulation of blood; of continual parasitic diseases that produce diminished appetite, weakness, and anemia; of vitamin deficiencies based on faulty eating habits, many of them from aversions as well as poverty or lack of availability; of chronic diarrheas, chronic fungal diseases of the skin, chronic tuberculosis; of untreated or poorly treated, chronic and recurrent, venereal diseases; of chronic kidney and bladder infections; of muscle pains and bruises, or bone injuries or back diseases brought on by working conditions; of nerve palsies.

Such illnesses cannot help but affect the minds of people regularly suffering from not one but in all likelihood many of them. Fatigue, insomnia, loss of appetite, trouble in breathing or walking, pain, itching, bleeding, blurred or double vision, hardness of hearing—these are some of the symptoms of these diseases, and their psychological effects upon people will be appreciated.

To view the more formally psychiatric disorders seen in migrants,

we must see much of their behavior as with all of us as an attempt to adapt to (cope with) the particular kind of life which is theirs. There is little sense in taking middle-class social and cultural standards and transposing them to migrant families as measurements of their "normal" or "abnormal" behavior. While it is true that migrants share an American citizenship with us all, their living conditions and habits have a quality all their own.

This said, we can, however, take notice of the breakdown of adjustment in these people, and try to indicate when it seems to happen and why. Migrant children generally start life with strong support from mothers who predominantly breast feed them for long, unanxious periods over many months, and offer constant affection and tenderness to them. Their toilet training is largely casual, basically unconcerned with time, frequency, or specific place, though gradually firm on the distinction between house (or vehicle) and the "outside." Children learn to get along closely with brothers and sisters, but scrap easily with other children; they are punished quickly but without prolonged residual hostility, and allowed both to be openly affectionate and angry to their parents. They are in contrast taught rigid controls before non-migrants, and fears of them also.

What we see in migrant children to some extent as a result of this is a preservation over the generations of a certain soundness of mind, self-confidence and self-esteem in one set of circumstances, in company with a rigid, anxious, fearful way of engaging with another set of circumstances. Thus, there is little to no childhood schizophrenia

in migrant children, very few of the temper tantrums and bed-wetting complaints commonly seen in middle-class child guidance clinics. There are few if any specific "learning problems", again so frequently seen in those clinics, because the entire culture of the migrants has a "learning problem" built into its whole way of life, work taking precedence over residence, let alone schooling, and parents, basically tired and illiterate, having no capacity to stimulate a taste for education in their young.

On the whole, these children at five or six, seem cheerful, spontaneous, affectionate to one another, and relaxed, in spite of their frequently poor physical health, and the comparatively hard life they and their parents must live. There are positive forces at work in their family life that give them initial psychological strength to face the world.

Bit by bit over time this initial stamina faces challenges and threats. Physical health deteriorates; the first sight of some of the teeth, squinting eyes, infected skin, and bent backs of "young" migrants in their twenties confirms that fact. The tight-knit, isolated protection that migrant living offers children yields to the demand that the child, in his early teens, establish his own livelihood, marriage, and capacity to "keep going" (literally as well as metaphorically).

At this point migrants often develop a variety of "symptoms" or ways of thinking and feeling which indicate their response to the cumulative stresses of their kind of existence. They may drink heavily before or after work, using the cheap wine and beer they can afford to dull their senses in the face of, or in the wake of, their long hours of

harvesting. They may become nasty and violent with one another, just as when children they were allowed to be toward neighbors. They often become careless and hurtful toward the homes furnished them by farmers, destroying screen doors, stopping up the central plumbing facilities of a camp. Some may call such behavior "accidental"; but many farmers are correct in sensing the barely submerged hostility and resentment at work in these people. The migrants don't specifically "intend" to damage property, but are aware of feeling overworked and underpaid, and carry those feelings around with them fairly constantly. When, after many months, I hesitantly "interpreted" for several of them a connection between those feelings and their way of not caring for property, I met surprise and denials, followed several days later by admissions from two of the five migrants that they did in fact consciously kick doors or walls at times, and thus might well do other similar deeds without even knowing why.

Apathy, gloom, and severe depressions are seen in many migrants, and depressions severe and crippling enough to be considered psychotic. In fact, I have seen seven cases of psychotic behavior recognized as such by migrants and reported by members of the ten families. These cases are people who are called "different," yet they work and are generally tolerated. Rarely, except for criminal reasons, do these people see psychiatrists or even mental hospitals, even when grossly schizophrenic. I thought two of my 17 adult informants (three of the homes were fatherless and without a continuing husband) psychotic, that is, in comparison with the others, guarded, depressed, hard to follow in thinking, and

(though not, of course, so labelled)

inappropriate in mood.

Migrants are particularly likely to use such psychological mechanisms as denial, projection, and suppression. They favor conversion reactions (I saw paralyses and seizures which made no neurological sense) and tend to express a good deal of their anxiety or despair in somatic form (and language, too). "My blood is weak," or "my stomach is weary" may express depression and tension but also tell of episodes of real physical illness, such as ulcers, parasitic diseases, or anemias of one sort or another. In this regard, it is hard to evaluate any given complaint from a migrant without taking into consideration ~~their~~ his style of life and even reason for expressing a particular complaint at one time or another.

One way of approaching some observations is to hear what others who work closely with migrants feel about them. Growers employ them and are very sensitive to their capacities and behavior. Here are small sections of one long taped interview with a Florida grower, an earnest, hard working, thoughtful, and kind person; similar comments come constantly from other growers, from doctors, nurses, teachers, county agricultural agents, from all whose work brings them close to migrants:

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> No matter what we try to do for them, they undo it. We build houses for them, and they destroy them. We fix their screens, and they tear them within the same day. We try to get them to take care of things, you know, where they live, everything from the house to their own belongings, and they don't seem to care . . . If you ask me the real answer to this is massive education of the children, because I know they're not born the way they are, but they sure develop that way as things are now, and you could give them twice their salary and

they'd still do what they do now . . . They'd drink it away and waste it on a lot of junk they buy, silly trinkets and unnecessary luxuries if you ask me . . . and then they still wouldn't eat right if they could get as much money as anyone around here; and they wouldn't know how to save it and spend it sensibly the way you and I would . . . So it's not just money, it's their bringing up . . . and what a lot of people want is for them to change and be more like us . . . Well, if they're going to be more like us I think you'd have to get children right from the beginning and set up good schools for them and teach them real intensively, not just reading and writing, but all the things we learn at home as well as school . . . you know, how to care for yourself and what the world expects of you . . . I mean that you should study and try to get ahead . . . then if they had that kind of education I do think they'd grow up different from their parents . . . Yes, I suppose they wouldn't want to work for us then . . . But if we're trying to make those kinds of changes with them we'd probably have to do something about our agriculture, too . . . We won't be needing them anyway the way we used to; it's a matter of time when machines will take it all over, or most of it, and then we could use the better educated ones; and just a few of them compared to what we have now could run a farm if they were intelligent enough . . . But meanwhile we're caught in the middle. We've got to worry about the market prices and weather and all the overhead we have and we have all the trouble of getting migrant labor and then keeping them steady and productive . . . It's easy to jump on us, but no one helps our vegetable prices the way they do some crops, and we can be wiped out in a season from a freeze or price drop, and when we need labor it's an emergency. Either those fields get harvested right away or they don't. And who's going to do it? . . . Maybe if they helped us with getting equipment to take away the need for so many field hands, and also got going on educating them, we could sooner or later get rid of the whole problem.

Again and again one hears that migrants are unreliable, unkept, lacking in thrift and tidiness. Worse, they tend to be willfully destructive of property, heavy drinkers, quarrelsome with one another, and generally a discouraging and depressing lot, unresponsive to aid,

sullen before advice, ill-suited even for more money or better working and living conditions. And their employers make a sound case, not only for this, but for their own precarious position in our economy.

Such assertions and complaints lodged by many intelligent growers and hard working officials in the fields of migrant health and education are hard to dispute. It is very trying for a dietician to work with a family daily surrounded by citrus fruits yet unwilling to serve them to their children. Potato chips, cokes, perhaps canned and stewed corn, fried fat; "yes" for these. Fresh fruit and vegetables, the very harvest of their hands, are ignored or rejected. Migrants often are suspicious when mobile units come almost to their very door offering nearby free medical diagnosis and treatment. Many migrant families don't want their children to go to school, don't care whether they receive their "shots," and don't, certainly, pay attention to the amenities of property care, or civil behavior with one another, to the value of moderation in alcoholic intake, sexual indulgence, and child bearing, to the conventions of marriage and divorce, or to the refinements of budgeted expenditures for sensible, and hopefully useful, "permanent" possessions.

Of practical interest in a discussion of migrant psychopathology is their common refusal to eat oranges, grapefruit, tomatoes, cherries--the healthy foods they so desperately need. Even when they hear earnest and effective dieticians correlate in simple, stark language the relationship between their eating preferences and habits and their own and their children's ailments, many stubbornly refuse to make changes in their diets. Ignorance is surely one part of the explanation, but interviews

suggest that another part is a strong aversion to eating what they must live by and work upon. In several cases I saw real revulsion at the mention of eating or serving a tomato or orange, a real kind of fear, as if in some way all the anger they felt at having to harvest those foods for a living would eventually come to haunt them and live in them if they were consumed.

In sum, many migrants seem to have constructed a split in their personalities which results in two distinct personality styles. With their children and husbands or wives they will often be warm, open, and smiling. At work, with strangers, and often with one another while traveling or even walking the streets, they are guarded, suspicious, shrewdly silent, or sullenly calculating in what they do have to say; and sometimes clearly apathetic, humorless, or even bitter, resentful, and touchy. Such alterations in mood and attitude appeared to me as grim and striking examples of the capacity of the human mind to respond to its environment and keep itself intact by developing a high order of ability to divide itself severely and categorically. A mother said: "We switches back and forth from being in a good mood to a bad one because you learns how to travel and you just make your head travel with you, so you gives yourself and the kids a break from the field."

Of course, the problem of <u>differential behavior in white and Negro migrants</u> had to be considered. There were definite differences between the six Negro and four white families studied along such variables as promiscuity (higher in Negroes), duration of breast feeding (longer in Negroes), tendency toward open expression of anger toward one another, by

word or deed (higher in whites), distance covered in yearly migrations (higher in Negroes), number of children (slightly higher in Negroes).

In the important respects of viewing the infant as a rare and thus specially valuable possession (to be nourished well in the early months), of generally having a "permissive" attitude toward toilet training, of attitude toward education and toward the time their children became adults and toward themselves in contrast to the world, the two sets of families largely resembled one another. Other observers have said that in some cases white mothers are not as warm with their infants, stricter with their children later, and prone to more pervasive depression, including more overt anti-social violence, when so disposed. (Of course, whites in the South can behave more aggressively "in public" than Negroes, regardless of class or occupation.)

My observations, however, tend to indicate that migrants, including white migrants, have developed certain characteristic attitudes <u>on the basis of their work and travel habits</u>. The constant movement, the threat of social chaos, the cramped living and traveling, make for common problems and remarkably similar responses to them which separate to some extent <u>migrant</u> behavior from that of the rest of the poor. Migrant farmers once were mostly poor farmers. They still are poor and they still are farmers, but they are also migrants. As such, there is a specific social and cultural condition to their lives, and a specific psychological stress and challenge too. If poor people have their own culture grounded in the life and laws of the slum or the rural village, migrants do not share in it, though they may of course carry some of it

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with them in what they do possess, a life of mobility that calls forth its own variation of habits and practices, surely more resembling the way poor people ~~live more~~ than middle-class people live, but different from both.

Still, these people are fellow Americans. They may watch the same television sets; travel in cars similar, if older, than most; and travel on the public road system, though most of them shun ~~major~~ principal roads out of fear, the wish to be alone, the dread of "breaking down on the road and ending up in jail." Their assumptions about everyone from the policeman to the gas station attendant may be different, even, from that of many other poor people, but they <u>see</u> those toll roads, gas stations, and signs advertising the host of goods and services we are accustomed to consider part of our way of living in this rich land.

What is the psychological effect of living the migrant life in a land where others seem well able to live a more settled and comfortable one? The drawings of migrant children show that they know such facts and generally tend to judge themselves in some way ~~both~~ weaker, blemished, guilty, or at fault for their condition. One four year old girl told me that were her mother's rheumatic heart condition better, they would doubtless live better. A seven year old boy in another family put the blame for his general bad luck on his own poor health, a bone disease affecting his right leg. There is a tendency, thus, to feel not only weak and hard pressed, but <u>responsible</u> for that fate. Though by such a maneuver of the mind these men, women, and children may achieve a rare feeling of control over their destinies, the price they pay in largely unrealistic loss of self-respect is rather a significant one.

Particularly unfortunate is such self-accusation when, in point of fact, these migrant families are willing to move about so far and wide, working so hard. Many poor are now called "unemployables," and many others rely upon welfare payments to keep them from hunger until jobs are more plentiful. Migrant farmers try to work, often go far to work. What psychological insistence makes them travel to work, rather than ~~travel~~ to a city to go on relief, cannot be ~~answered~~ described by any one generalization. The explanation rests in a combination of such factors as fear of the city, a genuine attachment to the land, a sometime enjoyment of movement, a depression that sets in for many of them when they do stop traveling and working, and a fear of that depression.

I must also mention the consistent willingness of migrant farm workers to work under literally any and all conditions, and for wages that hardly compare ~~to~~ with any earned by other American citizens. We hear today a good deal of talk that insists upon the need for foreign workers to do "stoop labor." It is claimed that enough of our own people will not do certain hard jobs, picking beans, cucumbers, ~~or~~ tomatoes, or cutting celery. I can only say that I have seen these people by the hundreds at work, and heard dozens and dozens of others wish for more work and better pay, ~~rather than~~ but not for different work, involving less strenuous effort. Frankly, it comes as a surprise to many of those who work closely with migrants--ministers, social workers, dieticians, and a few doctors and nurses--to hear that American farmhands, white and Negro, are reluctant to do any kind of farm work. The facts are that they always have done whatever farm work was available, and frequently done so for meagre pay

at that. Anyone who has stood about in the "loading zones" of certain southern towns and watched the crowds of workers assemble at 6 A.M. for the long day's work, including the haul to work and back, will recognize the irony in claims that there are insufficient workers to farm our land. That foreign labor is more "manageable," more susceptible to various regulations and the authority of their employers, is doubtless true. The issue, however, is social and economic, not psychological: the American farmhands I have studied and observed are <u>motivated</u> toward work, <u>want</u> to work, and <u>will</u> work. Other workers may well be preferred by farm owners, but psychiatric observations do not support many of the claims frequently made about the "laziness" of farmhands. On the contrary, most of these people display an initiative and desire for work in striking contrast to their poor brethren in cities, many of whom are unemployed and on relief, some of whom are unable to work, and some eventually uninterested in looking for any possibility of work. Migrant farm workers, almost by definition, show a remarkable capacity and desire to travel far and wide in search of work.

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<u>Conclusion</u>) — 14 Sp H Stakes caps J23C

On the basis of my observations I would first emphasize the <u>isolation</u> that specially characterizes migrant farm life.

In effect, migrant farm workers comprise, by the hundreds of thousands, a vastly ignored sub-culture whose work is essential to our well-stocked tables, but whose lives are often simply not known to most of us. There has, for example, been no psychiatric study of how these

people manage such strains as constant movement with its social and cultural disorganization, economic hardship, political disenfranchisement, and the personal and familial conditions of uprootedness in general.

My own ~~This psychiatric~~ investigation finds that in order to adapt to such unusual facts of environment migrants turn their isolated, mobile life inward, becoming guarded and suspicious toward outsiders but, in compensation for a rootless life, exceptionally close-knit with their young children. They tend to be unusually warm and stimulating with their infants, and rather lax about disciplining them. They so treat them that there appears to be significantly less hostility among ~~between~~ the children; in contrast, hostility and suspicion are channeled toward other families as well as the world in general, which is seen as unfriendly and punitive. Families thus become separated from families, even within the migrant culture, so that the price for cohesion within the family is isolation and alienation from others.

Moreover, migrant children progressively learn a sense of their own weakness and inadequacy in comparison with ~~to~~ the rest of the population, whose existence they comprehend and see from the distance of the traveler or television viewer. Their drawings and their play in games as well as their words indicate that they see themselves as smaller, less able to make decisions affecting their own lives, and, for some reason not clearly understood by them, stained, crippled, or paralyzed. For that matter, migrant children do not have the cultural accompaniment to physiological adolescence that we call "youth." They go directly into adulthood, with its work, marriage, and parenthood, in their early teens.

Migrants thus tend not only to be distrustful of others, but even hostile toward many attempts to help them with medicine, shelter, or advice. They tend to avoid the very food they harvest, often in a fearful manner. Perhaps they simply are avoiding reminders of their hard work. Perhaps they prefer other food for reasons that stem from their folkways. In any event, vitamin deficiencies and generally inadequate diets result from such behavior.

Migrants develop a variety of medical and psychiatric illnesses. Especially are they susceptible to mood swings, violence toward one another and heavy drinking. The physical health of these people is generally quite poor, with a host of diseases plaguing their skin, muscles, blood, vital organs and nervous system from birth to death. These diseases also affect the minds of those so afflicted, causing anxiety, fear, irritability and excitability, withdrawal and moodiness.

There is an urgent need for closer study of the lives of migrant farmers, and the problems in such a study are to some extent indicated. I can only remark upon the extraordinary resilience shown by many of these people. The exertion of will they can muster under the conditions of life they have as their very own calls for further psychiatric study into how people manage stress and preserve as well as lose some of their psychological stability and human dignity. To say, as some do, ~~that they~~ domestic migrants will not work at "stoop labor" is to ignore the daily facts of life for hundreds of thousands of native Americans who, in point of fact, <u>have done</u> and <u>continue to do</u> precisely that: working under all sorts and conditions of work for pay exceedingly low in comparison to ~~what~~ that most of

us get.

Confronted with such dismaying facts our reaction as middle class citizens, as professionals in medicine or education or government, are understandable if at times self-defeating. We want to "forget" what amounts in sum to a vastly unpleasant and complicated state of affairs. We are made uncomfortable. We don't quite know what to do.

Still, what are we to do? I can only say with some special experience that it is indeed possible to get to know and understand these migrant families and their behavior. If we are to approach these people with some of our standards of living and behavior, which they see on television or from the road, and know to exist for others if not themselves, we must do so, it seems to me, with patience and willfulness. We must, that is, be prepared for the tiresome work, the coordinated planning, in education, medicine, agriculture, housing, and a host of associated fields, required for the job. Our tenant farmers and migrant workers will respond to consistent and strong effort exerted their way from the many directions involved in replenishing the needy. Their children can be better taught. Their health can improve. Their water can be safer, their food more nourishing. Eventually their actions can become more constructive and their spirits higher. Nor need they be enemies of their present employers, many of whom wish them well and are also caught in frustrating situations which are really part of the same social and agricultural problems afflicting the migrants. Whatever we do, then, we should mean. A few casual and half-hearted attempts are likely to result in frustration, anger, and finally a sense of failure on both sides, theirs and "ours."

Minority Groups — Racial —

At present, the principal (and, for all purposes, the only) racial minority group in Richmond is the Negro. There are only a few non-Negro non-whites in the city, ~~and~~ the metropolitan area, and the state ~~the metropolitan area~~. In the city, Non-negro non-whites numbered only 85 in 1940, 86 in 1950 and but 359 in 1960 when there were only 470 in the whole metropolitan area. But, As in most central cities throughout the U.S., ~~the~~ in Richmond the Negro population is increasing, rapidly, in both absolute and relative terms. Their number has increased steadily since 1930; by 1970, one can reasonably expect that there will be slightly more than twice the 53,000 Negroes in Richmond that there forty years earlier. There are, in 1965, about 100,000 Negroes within the city and 116,000

in the metropolitan area, up from 92,000 and 107,000, respectively, in 1960.

Of course, as Richmond city's Negro population grows and total population remains rather stable, the percentage of population which is Negro rises, rapidly. This is a fairly recent trend, this rising proportion of Negroes. Although the percentage of Negroes reached its probable all-time low in 1930, between 1920 and 1950, it rose hardly at all, from 31.5 to 31.7. ¶ The change came after 1950. Richmond's previously cited population loss of 10,350 during the fifties resulted when an increase of 19,250 Negroes was more than offset by a loss of 29,600 whites. The percentage of Negroes increased to 42.0, a gain of one

percent for every year of the decade. Since the last major census, the increase has continued, though perhaps not quite so rapidly. But it is estimated that that the percentage of Negroes is up three to four points since 1960, ~~[redacted]~~ and it can be ~~[redacted]~~ assumed that the city of Richmond, in 1965, is 45 percent Negro, or more. Should this trend continue -- and there is every reason to expect that it will -- Richmond will become a city with a Negro majority in the very near future. Local city planners ~~[redacted]~~ predict that Negroes will ~~[redacted]~~ represent slightly more than 50 percent in the 1970 census.

Yet, in the metropolitan area, the

Negro has been in the minority and will continue. In fact, in the metro area outside of the city, he is becoming a smaller and smaller minority. Over the whole metropolitan area, however, Negroes ~~[illegible]~~ constitute a slowly declining, slightly more than one out of four, proportion of the population.

Supply of Housing – Richmond

According to the 1960 Census of Housing there were in Richmond (city) 69,105 housing units of all types and qualities. Of these, 56,326, or 81.5 percent, were of sound condition; 51,705 (74.8 percent) with sound and hot and all plumbing facilities. Of the remainder, 9782 units (14.2 percent) were deteriorating, and 2997 (4.3 per cent) were dilapidated.

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Housing units occupied totaled 66,695. Of these, 31,822 (47.8 percent) were owner-occupied, and 34,773 (52.2 percent) were rented. More than seventy percent of owner-occupied units were occupied by whites; non-whites (read Negroes) held only 29.5 percent. Whites had 57.8 percent of the occupied rental units, and Negroes 42.2 percent of the occupied rental units. Overall, whites lived in 63.8 percent of the occupied

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Spokesmen for the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority, which surveyed [redacted] Richmond housing during 1964-65 as part of a Community Redevelopment Program, felt that the 1960 Census data were unreliable. RRHA-CRP researchers made their own inspections and "windshield surveys", and concluded that the last housing census data tended to overstate the quality [redacted] of Richmond housing. It was implied in this criticism ~~that~~ net deterioration (excess of deterioration over improvements and repairs) was greater than ~~that~~ which might have been expected during the four to five year interval.

units, and Negroes in 36.2 percent. At that time the Negro proportion of the city's population was 42.0 percent.

According to the 1960 Census, in Richmond owner-occupied units averaged 6.1 rooms, and rented units only 4.0 rooms. Although only 12 percent of the units averaged more than 1.00 occupants per room, the Negro units tended to be the more crowded. Based on the information in the preceding paragraph, and defining (with loose accuracy) the occupants of each housing unit as a family unit, then 52.8 percent of white family units lived in housing which they owned. This was true of only 39 percent of Richmond's Negro families. With Richmond's 127,600 whites occupying 42,500 housing units, and with 92,400 non-whites occupying only 24,100 units, the persons per

unit averaged 3.00 for whites and 3.83 for non-whites. If, as one may reasonably suspect, white units have more rooms, on the average, than do non-white units, this is further evidence of crowding of non-whites.

It is ~~neither~~ not possible, nor is it necessary, to calculate the number of persons per room and the number of rooms per housing unit on a racial basis. However, in the principally non-white census tracts (80 percent non-whites or more), median ~~rooms~~ rooms per unit ranged from 3.7 to 5.5 and units with 1.01 or more persons per room ranged from 9.1 percent to 35.2 percent, with 11 of 18 tracts in the 20 percent or above range. In the principally white tracts (20 percent non-white or less), median rooms ranged from 3.0 to 7.5+, but ~~all but four~~ 27 of 28 tracts were in the 5.0 rooms and above range. In

these white tracts, the percentages of housing units with 1.01 or more persons per room ranged from 0.0 to 18.5, with 18 of 28 tracts at the 4.0 percent or less level.

These statistics only confirm what has been found to be the prevailing pattern in most American urban communities, and what Richmonders interviewed offered as subjective and objective judgments. That is, the Richmond negro, relative to his white fellow citizen, lives in more crowded, lesser quality housing, which more than likely, he does not own.

There are a number of solutions to the problem of improving negroes housing which are available, potentially. The most obvious would be an increase in the total supply

of ~~[illegible]~~ Richmond housing, especially of that portion available to Negroes. A second remedy ~~and~~ complementary to the first, would be a Negro move-ment to the suburbs. A third would be the stemming of the influx of Negroes into the city and the metropolitan area, perhaps even to a net out-migration of non-whites from the area, ~~to~~ relieving not only housing but other social and economic pressures.

The third proposal is the most unlikely and the least meritorious. The influx of non-whites into the Richmond area is destined to continue well into the future, as long as their is a surplus of the unemployed and the underemployed in the regional rural areas, and as long as the economic opportunities there for all persons, especially for persons of color, range

from stringently limited to non-existent. Thus, rural and small-town Negroes will continue to migrate to ~~the~~ cities, one of which will continue to be Richmond. A recent study by the University of Virginia's Bureau of Public Administration estimated that the city's Negro population was increasing by more than 2900 each year. This figure is probably on the ~~[illegible]~~ high side, but the trend, difficult to quantify in the absence of a thorough census, is indisputable — and enduring. As pointed out elsewhere in ~~this~~ report, if the present trend continues, Richmond will have a Negro majority within the present city limits, perhaps ~~if not~~ by the 1970 census or ~~then~~ early in the 1970's.

Negro removal to the suburban areas

is ~~a~~ more plausible, though only slightly more likely as a solution to the Negro housing problem. There is little or no housing available to them in suburban Chesterfield and Henrico Counties, where, between 1900 and 1965, the total Negro population decreased by nearly 5,000.

Why has the suburban Negro population decreased? Why will few, if any, additional Richmond area Negroes move into Chesterfield and Henrico?

A number of reasons were given by the whites and Negroes interviewed in Richmond during the course of this study. Most of them state, flatly, that suburban real estate simply is not available, with rare exceptions, to colored persons. When asked to enlarge on this point,

typical responses are that Negroes would not buy (or rent) outside of the city, even if whites owners would sell (or rent). In the land-short Richmond area, prices for suburban land (and housing) would be greater than many Negroes could afford. At first this does not seem to be a defensible argument, since Negroes are paying prices for Richmond city real estate which ought to be comparable, or nearly so, to prices of advertised suburban housing. But, it is pointed out in defense of this argument, a Negro family would find it difficult to meet the additional (in excess of urban) costs of suburban living, in particular, the necessity to become a two-car family. In the city, where jobs are can be within walking distance from home,

~~and~~ where public transportation is available, and where car-pool arrangements among the sufficient supply of Negro neighbors are possible, the Negro family can live with one or no autos without too great an inconvenience. But, since usually both husband and wife are employed — usually, that is, but not necessarily steadily — transportation to and from employment for both would require the maintaining of two automobiles should the family live "beyond the bus line." The Negro family budget, it is pointed out, will not permit this. Further — and this point should neither be overstressed nor ignored — why many Richmond Negroes would hesitate to move into any nearby suburban area ~~where~~ for they would not be certain of their reception in the ~~[illegible]~~ suburbs, most of which are totally white

Then, why not increase the supply of housing in Richmond, especially of housing which is available to non-whites? To a minor degree this is being done. But any attempt to carry out such a building program on a sufficiently large enough scale encounters a combination of economic and sociological barriers, obstacles which are capable of limiting the programs far below the need.

To begin with, Richmond, especially Richmond city, suffers from a combination of land shortage and inefficient land usage. There is not, within the city, any large tract of land suitable for residential building which is not already built. In fact, several residential areas, notably the so-called "Fulton bottom",

are much more suitable for industrial and commercial usage than they are for housing. The economic development of the Richmond area is being held back, possibly, by the lack of readily available industrial and commercial sites, especially within the central city area.

This is not to say that Richmond is overcrowded on a population density basis, relative to similar or comparable American cities. But, as several sources pointed out, much Richmond land is either mis-used or poorly utilized. Richmond, as more than one real estate man phrased it, "went out before it went up." That is, as the city grew ~~developed~~, it spread outward rather than upward into high-rise commercial and residential buildings. Once occupied, land

will tend to remain in whatever use it has been put to, long after that use is no longer its best use — if it ever had been the best.

Of course, over time the quality of use of misused land improves. Such a process has been going on, and will continue, in Richmond. But this upgrading process will generate no appreciable amount of new land for housing. In fact, within the city, residential land areas should very well diminish, through conversion to commercial and industrial areas.

Land in Richmond suitable for residential use, almost entirely in that use already, could provides sites for housing accomodations for more people than live there presently. But this would mean redevelopment of these areas, and the

[redacted] begin.

process is slow. In the best, residential areas, prohibitive costs, zoning regulations, property owner resistance, and a community sense of "it would be wasteful, and distasteful" eliminate any chance of redevelopment for compactness. Much the same factors exist in middle class housing areas. Lower and lowest quality housing, quite profitable investments in their present use and state, would be less economic only, most likely, than industrial, commercial, or expensive "high-rise" apartment housing.

RICHMOND STUDY

Topic: Racial Separation

~~Traditionally~~ Historically, there has been in many southern cities -- especially among older cities - residential integration to a marked degree. Southern cities having a high percentage of Negroes in their total populations used to show, consequently, a heavy scattering of Negroes throughout their residential areas. Even the wealthier areas were "integrated" by "live-in" and "live-nearby" servants. In other southern cities this "salt-and-pepper" housing pattern was less pronounced. Large numbers of Negroes were highly concentrated in several areas of a city, with a scattering of smaller numbers virtually in all other sections. Richmond was, reportedly, an example of this latter racial residential pattern.

We now approach the question: ~~Is~~, the degree of residential segregation increasing, decreasing, or unchanging in Richmond? That is, is the typical Richmondite more, or less likely to be living in close proximity to members of another race than he was ten, twenty or even fifty years ago?

The subjective answer to the above questions is a conditional support for increasing residential segregation. Negroes interviewed in Richmond, without exception, were of the opinion that separation of the races had been increasing. Whites responded variously to question, but no white offered that ~~racial~~ residential segregation was decreasing.

Objective support for these opinions

can be demonstrated, easily. Richmond's loss of 33,400 whites and its gain of 24,200 Negroes between 1950 and 1964 makes it likely, although not certain, that residential segregation would have intensified. An analysis of city census tract data show more clearly what has been happening.

The city of Richmond has been subdivided by the Bureau of the Census into 61 tracts. There was only one shift of tract boundaries between the 1950 and the 1960 censuses, an exchange of territory between two southside tracts, a minor change which complicates statistical comparisons not at all. Eighteen of the 61 tracts gained significantly in the <u>number</u> of Negroes, and 21 tracts increased significantly in their <u>percentage</u>

of Negroes. There were no census tracts ~~which gained~~ gaining significantly in number ~~of Negroes~~ of Negroes which did not also gain in percentage of Negroes. Thus these population trends do not ~~reflect~~ reflect ~~from the occupying~~ the occupying of new residential areas by whites and Negroes on a proportional basis. The reflected, rather, Negro displacement of whites from what had been predominantly white areas.

No census tracts gained significantly in percentage of Negroes while not making significant gains in Negro numbers. In fact, two of the three tracts gaining significantly in percentage ~~while not gaining significantly in~~ but not in numbers had, in 1960, fewer Negroes than in 1950. All three had smaller total populations, principally if not exclusively, from the exodus of whites.

One of these tracts was near the downtown business district; the other two were in Negro residential areas. Why these latter two lost population is not apparent; neither was in the path of the Richmond-Petersburg turnpike, which, as mentioned elsewhere in this report, was the major slum (and Negro) removal project in Richmond's recent history--if not of all time, for that city.

On the other hand, 31 of 61 Richmond census tracts experienced significant losses of whites between 1950 and 1960. That many tracts would have lost whites during a decade when white population declined by 29,600, or 18.8 percent, is not surprising. However, it is at least somewhat surprising that more than half of the

tracts, some of which had few to very few whites in 1950, would have had significant declines in the number of whites. ~~during the decade that followed.~~

~~During the~~ In the 1950's, a total of 35 of 61 tracts increased in percentage of Negro residents. The Negro/white ratio remained stable in two tracts, one of which is 95% Negro, the other 100% white. [~~Simultaneously during this same time, since~~, the number of tracts with no Negroes increased from one to three, the number with no whites from none to one.] The remaining 24 tracts increased in percentage of whites. However, of these 24, in 1960, 19 had less than 5 percent Negroes and 13 ~~had~~ were less than 1 percent Negro.

The racial composition of Richmond

tracts can be described, and compared, in the following table:

Proportion of Negroes	Number of Tracts 1950	Number of Tracts 1960
0% (No Negroes)	1	3
1% or less	17	19
5% or less	23	25
10% or less	28	27
20% or less	35	28
40% or less	38	34
60% or more	14	23
80% or more	8	18
90% or more	6	15
95% or more	6	13
99% or more	2	5
100% (all Negroes)	0	1
"Integrated" tracts —		
1/3 to 2/3 Negro	11	8
1/4 to 3/4 Negro	15	11

The racial pattern revealed by the above table requires little elaboration. Suffice it to point out that the number of predominantly white tracts (5% or less Negro) increased slightly over the decade, whereas the number of mixed tracts (5% to 40% Negro) declined, from 15 in 1950 to 9 in 1960.

Or, if one ~~defines~~ measures residentially integrated neighborhoods in two other ways, the number of tracts with a 1 to 2 Negro-white mixture declined from 11 to 8; tracts with 1 to 3 racial proportions dropped from 15 to 11.

However one measures it, with regard to residential patterns, in Richmond the recent past has been one of increasing housing segregation. The probable addition of 5,000 to 6,000 Negroes to Richmond's population between 1960 and 1965, coupled with a loss of about 4,000 whites, can only have accentuated this already pronounced tendency.

~~Not only has~~ Housing segregation in Richmond has been increasing in Richmond not only recent decades, but the pattern marks the city's long run trend. In his 1928

study, Negro Problems in Cities, T. J. Woofter, Jr. defined "any area with a population of more than 90 percent Negro as a concentrated Negro area, and any area with a population more than 90 per cent white as a concentrated white area." Using 1920 census data for "United States Census enumeration districts", Woofter found that 53 per cent of Richmond's whites lived in concentrated white areas and 25 % of Richmond Negroes lived in concentrated Negro areas. If we were to apply the same test, by census tracts, to the City of Richmond more recently, we would find that in 1950, 62 % of whites and 34 % of Negroes lived in "concentrated areas" of their respective races. In 1960, the percentages

were 75% for whites and 61% for negroes, respectively. This indicates that although the trend toward greater racial separation is a long-term phenomenon, the pace of this trend has accelerated recently. In summary on this particular point, it may be said that, however it is measured, whatever the time period there can be little doubt that instances of Richmond whites and negroes ~~are~~ living in the same neighborhoods are decreasing in frequency.

CH Pamph

Comments on Johnson's Report

Gaing Fullerton's Draft Report of Negro Crime —

9/1/61

Pages 1, 2, 3

I believe the argument re: race & crime doesnot touch the main point of racist theory, i.e., that Negroes are lacking in inhibition - act on impulse - and are not to be trusted with self-direction.

These arguments (Johnson's) are particularly ineffective when set up against the mass of statistical data.

It is a mistake to assume or imply that Negroes are more liable to arrest, conviction and incarceration - merely because they are Negroes. Persons of low economic status also are more likely to be arrested etc than others.

p. 4

This, in my opinion, is the whole point or at least, the most significant point. We do not have the kind of data which will provide clear cut answers to the questions raised. The fallacy in the racist interpretation of the statistics is more readily exposed by indirection. Call attention to available statistics showing

① Higher crime rates for men than women (5 to 1)

② Higher rates in some parts of the country than in others.

(3) Higher rates in the inner city than in fringe areas. (See: Police + Minority Groups) Louisville version

(4) Higher in urban than rural areas.

(5) Higher rates of arrest for "no collar" crime than for "white collar" crime (see Sutherland: White Collar Crime)

Statistics such as these, if cited, transfer the burden of proof from "our side" the side of the angels to "theirs".

Against this: (1) Any textbook in criminology will provide a good quote on the unreliability of criminal statistics;

(2) Also an effective device that might be used here is to cite brief quotes from a dozen different sources (qualified) on "Negro + crime". These same texts in Criminology

* Perhaps as a substitute for the argument of the first several pages.

As I read through this I am more than ever convinced that the great mass of statistics should be reduced to a minimum. If the "rewrite" is 1/3 the length of the original the space given to tables needs to be reduced comparably. Otherwise there is not adequate space for interpretation. There is too much here that needs to be "explained away".

September 13, 1961

Dear Les,

What is notable about these unselected and hastily assembled excerpts is their unanimity in rejecting race, per se, as an explanation of the high crime rated of Negroes in the United States. Although some of these books have gone through several editions, the list includes the most recent texts being circulated for adoption by colleges and universities. Collectively they comprise a body of knowledge accumulated over the years but tested many times over by the critical appraisal of scholars in the field.

Two of the books are different from the rest in that they are not texts and they both were published about twenty years ago. Bonger(#1) is a translation; it is included because the whole book is devoted to the subject: Crime and Race. Hooton (#4) is concerned with individual differences and perhaps may be regarded as the most recent writer to subscribe to the theories of Lombroso and his followers. (Lombroso that certain physical stigmata identified a distinct criminal type, i. e. the born criminal). The inclusion of these two works, of somewhat ancient vintage, testifies to the lack of scientific support for segregationist arguments.

I thought Korn and Mc Corkle (#5) most helpful for our purposes. They reduce the matter to its logical absurdity. The legal definition of Negro, in terms of which the statistics have been compiled, is itself without scientific validity. The distinctions between Negro and white- or more precisely, segregation practices-- "cause" Negro criminality. To add absurdity to absurdity (shades of South Africa's Apartheid) why not use criminality as a means of racial identification? "It is decreed that anyone who commits a crime will be forthwith classified as a Negro and treated as such."

I am still not sure how these excerpts can be worked into the document. Perhaps you will get a fruitful idea from them that will suggest the proper emphasis and arrangement. I wish you luck. Have a good trip with your daughter.

Cordially,

"C.H."

C. H. Parrish

P.S. There are two sets of excerpts numbered - alphabetically (last name of author)

1

CRIME AND RACE

What The Authorities Say

Bonger, William Adriaan, Race and Crime, Columbia University Press, New York, 1943

> So far as the theoretical basis of the problem is concerned, it has become certain that criminality is not a characteristic such as the possession of a round skull, blue eyes, or musicality—those characteristics in which races differ. Consequently, to speak of criminal races (in which all the individuals would be criminal) is pure nonsense. No person comes into the world a criminal (if one omits consideration of pathological cases—insania moralis). Crime is always limited to a (comparatively) small number of individuals in a race. The proposed question must thus be expressed otherwise: Does one race more than another count a greater or lesser number of variants in certain qualities, and do they then also differ in their averages, which could be significant in one way or another for criminology? p. 105

2

CRIME AND RACE

What The Authorities Say

Caldwell, Robert G., Criminology, The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1956

If there are inherited mental differences among races, or if there are more superior individuals in one race than in another, this mayaccount for some of the excessive Negro crime rate in the United States. But at present there is no proof to support such an assumption. There are, however, social, economic, and psychological factors that can explain most, if not all, of the disproportionately high Negro crime rate. In all of his social relationships, the Negro is disproportionately exposed to the causes of crime. In general, his medical care, education, and training are less; his poverty, greater; his housing, less adequate. He is discriminated against socially and industrially, while to an increasing extent he is expected to meet the white man's standards of competition and law observance. And all of the Negro's ensuing problems are intensified by his traditions of slavery, his growing urbanization, and his migration northward.

Even though it cannot be demonstrated that the factor of race is a direct cause of crime, this does not mean that race can be disregarded in the study of criminology. Entirely apart from the question of innate racial differences, the physical characteristics of a race, as measured by cultural values, help to determine its status in a society, the role they will play in all of its social relationships, and the concept that its members have of themselves. Thus they affect its opportunities, its handicaps, its rewards, and its conflicts, and so indirectly its crime rate. pp. 197-198

3

CRIME AND RACE

What The Authorities Say

Cavan, Ruth Shonle, Criminology, Second Edition, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1955

The relation of crime to race presents a delicate and complex problem that has not been fully explored. It is closely tied to the prejudices that exist between racial groups and to the reflection of those prejudices in the administration of criminal justice. p. 58

Background of Negro Crime

Many special reasons have been suggested for such predominance of Negro crime as actually exists. Some of them go back to the days of slavery and the traditions built up then that have been handed down from one generation to the next, especially in the rural South where the Negroes are isolated from contacts with white culture. Slavery destroyed the Negroes' native culture and methods of social control but did not develop a substitute system. Family life under slavery was a haphazard affair, a fact reflected still in the high rates of desertion and divorce among Negroes. Schools were not established during slavery, and those since established are far inferior to schools for whites. Work habits were poorly developed and entrance into business and the professions was (and to a large extent still is) prohibited. Thrift was unnecessary under a system of slavery, and it benefits the rural southern Negro slightly under the prevailing semipeonage system. These experiences have resulted in a failure on the part of the Negro to develop a high degree of self-respect and personal pride or of self-discipline and the ability to work. He is inclined to feel dependent upon whites and often rationalizes thefts with the statement that the whites owe him a living. Thus petty thefts, vagrancy, and the abandonment of wives and children are to be expected. p. 60

4

CRIME AND RACE

What The Authorities Say

Hooten, Earnest Albert, Crime And The Man, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1939

That racial background of inheritance which determines our skin color, our hair form, and numerous anatomical and physiological features, may also in some vague and general way influence mental and temperamental characteristics, emotional sets, and so on. But race does not make the human animal criminalistic. All existing races have survuved through scores of thousands of years the vissitudes of natural and social selection and are mentally and physically sound at the core. But race undoubtedly influences choice of crime in those organic inferiors which are all too numerous within each racial group. It is the individual and familial inheritance which produce the deteriorated organism which cannot ~~xxxxx~~ withstand environmental adversity. When a whole race is environmentally degressed, either because of coercion by other races or through inability to cope with the environment to which it has become adapted, we need not expect it to proliferate in antisocial or criminal behavior. Crime is not rampant in savage and retarded human societies. Crime flourishes rather in rich cultures where production is varies and abundant, so that constitutional inferiors are coddles and fostered, inevitably to bite the hands which have fed them. p. 388-389

5

CRIME AND RACE

What The Authorities Say

Korn, Richard R., and McCorkle, Lloyd W., Criminology and Penology, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1959

RACIAL MIXTURES. The problem of racial differentiation is complicated by the fact that all members of the human species can mate and produce offspring of all varieties of blending. Recognition of this fact alone would require one to speak of race in quantitative rather than qualitative terms. Since race is a matter of degree, one should not say "Negro," "Chinese," or "White," but how much Negro, how much Chinese, etc. . . . Consequently, in order to assess the operation of the genetic Negro crime factor, it is necessary to observe the crime rates among the "racially pure" Negroes of primitive Africa, where, according to the theory, we would expect the criminality to be highest because the racial factor is least diluted. But every index reveals that the extent of criminality among the few still primitive Negroes of Africa is negligible—and very much less than that of the racially mixed Negroes of America. Apparently, then—and contrary to expectation—the Negro crime rate "rises" when pure Negro racial characters are mixed with white racial factors.

The "conclusion" just cited illustrates the results that emerge when the racial hypothesis is measured against actual evidence and then pushed impartially to its logical conclusions. Needless to say, the idea of a "white genetic factor for crime" has never been considered in racial crime theories—despite the fact that, from a purely biological viewpoint, it makes as much sense as a "Negro factor" or any other racial factor. The fact that this possibility has been ignored despite evidence that crime is most highly concentrated in modern, urbanized nations with predominantly Caucasoid populations suggests a more significant conclusion—namely, that differences in racial attitudes have been more critical than actual differences between the races in determining these theories and their supporting data. pp.230-231

The Genetic Validity of Negro Crime Statistics

. . . Unfortunately, the methods of race reporting employed in census records do not attempt to reflect the actual extent of racial mixture but follow, instead, the popular conception whereby any degree of known Negro ancestry or apparent Negroid characteristics classifies the individual as a Negro. This procedure weakens the genetic validity of Negro crime studies at the very outset.

This objection would not be serious if the percentage of mixed white-Negro individuals were small. The most careful studies, however, indicate the reverse. (Herskovits estimates only about 22% unmixed Negroes.) . . . Since there is no evidence to suggest that Negro criminals are more or less mixed than Negroes in the general population, there is no alternative to the conclusion—assuming the correctness of the percentages—that almost 40 percent of the offenders contributing to the total "Negro" crime are either half or more than half white. Any correction of the totals of Negro offenders toward greater conformity with this genetic distribution wou ld have the effect of redistributing a very considerable number of criminals from the Negro to the white side of the ledger. The percentage "transferred" by this procedure would be large enough to reduce the presently "unfavorable" picture of Negro crime drastically.

We come now to a critical distinction: though the doctrine of Negro uniqueness and racial inferiority is an illusion, the reality of the Negroe's unique social treatment is undisputed. The fact that Negroes do not form a unique and biologically pure population is now beside the point; in isolating them as a group, the statistician is reflecting a social reality at the expense of a socially irrelevant genetic error. Put another way, the validity of isolating Negroes in a separate statistical category depends on the validity of conceptualizing them as a distinct, relatively isolated minority group with common values, attitudes, and problems. pp.231-232

A good point

6

CRIME AND RACE

What The Authorities Say

Reckless, Walter C., The Crime Problem, Third Edition, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1961

. . . In general, this greater liability to police action and being held more accountable by the courts and legal procedures resembles a class liability. It is in large part the same sort of liability that besets the poorer classes in modern American society, andby and large, the Negro is eminently a poor man in the United States. It is possible, therefore, to think of the greater risk of color in crime as being partly a class risk. On the other hand, a large part of the risk of colored persons in crime is due to the operation of color prejudice, special traditions, and the pressures of minority-group status.

. . . There are factors underlying the greater liability of the Negro to arrest and court action that are not altogether included in class risks or in the operation of color prejudice. Factors that have to do with the Negro's greater exposure to bad living conditions and other demoralizing circumstances of such living conditions are pretty definitely class factors. Factors having to do with limitation of opportunity would affect the operation of color prejudice. But there are some factors that sociologically or culturally are associated with Negro life and history in the United States. Certain prevailing patterns of Negro family life, religious life, and leisure activities are cases in point. Crap shooting, razor carrying, illegitimacy, matriarchal family life, burial insurance, and many other items can be considered as culture patterns more prevalent among the Negro than among the white in the United States. Special culture patterns can have a direct effect upon crime and exposure to arrest. pp. 42-43

1

CRIME AND RACE

What The Authorities Say

Sutherland, Edwin H., and Cressey, Donald R., Principles of Criminology, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1960

According to the differential association theory, the race ratios in crime result from differential associations with criminal and anti-criminal patterns. In the United States, race may be related to associations in either or both of two ways. First, the inheritance of certain characteristics may determine the social and economic level at which members of a race must live and thus possibly throw them into situations where certain criminal patterns impinge upon them with great frequency and intensity. Negroes do not commit white-collar crimes as frequently as do whites, because they are not as frequently in white-collar jobs; they commit crimes which are typical of that part of of the society with which they come in contact. Second, confinement of a race to a given locale may mean that the members of the race can hardly escape the traditions which are characteristic of the locale. The traditions may be in conflict with the laws under which the race is expected to live, or they may be essentially anti-criminal. Thus, the experience of the race may be such that there is much or little conflict between its traditional ways of behaving and the laws under which it is expected to live. p. 143

8

CRIME AND RACE

What The Authorities Say

Taft, Donald R., Criminology, The Macmillan Company, 1950

The Criminal Record of the Negro

It is popular to attribute evils to unpopular groups. It is generally expected that the Negro minority will be disproportionately involved in crime. This expectation is borne out, apparently, by the extremely unreliable record of the Negro's behavior both North and South. This record of necessity is concerned with the relative degree to which the Negro is apprehended or punished for crime, and does not measure his actual relative behavior. Intensive studies, less dependent upon the vagaries of the general statistical record, have usually confirmed the impression given by statistics for the whole country. Apparent exceptions earlier found in communities where this minority have lived somewhat isolated with their own leadership and institutions, have not often been fully confirmed by later research. Even in such situations the Negro cannot escape fully from the influence of the discrimination which, as we shall see, is the most credible explanation of his high crime rate. The argument that improvement of crime statistics would equalize the criminal record of the two races, proves too much. The Negro must commit much crime, since he is disproportionately exposed to almost every cause of crime. p. 92

CRIME AND RACE

What The Authorities Say

Tappan, Paul W., Crime, Justice, and Correction, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1960

. . . While Negroes make up approximately 10 per cent of the population, they account for about 30 per cent of all arrests in the United States and 60 per cent of arrests for urban crimes involving force or threat of force (murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault). It is often alledged that police are more inclined to arrest colored than white persons on suspicion, but a legitimate complaint is also made that police are less than diligent in dealing with crimes committed by Negroes against members of their own race. Probably police statistics inflate little, if at all, the comparative rates of Negro crime.

. . . High Negro crime rates can be traced primarily to the caste system that has segregated this race in ghettos, located very commonly in the most underprivileged areas of the city. There a large proportion of the Negroes cannot work out any real stability in fa family, work, or community life; consequently, their standards of morality and responsibility are low. A slave tradition and the persisting barriers of a rigid caste organization have isolated the great majority of Negroes socially and have deprived them of opportunity and ambition. Inevitably many of them lack both self-regard and respect for others. Upon this race converge those multiple influences of personality, family and neighborhood disorganization, economic privation, and asocial norms that are so generally associated with delinquincy and crime without regard to race. But the Negro's difficulty is exacerbated by an identifying pigmentation that facilitates his segregation in a closed class and attracts the stereotyped rationalizations concerning his inferiority that serve to keep him inferior. So long as he remains socially segregated and deprived, it appears, he will continue to be more criminal than the dominant white. p. 202

CHAPTER I: THE CONCEPTS OF CRIME AND RACE

Among the world's creatures, man is unique in possessing what we might call "a sense of ought." For him, reality has a double meaning. There is what has been called the "factual order" made up of what is. Also there is the "normative order" made up of what ought to be.[1] Each human group is unified by the belief of its members that certain things and behavior are desirable, admirable, proper, moral, or legitimate and that other things and behavior are unfit, despicable, unbecoming, immoral, or illegitimate.

NORMS AS BASIS OF SOCIAL ORDER

The members of the group are taught to believe that certain behavior patterns and certain attitudes ought to be followed.

These patterns and attitudes are culturally acquired. That is, they are handed down through the generations as the social heritage of the group. Because they are accepted by the members of the group, they become the means of holding the group together. Because the individuals in the group are motivated to follow predictable patterns of behavior, the group activities are made orderly. As a social being, man cannot exist apart from his fellows. His survival depends on this group orderliness. Since the innate equipment of the human organism is inadequate to give automatic responses sufficient for the complexity and range of human activities, man is dependent on this

normative order to enable him to pattern his behavior within the group activities and to predict the behavior of his fellows in a way making possible his own effective participation.

The application of social norms is known as "social control." This is defined as the influencing of the individual so that he behaves in the way the group wants him to behave. There are two major kinds of social control. Formal social control is the largely conscious application of sanctions to support deliberately created rules in which the individual knows that he is under social control. If the school expels the pupil, if the policeman arrests the speeder, if the boss discharges the employee, formal social control is involved. Informal social control is more subtle and embedded in the matrix of social life. The individual is only dimly aware that he is under social control because his own conscience is employed to police his behavior. He accepts the group's norms as the measuring stick for his own conscience, evaluating himself and his behavior accordingly. From childhood, he has been exposed to a broad educational process which molds him to want to be "good" in terms of his group's values.

The important contribution of social norms to human life is made possible by the fact that human beings reflect on their own acts and pass judgment upon them. This does not mean that conformity to norms is inevitable and constant. Instead there still is conflict between organic inclination and social restraint. Furthermore, there is conflict between one

set of norms and other sets, as attested by the existence of pressure groups and major value disagreements in our own society. However, the fact that the group's norms are accepted internally by individuals is the major means of attaining the compliance essential to the group's continued existence.

INCREASED USE OF FORMAL LAW FOR SOCIAL CONTROL

In our complex society, informal social control and moral conscience are not sufficient to ensure social order. The last half century has brought increasing reliance on the formal controls of enacted law and a supporting peno-correctional system. The enacted law often reflects the moral sentiments and traditions, thereby gaining the emotional support essential to simple enforcement. However, in a dynamic society, enacted law must move beyond the mores and traditions to regulate behavior in unprecedented situations. Urbanization and industrialization has brought forth laws to regulate automobiles, public health, labor-management relations, forest conservation, etc., in situations and circumstances new to experience.

Crime and criminal can be viewed as part of this total process of social control. Criminal behavior is behavior in violation of the criminal law. The criminal law, in turn, is the product of, and a part of, the normative system which integrates individual behavior into relatively disciplined group cooperation. Crime, generally, is the breach of such rules as the community decides to enforce through its police,

judicial, and correctional systems. If we assume a continuum of various types of deviant behavior, we find criminal behavior at one extreme. It may be defined as behavior which is regarded as threatening the foundation of the social order to such a degree that resort to the force of the state against the transgressor is required. This does not encompass all nonconformity since the innovator, inventor, reformer, and similar types often are approved as contributors to social improvement.

This is consistent with the sociologist's conception of a social problem as a situation which involves a considerable number of persons, which is deemed to be a threat to certain essential values, and which can be dealt with only through collective action. Since the conception of private property is basic to our economic institutions, the definition of larceny as a crime is a collective response to protect an essential value. Similar statements could be made for murder, rape, assault, embezzlement, nonsupport, and other crimes.

CRIME: A CULTURAL PHENOMENON

Crime is a cultural phenomenon in that it is behavior judged to be illegitimate in relation to norms which are communicated down the generations. These norms support customary law which becomes the basis for enacted law in more formalized societies such as ours.

which are relatively slow in comparison with cultural changes. Furthermore, crime is only a segment of nonconforming behavior and an even smaller segment of total behavior. Montague has pointed out that mind is created through the social organization of previously unorganized nervous tissue, and behavior is the expression of that nervous tissue according to cultural pattern of that social organization.[3] Therefore, biology provides only the cellular elements from which the cultural organization creates mind. Since race as a biological concept cannot explain behavior, it can hardly explain the specifics of criminal behavior which is only a fraction of nonconformity, and which varies in content with time and place.

If there were a simple, direct, biological relationship between criminal behavior and a person's race, then there would have to be also a relationship between race and the <u>concepts of crime</u>. Furthermore, racial characteristics would have to change in order for the concepts of crime to change. But this is clearly not so. Racial changes do occur, but only through slow processes of mutation or amalgamation. Racial characteristics cannot explain criminal behavior and the concepts of crime, which vary so much in time and place.

PAGE (s) MISSING

"born, not made"

to cause Herskovits to describe the American Negro as a new Negro racial type.[4] Compared with Forest Negroes, the American Negro has a longer face, a higher and narrower nose, thinner lips, longer ears, longer legs, and less curly hair.[5] Herskovits estimated in 1928 that of the ~~total~~ Americans classified as Negro almost 15% were ~~are~~ more white than Negro, approximately 25% were ~~are~~ equally white and Negro, approximately 32% were ~~are~~ more Negro than white, and approximately 6% were ~~are Negro~~ mixed with Indian. ~~the~~ left 22,070 "pure" Negro. These were rough estimates, but they still serve to illustrate the racial cross-breeding that has taken place.

The ~~view~~ that criminals are ~~born~~ assumes a direct connection between ~~the~~ biological structure and a specific form of behavior. For example, automobile theft would have to be caused ~~directly~~ by the tissue of the brain, the nervous system, the glands, etc. of the thief. This element of the biological structure would have to be present from the moment the ovum is fertilized by the spermatozoon. ~~The unit acts of criminal behavior would have to be the same for all societies, certainly the same for all groups within a given society.~~ It would be necessary to rule out the effects of social and cultural transmission of attitudes in the creation of criminal behavior. This fundamental point is overlooked by those who contend the Negro is "naturally" prone to violence and by those who contend that "Negro criminality" is ~~"valueless," (amoral) behavior.~~ due simply to innate amorality.

Heredity and environment are so intertwined in their effect on human personality that debate on the contribution

of each ~~as an independent factor~~ is rather pointless. We inerit genes carrying fixed potentials that influence or limit the development of physical traits. ~~Most physical traits are the product of many genes combined in a multitude of possible ways. The expression of the potential of a given gene may vary in different physical environments~~. The environment furnishes the material from which the mass of the body grows from the fertilized egg to the full grown adult. Of course, different heredities transform this material into different forms, but the environment makes its contribution. ~~This contribution varies with the human characteristic under scrutiny.~~ Eye color, blood group type, and fingerprint type seem unaffected by environments. Skin color, stature, and weight are more sensitive. On the other hand, ~~Psychic~~ mental characteristics, such as criminality, are so dominated by environmental factors that the existence of any hereditary influence long has been in dispute.[6] Therefore, difference in experience contributes to the difference in personality to be observed between Negroes and whites. ~~This is one set~~

When race is one of the factors dividing the members of a society into social groups, the racial characteristics which signal such differentiation create important differences in experience. These characteristics contribute to the development of typical social roles as clusters of expectations serving as scripts for the actors in interracial and intraracial relationships.

Good indment

~~of many differences to be observed in complex modern society.~~ But difference in experience also ~~has~~ created discernible personality differences between the Wall Street broker and the ardent labor unionist, the urbanite and the isolated farmer, the Jew and the Baptist, etc. The existence of personality differences, in and of themselves, does not prove a "natural" correlation between minority group personality and criminality. Such proof awaits confirmation.

REQUIREMENTS TO PROVE RACIAL BASIS OF CRIME

First, it would be necessary to demonstrate that the Negro exists as a single personality type. Even casual examination reveals vast differences among Negroes. There is no single "criminal type." But, if there were, he would be only one type among many to be found among Negroes, or among any other racial group.

Secondly, to compare the criminal tendencies of several races, it is necessary to rule out the influence of factors other than race. Objective proof of criminality as a Negro racial trait waits comparison with whites of the same economic, educational, familial, and many other characteristics. There would have to be equal chance of arrest, conviction, and imprisonment before assurance could be felt that differences in criminal rates reflect racial differences.

Thirdly, it would be necessary to rule out personality tendencies directly related to minority-group status, rather than coming from innate racial qualities. As a way of

comparisons. Since law tends to reflect middle-class norms, the lower class person may be defined as an offender because his experiences within his own recreational, familial, and other groups have not taught him to behave the way the law prescribes. For example, vagrancy, gambling, drunkenness, and even an affray or sexual deviancy, may be regarded as rather normal. Differences in crime rates are partly the result of social class experience. To be certain of innate criminal tendencies, it would be necessary to rule out the possibility that greater Negro crime rates stem from a greater proportion of Negroes belonging to lower socio-economic classes than found among whites.

Sixthly, as already implied, objective standards must be developed for defining "inferior" behavior. If tall people define stature as the mark of "superiority," it is inevitable that short people will be "inferior" by this standard. Negro behavior often is judged in comparison with white middle-class norms of thrift, ambition, abstinence, and sexual behavior. As we shall point out, members of all social classes are found in both races. Therefore, these white middle-class norms would indicate that "superiority" exists in some elements of the Negro population, and that "inferiority" exists in some elements of the white population. However, the fundamental issue is whether the failure to conform with these norms is evidence of inevitable criminality. Lack of social acceptability is not the same thing as criminality.

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Seventhly, the assumption of innate Negro criminality requires the demonstration of traits impervious to environmental changes. Biological factors influence personality, but the influence does not vary with race to any important degree. Under conditions of population and cultural change, personality characteristics of minority groups have been altered. Therefore, such unchangeable traits can not be demonstrated.

In conclusion, there is no validity in the simple explanation of Negro crime as the product of innate biological characteristics. Since "crime" is defined culturally, and is the product of the mind which is created through social experience, the search for the cause of Negro crime should turn to environmental factors. This will be the object of the final chapter.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER I:

1. For fuller discussion of norms, see: Kingsley Davis, Human Society, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949, Chapter 3.
2. E. Adamson Hoebel, Man in the Primitive World, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949, pp. 365.
3. M. F. Ashley Montagu, "The Biologist Looks at Crime," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 217, September, 1941, pp. 47-48.
4. Melville, J. Herskovits, The American Negro, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1928, pp. 33, 9.
5. Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijer, An Introduction to Anthropology, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1953, pp. 178-181.
6. L. C. Dunn and Theodosius Dobzhansky, Heredity, Race and Society, New York: Penquin Books, 1946, p. 25.
7. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944, pp. 960-963.
8. John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1949, pp. 260-261.
9. For pertinent comments, see: Clyde V. Kiser, Sea Island to City, New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 39-41, 78-81.

CHAPTER II: CRITIQUE OF STATISTICS ON CRIMES OF NEGROES

Usually we have mingled feelings when statistics are cited to convince us on some point. Sometimes we are awed by the numbers and statistical terms tossed our way. In spite of ourselves, we are likely to accept an idea once in a while just because statistics are used, and not because of the logic the statistics are supposed to support. On the other hand, there are occasions when someone says: "Statistics don't lie, but statisticians can." We then nod wisely and reject anything that has numbers associated with it.

Of course, both extremes are wrong, because they put the objective research man in an impossible position. When he tries to show very carefully the possible wrong inferences that might be drawn from statistical analysis, he runs the risk that his listener will interpret his comments as an indiscriminate admission that all statistics are a fraud and should be ignored. His point is not that statistical tools are useless. Rather, he is arguing that a hammer is good for pounding nails, but you need a screwdriver for putting in the screws. Of course, he is talking about something much more complicated, but he is arguing that a tool or idea must be used properly if we are to have faith that it will give us dependable service.

PROBLEM OF THE "RUBBER YARDSTICK"

Here we shall show some of the difficulties in creating statistical tools and material which will give us reliable answers concerning the relationship between the Negro and crime. It will be discouraging for the fellow who wants the equivalent of a yardstick to measure such relationship. He will find that some familiar "yardsticks" are made of rubber. His lesson should be that better yardsticks are needed.

The perfect statistical "yardstick" would include all law violations in its measurement. Unfortunately, the offender (and sometimes his victim) has reason to avoid raising his hand every time and say to the police: "Here I am and I did it." We must assume that "offenses known to the police" does not include every law violation perpetrated. The police do not arrest everyone they know has violated the written law. Not every person arrested ends up in front of the judge. Not every person before the court is convicted. Not every person convicted ends up in prison. Each of these stages take us farther from the situation crime statistics are supposed to describe.[1]

If "criminal" means the same as "law violator," it is quite obvious that the prisons do not give us statistical information which describes all criminals. Assuming that we could put all law violators in a big room, some of those in the room are permitted to leave the room at each stage of this peno-correctional

process. Each time we do this, there is selection of some to go and some to stay. If such selection is based only on the difference between the "criminal" and the "noncriminal" according to some clearcut measuring stick, we will end up with all the criminals in the room. But what if we let out all the pretty and handsome people and keep the ugly ones? What if we let out the intelligent and tall people and keep the stupid and short people? Such characteristics have no direct relationship with criminality. So we turn loose some of the criminals, and we keep some of the noncriminals because of the difference between the measuring stick we say we are using and the measuring stick we actually are using.

Many crimes probably are never reported. ~~How many is unknown. It is reasonable to assume that the chance of being reported increases with the difficulty of concealing the crime from public attention, with the seriousness with which our society regards the particular anti-social act, and with the lesser degree of possible embarrassment to the victim~~. Automobile theft and murder are ~~more~~ likely to be reported to the police. Blackmail, confidence games, and some sexual offenses are less likely to be revealed by the victim. ~~At the other extreme,~~ Sometimes crimes are reported falsely or erroneously. A misplaced article may be reported stolen. An unfaithful wife may cry "rape" when found out. A dishonest employer may cover his own transgressions by falsely accusing his cashier of thefts. ~~The "dragnet" makes~~

fascinating television fare, but it involves the arrest of many underprivileged innocents on "suspicion."

EFFECTS OF VARIATIONS IN ADMINISTRATION

For the less serious crimes, arrest policies vary among jurisdictions and from time to time. A drive against speeders or an increase in the number of patrol cars is likely to increase the arrests without an actual increase in the number of violations. The patrolman has a margin of discretion in choosing between a "ticket" or a reprimand. The arrest policy will influence the degree of discretion. The regional culture and the officer's own set of attitudes will influence the degree of discretion and the relative application of such discretion to various socio-economic-racial groups from which violators are drawn.

Similar analysis could be made for other steps of the peno-correctional process. Should the convicted offender be fined, given a suspended sentence, placed on probation, or given a sentence? Should the prisoner be paroled? Should the prisoner be required to complete his full sentence as imposed by the court, or should his sentence be shortened for "good behavior" through gained time rewards or commutation of sentence? The decision rests in part on whether probation and parole programs have the staffs and other resources to handle the volume created by a full use of them. The background and personality of the judge enters in. The financial capacity

of the offender to pay a fine and his ability to qualify in terms of employment and residence for probation and parole must be considered.

Another major problem for criminal statistics is the lack of comparable data among jurisdictions. States, and even jurisdictions within a state, differ widely in their definition of crimes and the possible penalties attached. This was brought out in an analysis of laws regulating sexual activity in terms of adultery, fornication, seduction, sodomy, incest, and rape.[2] Bensing found confusion and lack of uniformity throughout the then 48 states. For example, the only unanimity in the definition of rape was the making a felony of carnal knowledge of a woman forcibly against her will. Eighteen states make it possible to be executed for rape; yet it is possible in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Vermont to receive only a monetary fine. Statutory rape varies even within a state on the basis of age of victim. Delaware sets the age of consent as low as seven, while Tennessee defines the minimum age of consent as 21. Colorado, Georgia, and Nevada prescribe a life sentence for sodomy, but only five other states provide for penitentiary sentences in excess of 30 years. In New Hampshire and Vermont, sodomy is not punishable at all.

When we compare the crime rates of one state with another, the statistics of each state must be based on reasonably similar definitions. Otherwise, our conclusions would

resemble the comparison of the work efficiency of a bus driver and an airline pilot solely on the number of miles covered per hour of work. Quite apart from his own efforts, the pilot will cover more miles because of the speed and range of his vehicle. Quite apart from the criminality of its population, the state which defines a given social act as a crime will have more criminals of that type than the state which does not legally forbid such an act.

Furthermore, the statistics are only as good as the persons who collect and record them. When 15 thieves are arrested or imprisoned, the statistical reports should show 15 thieves. This seems obvious. Unfortunately governmental agencies are not always convinced of the necessity and value of criminal statistics. Sometimes there is no one to count the 15 thieves. At other times, the person making the report does not worry too much whether he writes down 5, 13, 15, or 17 thieves. Of course, statistical reporting problems are more complex than this, but incidents such as this have created "increases" and "decreases" in crime rates without any change in actual crimes.[3] This is one of the reasons behind the FBI's remarkable comment in the Uniform Crime Reports: "In publishing the data sent in by chiefs of police in different cities, the FBI does not vouch for their accuracy."

SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES IN NEGRO CRIME DATA

Of course, these comments apply to all criminal statisics. However, our major interest is Negro crime rates. We shall narrow our focus of discussion to this.

Census and criminal statistics are based on the popular conception of race, rather than an anthropological differentiation of the American population into racial groups. The popular approach classifies the individual as a Negro if there is any degree of known Negro ancestry or apparent Negroid characteristics. On the basis of Herskovits' estimates of the mixture of races in the general American population, almost 40% of the offenders contributing to "Negro" crime are either half or more than half white.[4] Adjustment of crime rates in keeping with anthropological concepts of race would transfer a considerable proportion of "Negro" population to the white statistics. This effect is only a guess. It might be that racial marginality creates frustrations which cause these individuals to be more prone to crime than individuals scientifically classifiable as Negroes. On the other hand, opportunity to pass into the white population might enhance socio-economic opportunity, possibly reducing crime. We think that the definition of these hybrids as "Negroes" has invited their retaliation through crime to the experiences of socio-economic discrimination if they consider themselves worthy of membership in the dominant white group.

Therefore, we say that they contribute to the Negro crime rate to a greater extent than their numbers.

Guy B. Johnson has contended that racial caste values and attitudes mean that "offenses by or against Negroes will be defined not so much in terms of their intrinsic seriousness as in terms of their importance in the eyes of the dominant group."[5] He said the dominant whites would regard the murder of a white person by a Negro with greater seriousness than the murder of a Negro by a Negro. Yet, both kinds of murder end up in the same grouping. He found two sources of reporting error in that Negro crimes against Negroes would be treated with "undue leniency" while Negro crimes against whites would be treated with "undue severity." He thought that the two errors might compensate for each other in Southern statistics, thereby reducing the extent of the exaggeration of Negro criminality.

Already we noted the Negro's greater likelihood to commit crimes against persons than against property. Consistently, crimes against property make up more than 90% of all crimes reported to the police every year. For crimes against property, we find the lowest percentage of offenses cleared by arrest. In 1958, the percentages were 26.9 for auto theft, 20.2 for larceny--theft, and 29.7 for burglary and breaking-and-entering.[6] Crimes against persons had these percentages cleared by arrest: murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, 93.5; manslaughter by negligence, 89.8; forcible rape, 73.0; and aggravated assault, 78.9. Therefore, we find the types

of crime which tend to be more characteristic of the Negro to have the greater likelihood to result in arrest and, therefore, the inclusion of the offender in the group identified as criminal.

Probably the major latent defect in unqualified comparison of white and Negro crime rates is the failure to adjust for differences in economic, educational, and other characteristics influencing exposure to the risk of crime. The importance of these factors will be discussed later. It is sufficient to point out at this time that objective and reliable criminal statistics await the creation of opportunity to compare white and Negro criminal behavior on the basis of similar backgrounds and environments. Such research may reveal that the differences between the races in alleged criminal behavior may be more the underprosecution of white crime than the demonstration of some form of excessive Negro criminality.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER II:

1. For a more extensive summary of this point, see Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology, 5th ed., New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1955, pp. 25-30.
2. Robert C. Bensing, "A Comparative Study of American Sex Statutes," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol. 42, No. 1, May-June, 1951.
3. For an interesting elaboration of this topic, see Sophia M. Robison, Can Delinquency Be Measured? New York; Columbia University Press, 1936.
4. M. J. Herskovits, The Anthropometry of the American Negro, New York: Columbia University Press, 1930, p. 177.
5. Guy B. Johnson, "The Negro and Crime," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 217, September, 1941, pp. 97-104; also see: Allison W. Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, Deep South, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 498-526.
6. Uniform Crime Reports, 1958, Table 12.

CHAPTER III: PATTERNS OF CRIME AMONG NEGROES

The American Negro appears to commit more than his share of crime. But we must be cautious in making such a statement because conclusive facts are not available and the statistics we do have often are subject to varying interpretations. ~~When we have some uncertainty about the "what" of the matter, it is difficult to determine the "why" and the "how."~~ This is disturbing to the fellow who likes clear-cut answers, but both the criminal and the Negro have been subject to many "clear-cut answers" that have created much more heat than light. ~~When the Negro and the criminal are studied together, there is an even greater possibility of mistaking the "obvious" for the truth.~~

The discussion of crime rates sometimes encourages the false assumption that crime is typical and that abnormal behavior is "normal" for a particular population group. We shall note that 13,660 out of every 100,000 Negroes and 3,364 out of every 100,000 whites were arrested in 1958 in 1,586 American cities. Instantly, this focuses attention on offenders, causing us to overlook the equally important fact that there were at least 86,340 out of every 100,000 Negroes and at least 96,636 out of every 100,000 whites who were not arrested.[1] For the sake of objectivity, it is well to remember that our subsequent discussion is concerned with the behavior of a fraction of the population of both races.

In this chapter, we shall review some general patterns of crime among Negroes and society's response to these crimes. Although some defects of our data will be noted, it is assumed that the reader will recall the comments of the last chapter. The interpretation of the environmental factors behind these crime trends will be reserved largely for the next chapter.

GENERAL PATTERNS OF NEGRO ARRESTS

Uniform Crime Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is the best available source of arrest data. Local police agencies are asked to volunteer information in keeping with carefully prepared instructions. However, it is difficult to control the influence of factors extraneous to the arrest trends that the data are supposed to reflect. Voluntary reporting makes this even more difficult. Therefore, it is easy to exaggerate the reliability and validity of the data, especially for rural and Southern regions where the FBI acknowledges the least complete coverage.

Because of the particularly incomplete coverage of the South and of rural areas, the FBI data exaggerate crimes of Negroes if interpreted as a description of the offenses of all American Negroes. The Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and Pacific states have had the most appreciable recent increases in Negro population, largely through migration. This is movement from the South with its less complete reporting of arrests to areas with more adequate reporting. Migration

tends to be more selective of the less socially integrated and of the less contented personalities. Migration brings to an area persons who have not been conditioned to the urban cultural environment with its relative freedom from the subtle controls of gossip and ridicule found in rural life. The Southern rural Negro is exposed to this informal control and a racial caste system which inhibits his behavior with relatively minimal resort to official action by the police and courts. Therefore, the reporting of crimes of Negroes tends to emphasize the portion of Negro population (urban dwellers and migrants in an "alien land") which is more likely to be subject to arrest. Conversely, this reporting underrepresents the portion of the Negro population (ruralities and nonmigrants who, presumably, would be more accommodated to a life of conformity to legalized norms) which is unlikely to be subject to arrest. Hence, the FBI reports exaggerate crimes of Negroes if interpreted as a description of the offenses of <u>all</u> American Negroes.

In 1958, the FBI reported 2,340,000 arrests in the 1,586 cities which offered acceptable information on the race of offenders. Of these arrests, 67.7% were of whites, 29.8% of Negroes, and the remainder of other races including Indians. This would not take into consideration the influence of rural Negroes who reside largely in the South and reflect a more stable life. The racial composition of the 1,586 cities is unknown. However, if we estimate the

racial composition of these cities on the basis of 1950 census figures for all cities, we find a Negro arrest of 13,659.5 per 100,000 urban Negroes and a white arrest rate of 3,364.0 per 100,000 urban whites. The Negro rate is about four times as great.

Although the Uniform Crime Reports are not strictly comparable over the years because of differences in the specific police agencies included in each year's data and because of differences in reporting reliability and validity among the police agencies included, it appears that the Negro arrest rates have increased at a greater rate than those of the whites during the last quarter century. Negroes represented 23.5% of all reported arrests in 1941 and 29.8% in 1958. Between 1940 and 1946 the white arrest rate rose 45% and the Negro arrest rate increased 79%.[2] It is probable that this comparison exaggerates the actual rate of increase of Negro arrests. As we have noted already, internal migration of Negroes was likely to remove Negroes from a police jurisdiction with inferior statistical reporting to a jurisdiction with more complete reporting. Secondly, the smaller absolute number of Negroes in the population of many such Northern and Western jurisdictions would cause the absolute number of arrests to have greater impact on Negro arrest rates as a result of the first point.

ARREST RATES FOR SPECIFIC OFFENSES

When arrest rates are studied in terms of specific offenses, the possibility of error in the data is magnified. However, the variation by offense of racial differences is interesting. The Negro arrest rate exceeded that of the whites for every offense shown in Table 1 in the Appendix. Of course, likelihood of being arrested does not necessarily mean the same thing as relative criminality. The stranger is more likely to be regarded with suspicion, especially when a crime is being investigated. The economically underprivileged person runs a greater risk of arrest.[3]

The Negro arrest rate for gambling was 30 times that of the whites. This was the greatest difference shown in Table I. This might be explained by the importance of gambling as a Negro recreational activity, especially for young adults in deteriorated urban areas, and the relative concentration of Negroes in minor jobs supporting gambling rackets. If Negro crime rates four times greater than white crime rates is the average, we find the following offenses to be above average: aggravated assault, murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, robbery, narcotic drug laws, weapons, and forcible rape. On the same basis, we find some other offenses to be below average: forgery and counterfeiting, driving while intoxicated, embezzlement and fraud, auto theft, manslaughter by negligence, drunkenness, and vagrancy.

It often has been pointed out that Negroes are more likely to commit crimes against persons than crimes against property. To test this we use the offenses selected by the FBI for its crime index of the six offenses most likely to be reported to the police and less likely to vary in definition from one jurisdiction to another. Table A shows that Negroes were 62% of the total persons arrested for the three crimes against persons but only 31% of the persons arrested for the three crimes against property. For crimes against persons, the Negro arrest rate was more than 15 times as great as the white rate, as against 4 times as great for crimes against property. The difference would have been even greater if it were not for robbery, a crime which has some elements of aggression against a person.

The crimes against persons by Negroes are directed largely against members of their own race. For example, of 108 Negroes admitted to North Carolina prisons for first-degree murder between 1950 and 1960, 96 had been convicted of slaying another Negro. An earlier study found that, of 431 convicted Negro murderers, 403 had killed Negroes in certain areas of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia.[4] This would indicate that this pattern is not subject to important change over the years. Furthermore, death rates for victims of homicide suggest the same conclusion. In 1953, the age-adjusted homicide death rates per 100,000 population were 3.6 for white males, 1.3 for white females, 46.4 for nonwhite males, and 10.2 for nonwhite females.[5]

Earlier studies of Negro crime rates showed the whites with higher incidence of arrests for violation of the narcotic drug laws. The present high Negro arrests may reflect greater Negro urbanism and migrations, and consequent increased exposure to the drug traffic.

The relatively low rates for forgery, counterfeiting, embezzlement, and fraud reflect less opportunity of Negroes to commit such white collar crimes because few Negroes occupy white collar jobs. Although there are obvious difficulties in determining the extent of what has been called "upper-class crime," it is among the most costly of property crimes in economic cost. It is the most costly in terms of its impact on the moral consensus because of the example set by offenders occupying positions of prestige.

The comparatively low rates for drunkenness and vagrancy among crimes of Negroes probably stem from two sources. First, the lower average socio-economic level of Negroes encourages police to consider such behavior as typical of the Negro. Secondly, the lower prestige and resources of the average Negro make it simpler for the police to use more serious crimes for arrests intended to hold the suspect temporarily. The relatively smaller importance of auto theft among crimes of Negroes probably results from a greater likelihood of the white to define the automobile as a prestige object within his peer group.[6]

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PATTERNS OF PRISON ADMISSIONS

Another type of data for the criminologist is prison commitments. The best source of these data is the Federal Bureau of Prisons, which collects information from the various state institutions. The most recent published report revealed that 30,857 white males, 13,728 Negro males, 1,110 white females, and 771 Negro females were committed in 1950 to the penal institutions of the 46 states that submitted acceptable reports.[7] Negroes made up 30.8% of male commitments and 41.0% of female commitments.

Of every 100,000 Negro males 15 years of age or more, 304 entered prison in 1950. This compares with 67 whites for every 100,000. This means that the risk of going to prison was, in general, four and a half times greater for male Negroes than for male whites. For females, the equivalent rates were 16 for Negroes and 2.3 for whites. A Negro female, on the average, was seven times more likely than a white female to enter prison. This reflects, at least in part, that the chivalrous attitudes of police and courts protected white women from imprisonment more than Negro women. These attitudes stem from cultural values that the female is a "tender blossom" and subject to dependency on male protection, therefore should be given advantages by virtue of her sex, *per se*.

For both sexes, the absolute number of admissions for Negroes was concentrated in the South[8] to a greater extent than for whites. Since this region has the largest share of Negro population, this is not surprising. When rates are computed for populations categorized by age,[9] all regions show higher rates for Negroes than for whites for both sexes. Although the South is second only to the West in the size of the admission rate for male whites, it has the lowest rate for male Negroes. The Negro rate is three times greater than the white rate in the South, a hair's breadth less than a similar comparison for the West. The North Central states had a male Negro rate six times as great as that of the male whites, and the Northeast had one more than seven times as great. For females in the South, the Negro admission rate was five times that of the white. For the other regions, the superiority of the female Negro admissions over those of the female whites was almost seven times for the North Central, ten times for the Northeast, and almost twelve times for the West.

Why did Negroes in the non-South have higher imprisonment rates than those of the South when the former were better off economically? The answers are to be found in Chapter IV. These would include: first, the migration of the Negro to the non-South has sociological effects on the crime rates of the host areas. Secondly, the relative

poverty of the average Southern Negro in money income is accompanied by a conditioning process whereby the Negro is likely to be integrated within a social system which assumes a subordinate socio-economic system. This inhibiting process is lacking in the non-South. Thirdly, the assumption of Negro moral inferiority would tend to "excuse" the Southern Negro offender to a greater extent. Fourthly, in rural environments, there is a greater degree of informal response to minor crimes which tend to reduce referrals for official police and judicial acition. Since the Northern Negro is more likely to be an urbanite, this factor reduces Southern prison admission rates more than those of the non-South.

Unpublished 1956 data of the Federal Bureau of Prisons permit us to assess some recent trends in prison admissions by race. Table B reveals male white admissions increased 8.3% between 1950 and 1956, while male Negro admissions rose 19.7%. For male whites, the major increase was in the South. For male Negroes, all regions showed an important percentage increase, but the Northeast and West recorded increases more than twice that of the South. Because of defects in reporting, Michigan and Georgia were not included in the 1950 data. In 1956, Michigan admitted 2,027 white and 1,363 Negro males while Georgia admitted 896 white and 982 Negro males. Therefore, the inclusion of these states in Table B probably would have caused North Central to have a greater rate of

increase between 1950 and 1956 than South. We conclude that the prison admission of Negro felons is increasing more rapidly than that of the whites. The greatest amount of this increase is occurring outside the South.

LENGTH OF PRISON SENTENCES SERVED

As demonstrated by Table C, the Negro felon serves a longer time in prison, on the average, than the white felon. He served 24 months compared with 22 months for the white felon. Table III in the Appendix shows a similar pattern for all regions. The South had the lowest averages, with 18 months for white and 21 months for Negro felons. Study of Table III brought the following conclusions.[10]

Negroes served longer periods in prison, on a national average, than whites, except for murder and sex offenses other than rape. White murderers served 98 months on the average and Negro murderers 85 months. For sex offenses other than rape, whites served, on a national average, 27 months and Negroes 26, although the West was the only region where the white term was longer. Furthermore, in both the South and West, Negro murderers were imprisoned longer than were whites.

Negroes served longer sentences in all regions for all offenses except for auto theft and weapons in the South, for escape and sex offenses other than rape in the West, and for murder in the Northeast and North Central.

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The length of imprisonment depended heavily on the offense for which the individual was convicted. However, the differences of terms was more a variation among regions than a variation between the races.

Among the regions, the South imposed the shortest period of imprisonment for virtually every offense and for both races. Southern Negroes served longer average sentences than Southern whites except for auto theft and weapons. Southern Negroes spent less time behind bars than Negro felons of other regions, with the single exception of rapists in the North Central. For all offenses, except robbery and rape, whites of at least one non-Southern region served longer terms than Southern Negroes.

The consistency of the longer terms imposed on Negroes for virtually every offense by region category indicates that the Negro suffers a greater period of imprisonment. This is true in all regions of the nation. In fact, on the average, the Negro felon draws the shorter sentences in the South than in other regions.

These differences in sentence served are subject to speculation. The time spent in prison depends on both the length of sentence imposed by the court and the host of factors affecting the proportion of the sentence actually served.

Even casual comparison of sentences imposed by several judges for the same crimes will demonstrate great differences

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within the same state. One authority has pointed out that men who administer laws are "imbued with the ideas and concepts of the social environment which has molded their personalities."[11] He noted that the judge is subject to many social psychological influences when the offender stands forth for sentencing. "The prisoner who stands before him is not merely an offender who must be dealt with according to rules laid down by law makers, but he is a person who represents a class or group in society toward which the judge may have certain feelings, perhaps of disapproval or approval." Racial stereotypes should be included among the possible influences on sentencing decisions.

Release from prison depends in part on the possibilities of earning a reduction of time through good conduct and extraordinary work effort. Most prison systems relate "gained time" rewards to the degree of the prisoner's compliance with the rules intended to preserve institutional order. In addition, rewards can be earned by working extra hours or performing tasks requiring special skills or obligations. Racial factors may enter into the vocational experience necessary to qualify for such tasks, and discrimination may be involved in the choice of inmates for rewards, although nonracial factors certainly are present also.

PAROLE AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

It has been contended that the Negro prisoner is less likely to receive parole than the white prisoner.[12] Statistical evidence is insufficient for full and reliable analysis. If the Negro has less chance for parole than the white prisoner, it could be the indirect result of his inferior opportunity for the employment necessary for parole eligibility. On the other hand, racial discrimination has resulted in the Negro being concentrated in low income occupations which are unlikely to attract persons with bargaining power on the job market. Therefore, job discrimination against the former prisoner is more likely to be directed against the white, since the Negro already is experiencing such discrimination apart from his status as a former prisoner. The Negro is more likely to be sought by a potential employer and to be approved for parole on the offer of an inferior job. Louisiana firms were found to be only slightly more favorable toward hiring white than Negro ex-convicts.[13]

Capital punishment falls with greater impact on the Negro than his 10% share of the total population would appear to indicate. Federal statistics record the number of executions since 1930. If we ignore the 82 members of other races who were executed, we find that more than half (55%) of the convicted offenders put to death were Negroes.

Whites and Negroes were executed for murder in about the same number, but 90% of the convicted rapists were Negro. Except for eight executions for rape in Missouri, all executions for rape were in the South.

A study of all capital cases under state jurisdiction in North Carolina indicated that socio-economic factors influence the administration of capital punishment.[14] The deterrent and eugenic arguments in support of capital punishment rest on a consistent and certain application of the penalty according to carefully formulated principles. The study indicated that consistency, certainty, and principles are lacking. The North Carolina data also indicate that the possibility of execution after commitment to death row has increased in recent decades, although the number of such commitments has declined. Although the possibility of last-minute commutation of a death sentence has been reduced, this has affected whites to a greater extent than Negroes. In short, in North Carolina the difference between the races is being narrowed. In addition to this qualitative trend, the absolute number of executions has been reduced sharply in recent years in North Carolina. This decline is the general trend in the nation.

Although the South continues to have the largest number of executions for both races, and the largest proportion of executed prisoners who are Negro, the difference among the

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regions is narrowing. During the last ten years, Negroes represented 70% of the executed prisoners in the South, compared with 73% in the 1930-1949 period. A similar comparison found the Negroes' share increasing for the two northern regions.

Executed Negroes tended to be younger than executed whites. Statistics on age have become available only since 1947. The three non-Southern regions had fewer executions of Negroes, partly because of their smaller Negro population. However, comparison of the age distribution of offenders put to death revealed that the tendency to execute young Negroes in greater relative proportion was definite in these regions as it was in the South. It is not clear whether this was the result of a greater likelihood of young Negroes to commit capital crimes, or whether the administration of capital punishment tended to expose young Negroes to the death penalty disproportionately.[1]

SUMMARY

Arrest and prison statistics indicate that the Negro commits more crime than his numbers would cause one to expect. However, the reader is cautioned to consider the inadequacies and exaggerations latent in these data. There are major differences between the races in the kind of crimes committed. For example, the Negro appears to emphasize crimes against persons to a greater degree than the whites.

However, these crimes are directed largely against members of his own race. There is evidence that the increase in felon admissions is greater for Negroes than for whites, especially in regions other than the South. The Negro felon serves a longer average sentence than the white in every region. Capital punishment is directed against the Negro offender to a greater degree than the white offender. However, capital punishment is declining in the nation in terms of annual number of executions. While the differential application by race is declining slightly in the South, it is increasing in the other regions.

TABLE F: AGES OF PRISONERS EXECUTED BY STATES, BY RACE, AND REGION, 1947-1959[a]

Age	Non-South White	Non-South Negro	South White	South Negro
15-19	7	7	1	40
20-24	41	42	30	141
25-29	70	32	42	111
30-34	43	28	25	73
35-44	62	18	50	79
45 over	50	16	31	45
Totals	273	143	179	489

[a]Adapted from Federal Bureau of Prisons, National Prisoner Statistics, Executions, annual reports for those years in which age data were offered. Chi-square values: combined regional distributions for each race, 62.6; two races for non-South, 20.4; two races for South, 27.4 (all values are significant at less than 1% level).

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER III:

1. We say "at least" because an unknown number of the individuals were arrested more than once during the year. In the establishment of arrest rates, we are compelled to ignore this complicating factor. However, it does raise the question whether the races differ in exposure to the possibility of multiple arrests during the reporting period. If they do, this is another possible source of exaggeration in the use of arrest statistics to reflect criminal behavior of one of the two races being compared.
2. Richard R. Korn and Lloyd W. McCorkle, Criminology and Penology, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1959, p. 235.
3. In a study of a Massachusetts community, it was found that the percentage of population with an arrest record was greatest at the lowest levels of the social class hierarchy. See: W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941, p. 376.
4. Guy B. Johnson, op. cit., p. 99.
5. Source: Homicide, Washington: National Office of Vital Statistics, Special Reports, Vol. 43, No. 31, August 23, 1956, Table 1.

6. See: William W. Wattenberg and James Balistrieri, "Automobile Theft: A 'Favored-Group' Delinquency," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 57, No. 6, May, 1952, pp. 575-579.
7. See Table II in Appendix.
8. In the "South," we include the states so defined by the Bureau of the Census.
9. The importance of age in computing crime rates is indicated in the last section of Chapter IV.
10. The investigation of Table III included use of analysis of variance. The specialist will find Table IV in the Appendix of interest.
11. Thorstein Sellin, "Race Prejudice in the Administration of Justice," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 41, No. 2, September, 1935, pp. 212-217.
12. For example, see Richard R. Korn and Lloyd W. McCorkle, op. cit., pp. 239-243.
13. D. A. Dobbins and and Bernard M. Bass, The Louisiana Ex-Prisoner: Employment Opportunities, Baton Rouge: Department of Institutions, Research Report No. 4, June, 1956, pp. 12-13.
14. Elmer H. Johnson, "Selective Factors in Capital Punishment," Social Forces, Vol. 36, No. 2, December, 1957, pp. 165-169.

CHAPTER IV: ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS BEHIND CRIMES OF NEGROES

We have found that race as a biological concept does not explain Negro crime nor the higher Negro rates found, even after allowances are made for the exaggerations inherent in present crime statistics. This means that the fundamental causes of crime are the same for the Negro as for any other group. The unique nature of the effect of these causes on crimes of Negroes lies in the social, economic, and psychological impact of social meanings assigned to race, rather than in race as a biological concept.

MYTH OF A UNIQUE "NEGRO CULTURE"

The cultural hypothesis contends Negro criminality stems from special personality traits which, it is assumed, can be traced to special social and family traditions brought from Africa and nurtured by the institution of slavery. The Negro is supposed to have his own patterns of thought and action which are handed down through the generations in a chain of learning relationships. It is said that this has made Negroes more emotional, less provident, and more inclined toward violence and unrestrained sexual behavior. It is contended that the Negro is ill-adjusted to American culture because of patterns of thought and action which are of his own separate culture.

In conflict with these assumptions, the effect of slavery was to strip the American Negro completely of his African social hertiage, although many African traditions were perpetuated in the West Indies. Frazier documents several pertinent points.[1] The disproportionate number of males in the early slave population prevented anything resembling the normal family group and the social continuity essential to the transmission of African cultural forms. The most fundamental social distinction among slaves was based on the difference in status between the field hands and the house servants. This caused the slaves to have a basic conflict among themselves, stemming from differences in the degree of assimilation of the white culture. Furthermore, the later slaves from Africa were scattered widely among the relatively small plantations away from their kinsmen and exposed to the disdain and hostility of slaves already accommodated to the American environment and their place in it.

The American Negro has accepted the American culture and sought to approximate its patterns as evidenced by the recent efforts to improve his opportunity to gain the social and economic privileges held high in the American culture. A study of a Southern piedmont community found the values and goals of its Negroes to be essentially the accepted values of American culture: survival and getting along; opportunity and equality before the law; patience; religious

salvation; self-expression and inviolability of the ego; friendliness and courtesy; property and "quick money."[2] Lewis reported that the local Negro was not disposed to hold on to Negro ways and values as such, but rather subjected them to criticism and regarded them with shame.

It was found that the Negro ways in this community lacked integration because of a major split between "nonrespectables" and "respectables." The "nonrespectables" were characterized by a reputation for excessive drinking, nonconventional family life, sexual promiscuity, and arrest record, and habitual frequency of "piccolo joints." In contrast, the "respectables" strove to maintain "nice homes," stable families, habits of thrift, and law-abiding behavior.[3] The relative amount of respectability was found to increase as education and economic status increased, but a significant number of each socio-economic level chose respectability.[4] This causes one to believe that improved socioeconomic opportunity for the Negro would bring greater proportions of the Negroes into the ranks of the "respectables," thereby increasing the effect of middle-class values in inhibiting criminal behavior without recourse to law enforcement.

The Negro knows and experiences local government and law as symbols and reality of white dominance and control, Lewis asserted. The "nonrespectable" Negro suffers little

social stigma from imprisonment. The "respectables" adjust to the situation by an exaggerated avoidance of the law and its agents in bitter recognition of hazards accruing from differential treatment of the races by the police.[5] Therefore, the general attitude of Negroes toward law enforcement was seen as more of a response to a situation imposed by white dominance, rather than an expression of a Negro culture sharply different from "white culture."

LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AS AN EXPLANATION

This is consistent with Myrdal's assessment of Negro crime as the effect of the greater share of Negro population being in the lower social classes.[6] He reported the upper and middle classes among Negroes to be at least as law-abiding as the corresponding classes among whites. Upper and middle-class Negroes make a special effort to be law-abiding, just as they try to avoid most of the typical and sterotyped patterns of behavior associated with the Negro lower classes. He wrote that, like the lower class, they meet prejudiced treatment from the police and courts and so add to the crime rate to a greater extent than objective assessment of their behavior would justify.

Lewis described the Negro recreational patterns of hanging around "piccolo joints" and idling. These are interpreted as delinquency signs by whites who do not understand

minority denied full participation in the community may expose the Negroes to arrest because such adjustments violate middle-class moral values of the dominant group as written into law.

The existence of impulsiveness, irresponsibility, and laziness as personal traits in any individual and group does not mean automatically that criminality can be assumed. They can be expressed in a variety of ways and for a variety of motives. The resulting behavior is not necessarily criminal.

INCREASED MIGRATION AS A FACTOR

Since World War II American Negroes have shaken loose to an unprecedented degree from previous sedentarianism to migrate to the cities and to the North and West. Since 1900 the Southern white population has increased at a higher rate than has the Southern Negro population although the Negro birth rate is greater. In part, this inconsistency is explained by the higher Negro death rate, but migration is a major reason. The Negro movement of the South has caused the proportion of American Negroes living in the South to decline steadily from 92% in 1860 to 63% in 1950. Census reports show that in April, 1957, 22.2% of the nonwhites (mostly Negro) lived in a different house than they had in April, 1956. This compares with a figure of 19.0% for

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whites. A considerable part of the interstate migration of nonwhites consists of movement of Southern Negroes to cities of the North and West.

Certain types of persons are more likely to migrate than others. It takes a more individuated, less rooted, and, perhaps, more discontented personality to accept the major changes in one's life and the uncertainties of an unfamiliar land. These personal qualities tend to be found more often among offenders than among the stable, conforming elements of society. The age groups 20 to 45 years generally have the greatest tendency to migrate. These are the ages which include the bulk of offenders. Therefore, factors which tend to favor migration also favor criminality.

Studies of the northward migration of the Southern Negro have indicated an increase in Negro crime because of the maladjustment of strangers with rural background to the complex urban culture.[9] Frazier found personal disorganization highest in areas of recent Negro settlement and lowest in areas where Negro residents had adjusted to Northern urban life.[10]

The assimilation of the migrant rests in part on his acceptance by the host community. The "Americanization" of the foreign-born white immigrants was a process of remolding the attitudes and values of strangers and their children into American patterns. The American Negro migrant is a special problem for assimilation because the external

attract the migrants who usually lack economic means. Clifford Shaw has called them "delinquency areas." They are characterized by physical deterioration, economic insecurity, poor housing, low standards of living, family disintegration, racial and ethic heterogeneity, high rates of movement from residence to residence, truancy, cultural conflict, and low moral consensus. Here environmental factors encourage any personal tendencies toward crime.

It is probably that these urban influences play an important part in explaining the Negro crime rates. These influences are not limited to Negroes, but racial discrimination would appear to increase the likelihood that the Negro migrant would be thrust into these delinquency areas.

Porterfield and Talbert have demonstrated that the crime rates of Southern Cities vary, independently of the proportion of Negroes in the population.[12] In his study of Negro crime in Charlottesville, Virginia, Lightfoot found high crime rates in the census district occupied by poverty-stricken Negroes. However, in two census districts occupied by the most prosperous and better educated Negroes, the rates were considerably below the city average in both crimes committed and residences of offenders.[13] These two studies indicate that the relationship between urban crime and Negro is complex. Certainly, it is not appropriate to explain urban crime as a "natural" result of the existence of a Negro

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population. The socio-economic characteristics of the Negro population and nature of its relationships with the white community must be considered. "If we could determine carefully the relative opportunities of Negroes in different cities for achieving social status, economic security, and personality growth, we could have a more adequate explanation of its crime rates," Porterfield and Talbert said.[14]

A study of Negro juvenile delinquency in Chicago revealed that it resembled white delinquency in its pattern of geographical distribution; in the pattern of decline with distance from the center "Loop" district; in the importance of gangs as a contributing factor; and in the variation of the nature of the delinquencies between areas.[15] Moses explained the higher delinquency rates in Negro areas and higher Negro recidivism, as the result of the greater restriction of Negroes to more compact and deteriorated areas and the greater lack of community facilities to deal with semi-delinquents and delinquents. He cited the lack of foster homes for placement of pre-delinquent, semi-delinquent, and delinquent Negro boys, requiring a greater degree of institutional commitment. The limited park space and organized recreational facilities in Negro areas also were noted. Of the total Negro delinquents appearing before the Juvenile Court, he found 77.2% born in the South and more than a fourth were born in Mississippi. However,

he asserted, the boys did not become delinquent immediately upon arrival in Chicago, but, after they arrived and were settled, they took on the behavior patterns of their deteriorated community. He contended that residential segregation and economic insufficiency barred escape of the Negro from these deteriorated areas.

The experience of unwarranted arrest in not limited to a particular race. However, the general inclination to be suspicious of the stranger with an obvious external difference increases the likelihood that the Negro will have such an experience. The identification of the race of the offender has been cited frequently as a link in the vicious circle from the emotional assumption of Negro criminality to apparent confirmation. Without the social and economic resources for protecting his interests during the various stages from arrest to conviction, the Negro stranger as a suspect faces greater risk of conviction though innocent than his white equivalent when police and court officials share assumptions of Negro criminality. The absence of Negro officers, judges, lawyers, or jurymen has been cited. It has been argued that the Negro has inferior chances for bail, efficient legal counsel, payment of fines instead of imprisonment, and other legal advantages. Johnson has pointed out the police custom of arresting Negroes on slight suspicion, or of staging mass "roundups" of Negroes.[16]

The effect of family disorganization on Negro crime rates appears to be no different than that found among whites. The uniqueness of the relationship for Negroes appears to be more a matter of the greater impact of the socio-economic influences, past and present, on family life. Increased mobility of the Negro has exerted new pressures on family stability and has exposed Negro families disproportionately to the disorganizing effects of defective community life.

POVERTY AS A BACKGROUND FACTOR

Statistics on arrests, convictions, and prison commitments show a heavy concentration of offenders in the lower socio-economic class. Warner and Lunt found that 90% of the arrests were of members of the two lower classes which constitued only 57% of the population of a Massachusetts community.[18] However, this cannot be interpreted as evidence of a simple and direct relationship between poverty and crime. Rather the relationship is affected by a host of complicating factors.

Our law defines as criminal some methods of gaining economic success and ignores other methods just as injurious to social welfare. Sutherland's study of "white collar criminality" focused attention on this.[19] Crimes committed by persons of respectability and high social status in the course of their occupations are less likely to be recorded

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on police blotters because of the offenders' political and financial importance and the difficulty of obtaining sufficient evidence for prosecution. Furthermore, he noted, such transgressions are more likely to be handled in civil courts or by governmental commissions. He said that the laws are written, administered, and implemented primarily with reference to the types of crimes committed by people of lower economic levels.[20]

Poverty has serious consequences for the quality of family life, educational opportunity, and physical and mental health. It limits social and economic participation. However, poverty is a relative term. Its psychological impact on individuals cannot be measured purely in terms of relative possession of the world's goods. This is shown by the fact that many individuals economically underprivileged abstain from crime while others more fortunate do not abstain. Poverty affects motivation when there is a major discrepancy between aspiration and economic resources. Aspiration can be greater than resources even when the person is "well-to-do" in terms of income statistics. It is necessary to "feel poor." The person of small means may not experience the frustrations his position in income statistics would seem to ordain. Conversely, the "well-to-do" may feel poor because their aspirations are beyond their level of income.

The importance of self-conception of the individual in the relationship between poverty and crime also is demonstrated by the fact that delinquency and crime can be reduced without change of economic conditions. The success of parole, probation, and prisoner rehabilitation programs attests to this. Clinard has pointed out that crime and delinquency in urban deteriorated areas have been reduced without change of economic conditions.[21] The Chicago area projects used neighborhood councils to integrate such areas with the same effect.[22]

ECONOMIC HANDICAPS OF NEGROES

The economic handicaps of the Negro accentuate other environmental influences on crime. In spite of marked improvement in his lot, the Negro is still relatively unsuccessful economically and exposed disproportionately to urban and rural slums.

The latter point was borne out by a December, 1956, housing study conducted by the Bureau of the Census.[23] Nonwhites were found to be living in substandard housing to a definitely greater degree than whites. For both owner-occupied and renter-occupied housing, a greater proportion of nonwhites lived in dilapidated houses or houses lacking facilities. Furthermore, a greater proportion of nonwhites lived in older houses built at least 27 years before the survey.

The United States Department of Labor has offered a convenient summary of the economic status of the Negro.[24]

Between 1947 and 1951, the average rate of Negro unemployment was more than 50% above that for whites. A greater proportion of Negroes than whites was found in the labor force for women, men less than 20 years of age, and men over 65 years of age. A lesser degree of job security was indicated by the fact that Negro workers had been on their current job an average of 2.4 years, compared with 3.5 years for whites. Although appreciable gains up the occupational ladder have been made in recent years, in comparison with white workers, Negroes are employed predominately in the lower paying and less skilled occupations. This is confirmed by Table V in the Appendix. Assuming that income and occupational status is roughly correlated with position in the table, we find nonwhites to have less representation at the top of the income-occupational "ladder and to be heavily concentrated at the bottom."

In a study of economic data from Detroit census tracts, Blue found economic status to be more closely related to juvenile delinquency than race.[25] In his study, Lightfoot found the lower economic status of Negroes to be a major factor behind their higher crime rates. Even when they have the same types of positions commonly held by Negroes, the whites usually get paid more, due to their race, he asserted.[26] Bureau of Census figures demonstrated that Negro average income is about half that of the whites. In

1958, nonwhite males 14 years of age and over had a median total money income of $1,981, compared with $3,976 for whites.[27]

IMPLICATION OF DEFICIENT EDUCATION

It is plausible to assume that crime rates decline with an increase in educational achievement, but reliable evidence is lacking. Average educational attainment of prisoners is less than that for the total population, but reliable conclusions await data which permit comparison of prisoners with a population of "free people" of the same age and socio-economic characteristics.

However, when such evidence is available, it will not prove that formal education itself deters crime. Formal education presumably promotes social graces, vocational skill, factual knowledge, and intellectual insights favoring adjustment to the world. Compulsory education can put the pupil in the classroom, but it cannot force him either to accept or participate in the educative process. The school is a resource for crime prevention in terms of its potential usefulness for personality formation in cooperation with the family, church, and community, rather than through affording of content knowledge only. It cannot predetermine the personal gains and philosophy of life which will color the graduate's use of the fruits of education. Therefore, attainment of an education, or the lack thereof, operates within a frame work of personal

TABLE G: PERCENT OF THE CIVILIAN NONINSTITUTIONAL POPULATION, 5 TO 34 YEARS OF AGE, ENROLLED IN SCHOOL, BY AGE AND COLOR, FOR THE UNITED STATES, OCTOBER, 1958[a]

Age in Years	White	Nonwhite
Total, 5 to 34	54.9	54.0
5 and 6	81.4	73.9
7 to 13	99.6	98.8
14 to 17	90.0	82.8
18 and 19	38.1	34.3
20 to 24	14.1	8.7
25 to 29	5.9	3.9
20 to 34	2.3	1.3

[a]Source: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 93, March 27, 1959, Table C.

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LOWER AVERAGE AGE OF NEGROES

Age is an important factor in criminality. As Table H illustrates, arrests tend to be concentrated in the younger ages to a greater extent than the proportion of these age groups in the total population would lead one to expect. The concentration of offenders in the younger ages is even more marked when the age distribution of male felony prisoners received from the courts is examined. Presumably, this indicates that those arrested for crimes of greater seriousness tend to be less than 35 years of age.

Because of a greater death rate among Negroes than whites, Negroes are concentrated in the younger ages in greater proportions than the whites. The difference is marked especially in age group 20 to 24 years, which contributes the greatest number of felony prisoners.

The relationship between age and criminality has been explained in various ways. One group of theories suggests the influence of biological traits, such as physical strength and vigor. Another group emphasizes the possibility of crimes as a by-product of the difficulties of the young in achieving social maturity and in finding a responsible place in his social world. Our point is that there are more adolescents and young adults per 100 Negroes exposed to the relationship--whatever it is--between youth and criminality than there are among 100 whites.

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TABLE H: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY AGE OF PERSONS ARRESTED OR IMPRISONED, AND OF WHITE AND NONWHITE MALES IN TOTAL CIVILIAN POPULATION, UNITED STATES, 1958.

Age groups	Arrests[a]	Prisoners Received[b]	Males[c]	
			White	Nonwhite
15-19	13.4	14.1	10.1	13.0
20-24	12.5	27.9	7.5	10.3
25-29	11.7	20.0	9.1	10.4
30-34	12.5	12.8	10.1	10.6
35-39	12.4	9.1	10.2	10.2
40-44	10.7	6.4	9.8	9.2
45-49	9.5	6.9	9.3	9.0
50 over	17.3	2.8	33.9	27.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[a]For 1,586 cities over 2,500 population in 1958; source: Uniform Crime Reports, 1959, Table 17.

[b]Male felony prisoners received from court by state institutions in 1950. Source: Federal Bureau of Prisons, National Prisoner Statistics, Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions, 1950, Table 2.

[c]Estimated civilian population of continental United States, July 1, 1958; source: Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 193, Bureau of Census, February 11, 1959, Table 3.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER IV:

1. E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939, Chapters I and II.
2. Hylan Lewis, Blackways of Kent, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955, pp. 289-290.
3. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
4. Ibid., p. 237.
5. Ibid., pp. 177-179.
6. Gunnar Myrdal, op. cit., p. 979.
7. Hylan Lewis, op. cit., pp. 64-72.
8. John I. Toland, Jr., "A Sociological Differentiation of Colored and White Alcoholic Offenders," Proceedings of 89th Annual Congress of Correction, 1958, pp. 410-413.
9. See summary in Walter C. Reckless, The Etiology of Delinquent and Criminal Behavior. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1943, pp. 42-46.
10. Franklin E. Frazier, The Negro Family in Chicago, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.
11. For fuller discussion, see Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology, 5th ed., New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., pp. 154-158; Richard R. Korn and Lloyd W. McCorkle, op. cit., pp. 18-23.

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12. Austin L. Porterfield and Robert H. Talbert, "Crime in Southern Cities," in Rupert B. Vance and N. J. Demerath (eds.), The Urban South, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954, p. 188.

13. Robert Mitchell Lightfoot, Jr., Negro Crime in a Small Urban Community, Charlottesville, Virginia, University of Virginia, Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers, No. 12, 1934, p. 61. Also see Hugh Penn Brinton, "Negroes Who Run Afoul the Law," Social Forces, Vol. 11, No. 1, October, 1932, pp. 96-101.

14. Austin L. Porterfield and Robert H. Talbert, op. cit., p. 188.

15. Earl R. Moses, "Community Factors in Negro Delinquency," Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 5, No. 2, April, 1936, pp. 220-227.

16. Guy B. Johnson, op. cit., p. 97.

17. Allison Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, op. cit., pp. 511-512.

18. William Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, op. cit., pp. 372-377.

19. Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, op. cit., pp. 38-47.

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21. Marshall B. Clinard, Sociology of Deviant Behavior, New York: Rinehart and Company, 1957, pp. 99-100.

22. Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. 442-446; and John B. Martin, "A New Attack on Delinquency," Harper's Magazine, July 1944, pp. 97-109.

23. U. S. Bureau of the Census, mimeographed release, August 18, 1959, Table 1.

24. U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Negroes in the United States: Their Employment and Economic Status, Bulletin No. 119, December 1952.

25. John T. Blue, Jr., "The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency, Race, and Economic Status," Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 17, Fall, 1948, pp. 469-477.

26. Robert Mitchell Lightfoot, Jr., op. cit., p. 61

27. Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 33, January 15, 1960, Table 37.

28. Sidney Axelrad, "Negro and White Male Institutionalized Delinquents," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 57, No. 6, May, 1952, pp. 569-574.

A P P E N D I X

Statistical Tables

TABLE IV: Analysis Of Variance For Table III[a]

Source of Variation	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio
Offenses	13	6,485.21	498.68	138.57*
Regions	3	787.63	262.54	72.93*
Region by Offense	39	894.87	22.95	6.38*
Race	1	146.28	146.28	40.63
Race by Offense	13	147.72	11.36	3.16**
Race by Region	3	4.37	1.46	.41

[a]Analysis of variance is the analyzing or breaking up of variance arising from specified sources, and testing of these portions to see if they are significantly different beyond the possibility of chance causing the indicated variation. For methodology, see Margaret J. Hagood, Statistics for Sociologists, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1947, Chapter 20. Because murder dominated the variations in Table III and this dominance was opposite in effect to the trends of other offenses, murder was eliminated as a category in the analysis of variance.

*Significant beyond 1% level of confidence.

** Significant at 5% level of confidence.

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(Sherry Fullerton)

Draft Rewrite

Negro Crime

~~(introduction needed)~~

Chapter I: The Concepts of Crime & Race

(Page 4, original)

Crime is a cultural phenomenon, which means that the acts which are defined as crimes vary from one human society to another.

There are certain anti-social acts, such as murder, which are regarded as crimes in all societies. But even the definition of murder is not universal. In the Arctic, for example, the precarious existence of the Eskimos has led them to regard suicide and the killing of infants, invalids, and old people ~~as justified, as well as suicide~~ as justified.

Even within the same nation, furthermore, what constitutes a crime may vary from one place to another. Acts which are criminal in some of our states in the United States are not criminal in others.

Crime also varies in time. After the repeal of Prohibition, for instance, acts which had been criminal before were suddenly legal.

If crime is a cultural phenomenon, race is a biological phenomenon, and racial characteristics cannot explain criminal behavior and the concepts of crime, which vary so much in time and place.

(original p-6) The races of mankind are biological subdivisions marked by a number of distinctive inherited characteristics. These include skin color, height, nose and face measurements, texture of hair, shape of head and lips, and color of hair and eyes. These can all vary within certain ranges.

Race is a relative term. Migrations and other contacts between peoples through the ages have meant that there is no longer such a thing as a pure race, if indeed there ever was. African Negroes, for example, brought to America ~~through slavery,~~ as slaves, interbred with whites and American Indians and eventually created what has been described as a new racial type -- the American Negro.

In 1928 the ~~sociologist~~ anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits estimated that almost 15 ~~percent~~ % of American Negroes were more white than Negro, another 25 ~~percent~~ % were equally white and Negro, about 32 ~~percent~~ % were more Negro than white, and six ~~percent~~ % had some Indian blood, That left 22 ~~percent~~ % "pure Negro." While these were rough estimates, they illustrate the racial cross breeding which has taken place.

Apart from the fact that there is no such thing as a pure race, however, there are other flaws in the theory that race and crime are somehow connected. If criminals were really "born and not made," there would have to be a direct connection between biological structure and criminal behavior. For example, an automobile theft would have to be ~~the direct result of~~ caused by the brain tissue, the nervous system, the glands, and other anatomical features of the thief.

There is no scientific evidence that such is the case. Furthermore, if this were the case it would raise an interesting philosophical question as to whether the thief could be held morally or legally responsible for his act. If the theft resulted from his physical make-up which he is obviously powerless to change, how could he be held accountable for it?

For crime to be ~~the result of~~ linked with race, ~~would mean that~~ criminal behavior ~~is the~~ would have to be the result of heredity, not environment. Scientists agree, however, that while physical traits are transmitted by heredity (and even these can be modified by environment), mental characteristics are so dominated by environment that there is doubt whether heredity has any appreciable influence on them at all.

The more sophisticated theories linking crime and race do take into account cultural ~~or~~ and environmental factors. In a racially divided society, such as we have in the United States, people of one race have different experiences from those of another race. This contributes to the development of what the sociologists call "social roles." Negroes are expected to act as Negroes, white men as whites. Another word for these expectations is stereotypes. When the stereotypes are widely believed by the dominant racial group, they strongly influence the behavior of members of each group toward members of the other, + also behavior within each racial group. The ~~and these~~ stereotypes serve as scripts for the actors in playing their social roles.

(original p-9) Differences in experience lead to differences in personality which can be observed between whites and Negroes. But differences in experience have also created discernible personality differences between the Wall Street broker and the labor union leader, the city dweller and the isolated farmer, the Jew and the Baptist. The fact that these personality differences exist does not mean that there is any correlation between a minority group personality and criminality. Such a link has yet to be proved.

WHAT IS NEEDED TO PROVE THE RACIAL BASIS OF CRIME?

If you set out to demonstrate beyond a doubt that race causes crime, you would have to do several things:

- First, you would have to show that the race you are talking about (Negroes, for example) includes only a single personality type or at least includes a higher proportion of "criminal types" than other races.
- Secondly, you would have to rule out the influence of factors other than race. You would, for instance, have to compare crime rates among Negroes and whites of equal economic, social, educational, familial, and other characteristics. You would have to make sure that the chances of arrest, conviction, and imprisonment were exactly the same for a white man or a Negro committing the same crime.
- Thirdly, you would have to eliminate those personality tendencies in Negroes which result from their status as a minority group, rather than from their race. insert from page 10 original
- Finally, You would have to take account of the fact that a greater proportion of Negroes than whites belong to the lower socio-economic classes and that this may distort the statistics since law reflects middle class expectations.

adjusting to discrimination, the Negro may bow and scrape, or he may show his resentment in ways which minimize personal peril. The loud, high-pitched cackle has been stereotyped as the "Negro laugh." This laugh has been explained as a vestige of slavery times when it was a means of appeasing the master by abasing oneself before him and making him think that one was contented. Similarly, cleverness in language was a slave adaptation of the "bright sayings" of children.[7] Pretense of stupidity, for example, is a familiar technique of subordinates to avoid difficulties with paternalistic superiors. ~~The Negro habit of~~ Lying has been explained as an accommodating technique whereby the insecure Negro tells the white man what the white man will accept.[8] Habitual ways of response such as these ~~may be~~ probably are the results of the inferior "place" of a racial minority, rather than the result of personality qualities stemming from a racial heredity.

Fourthly, since criminal and other anti-social behavior may come from social forces which create such behavior in all races exposed to them, it would be necessary to disprove such influence on other races. The rural Southern Negro who migrates to the Northern city may become criminal because, as a ruralite, he finds it difficult to fit himself into an unfamilar environment.[9] It is the migrant in the Negro migrant who turns criminal, not the Negro.

Fifthly, it would be necessary to cancel out social class differences which are only thinly concealed in racial

6

In conclusion, there is no truth in the theory which holds that Negro crime results directly from innate biological characteristics. The search for causes must proceed elsewhere, particularly in the field of cultural and environmental factors. But first, let's take a look at Negro crime statistics.

(original p-14)

Chapter II: Critique of Statistics on Crimes of Negroes

One of the chief problems in distinguishing truth from falsehood in the whole argument over Negro crime is the fact that there are few reliable statistics concerning crimes of Negroes or anybody else.

There are many criticisms which could be directed against crime statistics in the United States, but these are the chief ones:

o Ideally the statistics ought to include all law violations, but not all violators are known to the police. Of those who are known, not all fewer are arrested, still fewer brought to trial, and even fewer convicted and sentenced. But a Negro who commits a crime is more likely to be arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced than a white man committing the same crime. Thus he is more likely to end up as a "statistic,"

7

o Data are often not comparable from one state to another. Not only the definitions of crime, but the likelihood of its being prosecuted and the extent of the punishment vary widely. Colorado, Georgia, and Nevada prescribe a life sentence for sodomy, for example, while in New Hampshire and Vermont it is not punishable at all.

o The collection and recording of police and court statistics is often slipshod. In fact, the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, often cited in discussions of Negro crime, carry the warning: "In publishing the data sent in by chiefs of police in different cities, the FBI does not vouch for their accuracy."

In addition to these ~~general~~ criticisms of crime statistics in general, there are some special difficulties with respect to statistics on Negro crime. Here are some of them:

o For census and crime reports, persons are classified as Negro if they have any known degree of Negro ancestry or apparent ~~Negroxxx~~ Negroid characteristics. On the basis of Herskovits' estimates, almost 40 ~~percent~~ % of these would be at least half white. How these people would affect the crime rates if they were classified as ~~white~~ white, in accordance with anthropological concepts of race, ~~is only a guess~~ can only be guessed at. There is some reason to believe, however, that ~~their~~ frustration from their minority group status may cause them to contribute ~~the~~ to the Negro crime rate out of proportion to their numbers.

8

o It has repeatedly been noted that Negroes are more likely to commit crimes against persons than against property. But crimes against persons are also those which are far more likely to result in arrests and therefore in "statistics."

o Comparisons of white and Negro crime rates uniformly fail to adjust for differences in economic, educational, and other characteristics of the two groups which ~~influence the~~ influence exposure to the risk of crime. Were ~~such research undertaken~~ this done, it might be discovered that the apparent differences in crime rates between the two races result more from underprosecution of white crime than anything else.

~~Keeping~~ With these warnings in mind, ~~however, let's~~ let us see what the statistics can tell us.

CHAPTER III: PATTERNS OF CRIME AMONG NEGROES

(original p-24)

The American ~~Negro~~ Negro appears to commit more than his share of crime. But we must be cautious in making such a statement for the reasons discussed in the last chapter. Conclusive facts are not available and the data we do have ~~xxx xxxxxxx~~ can be interpreted in different ways.

This is disturbing to those who like "clear-cut answers," but there have been too many "clear-cut answers" regarding the Negro and crime which have created more heat than light.

In discussing crime rates, we must not forget that we are talking about a small fraction of the population of either race. Crime rates focus attention on abnormal behavior. For example, we shall point out shortly that 13,660 out of every 100,000 Negroes and 3,364 out of every 100,000 whites were arrested in 1958 in 1586 American cities. This may cause us to overlook the fact that the remaining 86,340 Negroes and 96,636 whites were not arrested. Since some individuals are arrested more than once, the unarrested population may be even larger.

In this chapter, we shall review some general patterns of crime among Negroes, always keeping in mind the statistical possibilities of error which we discussed in the last chapter. The interpretation of environmental factors behind these crime trends will be left until the next chapter.

GENERAL PATTERNS OF NEGRO ARRESTS

Uniform Crime Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is the best available source of arrest data. Local police agencies are asked to volunteer information ~~xxxx~~ in keeping with carefully prepared instructions. However, as previously pointed out, the voluntary nature of the reporting makes it difficult to control the influence of extraneous factors, and therefore it is easy to exaggerate the reliability and validity of the data.

The FBI acknowledges that its coverage is least complete in the South and in rural regions, and because of this the FBI data exaggerate the crimes of Negroes if these are interpreted to apply to all American Negroes. The reason is that so many Negroes have migrated from the South with its less complete reporting to cities in the Middle Atlantic, ~~North~~ East North Central, and Pacific states where arrests are more adequately reported.

Now persons who migrate are likely to be less socially ~~integrated~~ adjusted and less contented than those who don't. In addition, they have not been conditioned to the relative freedom and absence of social controls of urban life. Thus the FBI reports emphasize that portion of the Negro population most likely to be arrested and underrepresent that portion which is most stable. ~~and secure.~~

In 1958, the FBI reported 2,430,000 arrests in the 1586 cities which offered acceptable information on the race of offenders. Of this number, ~~67.7 per cent~~ 68 % were whites, ~~29.8 per cent~~ 30 % were Negroes, with the rest other races including American Indians.

Unfortunately, we do not know the racial composition of the 1586 cities. However, if we estimate their racial composition on the basis of the 1950 census figures for all cities, we find a Negro arrest rate of ~~13,859x~~ 13.7 ~~66 per cent~~ % and a white arrest rate of 3.4 ~~36 per cent~~ %. The Negro rate is about four times as great.

? Is this kosher?

The Uniform Crime Reports are not strictly comparable over the years because of differences in the specific cities included from year to year and because of differences in reporting reliability. However, it appears that Negro arrest rates have increased at a greater rate than those of whites during the last quarter century. Negroes represented 23.5 ~~per cent~~ % of all reported arrests in 1941 and ~~29.8 per cent~~ 30 % in 1958. Between 1940 and 1946 the white arrest rate rose 45 ~~per cent~~ % and the Negro arrest rate increased 79 ~~per cent~~ %.

This comparison probably exaggerates the actual rate of increase of Negro arrests, not only because of Negro migration to areas with more complete reporting, but also because the small ~~absolute~~ total number of Negroes in many Northern communities would cause the absolute number of arrests to have greater impact on Negro arrest rates as a result of the first point.

ARREST RATES FOR SPECIFIC OFFENSES

(original p-28)

The possibility of error is even greater when we compare arrest rates for specific crimes than it is for the arrest rates as a whole. However, the variation by offense of racial differences is interesting.

As shown by Table 1, the Negro arrest rate exceeded that of whites for every single offense. As we have pointed out previously, however, likelihood of being arrested does not mean the same thing as relative criminality. The stranger is more likely to be regarded with suspicion when a crime is being investigated, and the poor run a greater risk of arrest than the well-to-do.

(Use Table 1 here instead of having an appendix)

The biggest difference in Negro and white rates was in arrests for gambling, where the Negro rate was 30 times the white rate. This might be explained by the fact that gambling is an important Negro recreational activity, especially in deteriorated urban areas, and by the fact that Negroes are concentrated in lower-rung jobs supporting gamblingrackets.

If we assume that a Negro arrest rate four times that for whites is the average, then the rates for the following offenses would be above average: aggravated assault, murder and non-negligent manslaughter, robbery, narcotic drug laws, weapons and forcible rape. Rates below average are found for the following offenses: forgery and counterfeiting, driving while intoxicated, embezzlement and fraud, auto theft, manslaughter by negligence, [redacted]

Earlier studies [redacted] white arrest rate for narcotic offenses. The present high Negro arrest rate in this field probably reflects the fact that more Negroes now live in cities with greater exposure to the drug traffic.

The relatively low rates of Negro arrests for forgery, counterfeiting, embezzlement, and fraud probably stem from the fact that few Negroes occupy white collar jobs and thus there is little opportunity for them to commit such crimes.

The comparatively low rates of Negro arrest for drunkenness and vagrancy may reflect two things: first, the fact that police expect this type of behavior from the Negro; and secondly, these charges are often used to hold whites for investigation, while Negroes in similar situations may be charged with more serious offenses.

TABLE 1: Arrests Per 100,000 Population by Race, 1,586 Cities Over 2,500 With A Total Population 52,329,497[a]

Offense	White	Negro	Negro Rate Divided by White Rate
Gambling	29.4	917.6	31.2
Aggravated assault	19.3	321.6	16.7
Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	1.8	28.0	15.7
Narcotic drug laws	8.1	112.6	13.9
Robbery	14.1	157.6	11.0
Weapons, carrying, possessing, etc.	18.4	190.2	10.3
Forcible rape	3.9	35.3	9.1
Prostitution, commercialized vice	19.5	154.7	7.9
Other assaults	97.4	701.1	7.2
Disorderly conduct	343.9	2,259.6	6.6
Offenses against family, children	32.1	164.4	5.1
Liquor laws	72.6	350.7	4.8
Suspicion	134.4	641.8	4.8
Stolen property; buying, receiving, etc.	7.8	34.6	4.5
Larceny--theft	170.6	718.9	4.2
Burglary, breaking-entering	88.7	365.4	4.1

TABLE 1: (Continued)

Offense	White	Negro	Negro Rate Divided by White Rate
Other sex offenses (including statutory rape)	36.3	138.5	3.8
Vagrancy	137.4	411.0	3.0
Drunkenness	1,432.0	3,826.9	2.7
Manslaughter by negligence	1.9	4.8	2.5
Auto theft	50.3	120.4	2.4
Embezzlement and fraud	33.2	74.2	2.2
Driving while intoxicated	197.9	315.3	1.8
Forgery and counterfeiting	20.4	32.4	1.6
All other offenses	410.7	1,582.0	3.9
Total Offenses	3,364.0	13,659.5	4.1

[a] Source: Uniform Crime Reports, 1958, Table 21. Rate based on racial estimate ~~of racial breakdown~~ of total population computed from racial composition ~~similar breakdown~~ of 1950 urban population of United States.

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(original p-32)

Another type of data important to the criminologist is prison commitments. The best source of these is the Federal Bureau of Prisons, which collects information from the state institutions.

The Bureau's most recent published report (see Table III) showed that 30,857 white males, 13,728 Negro males, 1,110 white females, and 771 Negro females were committed in 1950 to the penal institutions of the 46 states which submitted usable reports. Negroes accounted for 31 % of the males committed and 41 % of the females.

[redacted]

Of every 100,000 Negro males 15 years of age or more, 304 entered prison in 1950. The Negro admission rate was 304 per 100,000. The white admission rate was 67 per 100,000. The Negro rate was thus four and a half times greater than the white. Negro females were seven times more likely to go to prison than white females. The Negro female rate was 16 per 100,000 compared with the white female rate of 2.3 per 100,000. This reflects, at least in part, that the chivalrous attitudes of police and courts protected white women from prison to a greater extent than they protected Negro women.

More Negroes of both sexes were committed to prison in the South than in other regions, which is not surprising since the region has the largest share of Negro population. The commitment rate for Negroes is lower in the South than in other regions, however.

The explanation for this lies in several directions. First of all, as pointed out earlier, migration tends to be associated with crime, meaning that the Negroes who go North are more likely to commit crimes. Secondly, Southern Negroes are likely to be inhibited from crime by the social and economic system of which he is a part. Thirdly, Southern courts and police are more inclined to view the Negro as morally inferior and thus "excuse" him than the authorities in other regions. Fourth, Southern Negroes are concentrated in rural areas where crime is more likely to be taken care of without resort to police or courts.

TABLE III: Race And Sex, By Region, Of Felony Prisoners Received From Court In State Institutions: 1950[a]

Sex and Region	Number	White %	Rate[b]	Number	Negro %	Rate[a]
MALE						
Total U. S.	30,857	100.0	67.0	13,728	100.0	304.3
Northeast	5,078	16.4	36.7	2,027	15.3	284.5
North Central	8,260	26.8	62.3	2,424	18.3	382.0
South	10,889	35.3	90.0	7,946	60.1	275.3
West	6,630	21.5	96.7	829	6.3	298.5
FEMALE						
Total U. S.	1,110	100.0	2.3	771	100.0	16.0
Northeast	319	28.7	2.2	174	22.6	22.0
North Central	326	29.4	2.4	125	16.2	18.8
South	304	27.4	2.5	418	54.2	13.3
West	161	14.5	2.4	54	7.0	28.1

[a] Source: Federal Bureau of Prisons, Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions, 1950. Washington, 1954, Table 21. (Georgia and Michigan statistics excluded in federal data.) Chi-square of rates for males is 34.7, which is significant at less than the 1% level. Chi-square for female rates is not significant at the 5% level.

[b] Number of admissions per 100,000 population of given race and sex in region in age group 15 years and over.

Unpublished 1956 data from the Federal Bureau of Prisons show that Negro admissions to prison are rising more rapidly than those of whites. As shown in Table IV, white male admissions jumped 8.3 per cent from 1950 to 1956, while Negro male admissions rose 19.7 per cent in the same period. For male whites the largest increase was in the South. For male Negroes, all regions showed important increases, but the rise in the Northeast and West was more than twice that of the South.

See my note at end of this page

Look at migration statistics - more rapid urbanization of Negroes - and the higher crime rates for urban than for rural areas

TABLE ~~B~~ 4: RACE AND SEX, BY REGION, OF FELONY PRISONERS IN STATE INSTITUTIONS: 1950 and 1956[a]

Sex and Region	White Felony Admissions			Negro Felony Admissions		
	Number		Percentage Increase	Number		Percentage Increase
	1950	1956		1950	1956	
MALE						
Total U. S.	30,857	33,414	8.3	13,728	16,430	19.7
Northeast	5,078	5,098	0.4	2,027	2,991	47.6
North Central	8,260	8,514	3.1	2,424	2,724	12.4
South	10,889	12,766	17.2	7,946	9,524	19.9
West	6,630	7,036	6.1	829	1,191	43.7
FEMALE						
Total U. S.	1,110	1,244	12.1	771	1,219	58.1
Northeast	319	251	-21.3	174	222	27.6
North Central	326	359	10.1	125	250	100.0
South	304	396	30.3	418	647	54.8
West	161	238	47.8	54	100	85.2

Source: Table II, and unpublished data from U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Research and Statistics Branch, February 19, 1960.

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Some additional comment is appropriate on this relatively equal increase for white + negro males in the South - and the fact that the increase for W. males in South is more than twice the U.S. average.

(original -- p. 36)

LENGTH OF PRISON SENTENCES SERVED

Table ~~5 (original Table 6)~~ V shows that the Negro felon serves a longer time in prison, on the average nationwide, than the white felon. The national average for all offenses was 24 months [redacted] 22 months for the white.

TABLE ~~6~~ V: TIME SERVED BY WHITE AND NEGRO FELONY PRISONERS BEFORE FIRST RELEASE FROM STATE INSTITUTIONS, 1953[a]

Time Served at Release	White Felons		Negro Felons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Under 12 Months	6,248	19.7	2,519	16.4
12-18 Months	6,689	21.0	2,618	17.1
18-24 Months	4,559	14.3	2,173	14.2
2-3 Years	6,239	19.6	2,999	19.6
3-5 Years	5,150	16.2	2,797	18.3
5-9 Years	2,051	6.5	1,601	10.4
9 years and over	846	2.7	619	4.0
Totals	31,782	100.0	15,326	100.0

[a]Source: Federal Bureau of Prisons, Prisoners Released from State and Federal Institutions, 1952 and 1953, Washington, Table 8B. Specialists may want to know that the chi-square value for above distributions is 2,265.9. This is significant at much less than the 1% level.

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The length of sentence served varies by region, too, as shown in Table ~~8~~ VI ~~(original Table IIF)~~, with the shortest sentences being served in the South: 21 months for Negroes and 17 months for whites.

page 11A

On the average nationwide, Negroes served longer for all offenses except murder and sex offenses. Negroes also served longer sentences for all offenses in all regions, except for auto theft and weapons in the South, for escape and sex offenses other than rape in the West, and for murder in the Northeast and North Central.

Length of time served in prison is determined first of all by the length of sentence imposed, and secondly by the factors affecting the proportion of the sentence actually served.

Legal authorities have noted that judges are subject to many social and psychologiaal influences when they sentence a prisoner. Racial stereotypes may be one of these factors, and the longer terms served by Negroes could be explained in part by longer sentences imposed on them.

On the other hand, it may also be that Negro prisoners are less likely to gain early release from prison through working extra hours or performing ~~special~~ tasks requiring special skills or obligations.

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-- p.40)

PAROLE AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Some authorities have contended that the Negro prisoner is less likely to receive parole than the white prisoner. The statistical evidence is not complete enough, however, either to prove or disprove this.

With regard to capital punishment, however, federal statistics (see Tables VII + VIII) show that Negroes are more likely to be executed than whites. Since 1930, more than half

TABLE ~~III~~ VI: Median Time Served In Months By White and Negro Felony Prisoners Before Release From State Institutions, 1953[a]

Offense	Northeast		North Central		South		West	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Murder	189	129	199	130	70	77	84	95
Manslaughter	47	50	36	38	20	28	24	30
Robbery	37	41	38	38	36	40	34	36
Aggravated Assault	24	25	22	24	15	17	24	25
Burglary	25	30	24	26	19	24	21	27
Theft, Except Auto	21	24	17	19	14	17	18	23
Auto Theft	18	20	18	21	20	18	18	18
Embezzlement, Fraud	18	24	15	18	14	15	15	18
Forgery	24	26	19	22	17	18	20	24
Rape	33	43	33	36	35	40	36	49
Other Sex Offenses	28	30	25	25	21	24	33	27
Drug Laws	19	20	14	18	15	17	22	24
Weapons	25	26	17	20	16	9	24	24
Escape	22	22	14	15	9	10	18	12
Other	16	17	13	13	10	11	16	18
Total Offenses	23	27	22	26	18	21	23	27

TABLE III: (Continued)

[a]Source: Federal Bureau of Prisons, Prisoners Released from State and Federal Institutions, 1952 and 1953, Washington, Table 7B.

TABLE D: PRISONERS EXECUTED BY STATES, BY OFFENSE, RACE, AND REGION, 1930-1959[a]

Region	Murder		Rape		Other Crimes	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Northeast	415	167			2	
North Central	241	131	1	7		
South	554	1187	39	375	8	28
West	357	74			9	
Totals	1567	1559	40	382	19	28

[a]Source: Federal Bureau of Prisons, National Prisoner Statistics, Executions, 1959, No. 23, February, 1960, Table 4. Data on 82 members of other races were excluded.

TABLE E: COMPARISON IN TIME OF PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES INCLUDED IN TOTAL NUMBER OF WHITES AND NEGROES EXECUTED, BY REGIONS, 1930-1959[a]

Region	Number				Percentage Negro	
	1930-1949		1950-1959		1930-1949	1950-1959
	White	Negro	White	Negro		
Northeast	346	120	71	47	25.8	39.8
North Central	208	114	34	24	35.4	41.4
South	472	1294	129	296	73.3	69.6
West	272	56	94	18	17.1	16.1
Totals	1298	1584	328	385	55.0	54.0

[a]Adapted from Federal Bureau of Prisons, National Prisoner Statistics, Executions, annual reports.

(55 ~~per cent~~ %) of all convicted offenders put to death were Negroes. About the same number of whites and Negroes were executed for murder, but most of the executions for rape were Negroes. All rape executions, incidentally, except one white and seven Negroes in Missouri, were in the South.

A study of capital cases in North Carolina shows that the number of executions has declined in recent years, following a trend observable nationwide. It also shows, however, that the possibility of a last minute reprieve is diminishing, affecting whites to a greater extent than Negroes. This means that the difference between the number of Negroes executed and the number of whites executed is diminishing.

The South continues to have the largest number of executions for both races and the largest proportion of Negroes executed. However, the difference among the regions is narrowing.

Negroes who are executed tend to be younger than whites. This is true in other regions as well as the South. It is not clear whether this means that younger Negroes are likely to commit capital crimes, or whether racial factors entered into the administration of justice.

SUMMARY

Arrest and prison statistics indicate that the Negro commits more crime than would be expected from his proportion of the population. However, the reader must keep in mind the inadequacies and exaggerations of the data.

Negroes appear to emphasize crimes against persons to a greater degree than whites, but these crimes are directed mainly against other Negroes.

The increase in prison admissions seems to be greater for Negroes than for whites, especially outside the South. The Negro serves a longer prison sentence on the average than the white, and is more likely to suffer capital punishment.

(original
p. 47)

CHAPTER IV: ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS BEHIND CRIMES OF NEGROES

Race as a biological concept cannot explain Negro crime, yet even after allowances are made for inaccuracies and exaggerations of crime statistics it is indisputable that Negroes have a higher crime rate. Why is this? For the explanation we shall have to look to the social, economic, and psychological factors which intensify the causes of crime among Negroes, for these causes are the same for Negroes as for any other group.

MYTH OF A UNIQUE "NEGRO CULTURE"

Before embarking on this explanation, however, it is necessary to dispose of the hypothesis that Negro "criminality," if not traceable to biological traits, stems from special social and family traditions brought from Africa and nurtured by the institution of slavery. According to this hypothesis, the Negro has his own patterns of thought and action which are handed down from generation to generation. He is said to be less adjusted to American culture because his own special culture makes him more emotional, less provident, and more inclined to violence and unrestrained sexual behavior.

The hypothesis is not borne out by the facts, however, The anthropologist E. Franklin Frazier has shown that the effect of slavery was not to reinforce the African social heritage of the Negro, but on the contrary to strip him of it completely.

Far more male than female slaves were imported to America and this made any family or tribal continuity impossible. The most important social distinction among slaves was between the field hands and the house servants, the latter being more assimilated in the white culture.

Modern studies show that the American Negro has accepted American culture and seeks to imitate it. Hyman Lewis, in Blackways of Kent, a study of a Piedmont community, found that Negro values and goals are essentially the same

as those of whites: survival and getting along; opportunity and equality before the law; patience; religious salvation; self-expression and inviolability of the ego; friendliness and courtesy; property and quick money. Lewis reported that ~~the~~ Negro ~~is~~ are not disposed to hold on to Negro ways and values as such, but ~~rather~~ on the contrary to criticize them and regard them with shame.

He found a major split in his Negro community between the "respectables" and "non-respectables." The "nonrespectables" had a reputation for drinking too much, and unconventional family life, sexual promiscuity. They had arrest records and frequented "piccolo joints."

The "respectables," on the other hand, strove to maintain "nice" homes, stable families, habits of thrift, and law-abiding behavior. The relative amount of respectability increased with the amount of education and the economic status of the family, but in each social-economic class there were a ~~significant~~ noteworthy number of "respectables."

To the Negro, local government and law are symbols of white dominance and control. For the "nonrespectable," there is little social stigma attached to imprisonment. On the other hand, the "respectables" adjust to the situation by an exaggerated avoidance of the law and its agents in bitter recognition of the hazards ~~avoiding the law in bitter recognition~~ of ~~the~~ discriminatory treatment. ~~they are likely to receive.~~

Far from reflecting a "Negro culture," therefore, the Negro atitude toward law enforcement is more of a response to white dominance.

LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AS AN EXPLANATION OF NEGRO CRIME

Gunnar Myrdal saw Negro crime as a reflection of the greater proportion of Negroes concentrated in the lower social classes. Upper and middle class Negroes are as law abiding as the whites of the corresponding classes, he said. In fact, they make a special attempt to be law abiding and avoid the type of behavior associated with lower class Negroes.

The recreational habits of lower class Negroes, such as idling and hanging around "piccolo joints," plus more serious habits, such as crap shooting, razor carrying, and use of violence in settling disputes, encourage deviant and even criminal behavior. These are created, however, by the caste status assigned to these people.

Compare with comments in NSC report "Juvenile Delinquency (1960) on "Lower Class Culture"

John I. Toland, Jr., in comparing Negro and white alcoholic offenders, found the Negro offender to be less likely to be isolated from his kindred group, less likely to be ostracized by repeated conviction for intoxication, and more likely to belong to other groups united by other factors than excessive use of alcohol. From this he concluded tentatively that lower-class urban Negro life encouraged excessive use of alcohol. insert from page 51 of original - new paragraph

INCREASED MIGRATION AS A FACTOR

(original
p. 52)

Since World War II, American Negroes have migrated in unprecedented numbers from country to city, and from South to North and West. The proportion of Negroes living in the South has declined from 92 ~~per cent~~ % in 1860 to 63 ~~per cent~~ % in 1950. Census reports showed that in April, 1957, 22 ~~per cent~~ % of the non-whites had moved in the past year, compared with 19 ~~per cent~~ % of the whites.

Those who migrate are likely to be less rooted and perhaps more discontented than those who do not. They are also likely to be in the 20 to 45 years age group. But these personality factors and this age group are also found more often among offenders. Thus factors favoring migration also favor criminality.

Walter C. Reckless indicates that Negro crime has increased because of the maladjustment of Negro migrants with rural background to the complex urban culture. Frazier also found that recent Negro arrivals in Chicago had a higher rate of personal disorganization than the early settlers.

Other immigrant groups in American history have also had high crime rates, but whereas these groups became "Americanized" after learning the language and customs of the new country, the assimilation of the Negro has been far more difficult. ~~requires a basic change in the attitude of the entire white community~~. The insert from page 54 of original Thus he remains an outsider.

the Negroes' recreational problems, which are created by the caste status assigned them.[7] More serious behavior patterns must be recognized, such as crap shooting, razor carrying, and use of violence in settling disputes. Certainly, there are recurrent patterns in elements of Negro life which encourage deviant, and even criminal, behavior. In a study of a representative sample of white and Negro alcoholic offenders, Toland found the Negro alcoholic offender to be less likely to be socially isolated from his kindred group, more likely to belong to groups united by other factors than the excessive use of alcohol, and less likely to be ostracized from his kindred group by repeated conviction for intoxication. From this, he concluded tentatively that lower-class urban Negro life encouraged excessive use of alcohol.[8]

The existence of such deviancy patterns and of qualities in lower-class Negro life encouraging deviancy should be evaluated against the fact that similar patterns and qualities are to be found in lower-class white life. Race is a factor in defining class status, and some ~~Cultural factors enter because~~ traditional behavior patterns emerge out of the social isolation of the racial minority from the main stream of ~~everyday~~ national life. ~~Social meanings attached to race create problems for all Negroes in accommodating themselves to the social situations that result. Such adjustments by a~~

Very good section p 51

Those pockets of white society which are also isolated from the main stream deviate from the social norms, just as do lower class Negroes.

See my note - this needs to be played more prominently with sources.

marks of his race identify him as a social stranger. His assimilation requires fundamental changes in the attitudes and values of the hosts as well as of the migrant. The entrance of the Negro into new residential and occupational areas involves a "re-education" program of greater scope than converting the alien ways of the stranger into the familiar behavior and dress of the native son.

EFFECTS OF URBAN DISORGANIZATION

The possible effects of migration on Negro crime rates are intertwined with urbanization. In general, the number of serious crimes in proportion to population tends to increase with the size of community.[11] It has been contended that this is the result of greater migration from rural area of persons most likely to commit crimes. Probably this is a factor, but it alone does not explain the urban crime rates.1

Generally, sociologists see these criminal patterns as products of the greater prevalence of social disorganization in cities. Social disorganization is the result of great social change which reduces the influence of informal social control on the individual. The sociologists cite the heterogeneity of urban population and the shallowness of social contact. Studies of urban crime have revealed that this lack of moral consensus bears with greatest force on slum areas where the low rents for substandard housing

EFFECTS OF URBAN DISORGANIZATION

(original
p. 54)

Should be brought in earlier

The effects of migration on Negro crime rates are intertwined with urbanization. All crime rates for serious crime tend to be higher in the big cities. This may result from a tendency on the part of persons most likely to commit crimes to migrate from the rural areas. However, sociologists generally see these criminal patterns as products of greater social disorganization in the cities.

In the city, the influence of informal social control on the individual is far less felt than in the country. This is especially true in slum areas where low rents generally attract the migrants. These areas are physically deteriorated and economically insecure. They have poor housing, low standards of living, family disintegration, racial and ethnic heterogeneity, high rates of moving from one residence to another, truancy, cultural conflict, and low moral consensus. Here environmental factors encourage any personal tendencies toward crime.

The influence of the slums is not limited to Negroes, of course, but racial discrimination in housing increases the likelihood that the Negro migrant will be thrown into these areas.

Austin L. Porterfield and Robert H. Talbert have demonstrated that crime rates in Southern cities bear no relation to the proportion of Negroes in the population. And Robert Mitchell Lightfoot, Jr., in his study of Negro crime in Charlottesville, Va., found that while a district occupied by poverty-stricken Negroes had a high crime rate, two districts occupied by more prosperous and better educated Negroes had rates considerably below the city average.

A study of Negro juvenile delinquency in Chicago showed that it resembled white juvenile delinquency in its geographical distribution. It declined with distance from the center "Loop" district, and, like the white juvenile delinquency, it depended to a great extent on gangs, and varied considerably in nature from one area to another.

Earl R. Moses explained the higher delinquency rates in Negro areas as the result of greater restriction of Negroes to more compact and deteriorated areas and greater lack of community facilities to deal with semi-delinquents and delinquents. He cited the lackof foster homes for placement of pre-delinquent, semi-delinquent, and delinquent Negro boys, requiring a greater degree of institutional commitment. He also noted the limited park space and lack of organized recreational facilities in Negro areas.

Of the total Negro delinquents appearing before the juvenile court, he found that 77 ~~per cent~~ were born in the South, one fourth of them in Mississippi. However, he asserted, the boys did not become delinquent immediately upon arrival in Chicago, but after they arrived took on the behavior patterns of the deteriorated community. Residential segregation and economic insufficiency barred the escape of the Negro from these deteriorated areas, ~~he said.~~

As has been pointed out previously, the Negro runs a greater risk than the white of unwarranted arrest, and also is more likely to be convicted and sentenced after arrest. The absence of Negro officers, judges, lawyers, and jurymen has also often been cited as contributing to the Negro offender's inferior chances for bail, efficient legal counsel, payment of fines instead of imprisonment, and other legal advantages.

Finally, the adjustment for the Southern rural Negro who moves north is probably greater than for the white. Under the caste system in the rural South, Negro crimes are often excused or handled informally by employers instead of being taken to the law. It is also not uncommon for a white employer or landlord to come to the aid of "his" Negro who has come into conflict with the law. This aid, of course, is lost to the Negro who moves to the northern city.

GREATER INCIDENCE OF DISORGANIZED FAMILIES

(original
p. 58)

Family disorganization has probably contributed more importantly to crimes of Negroes than of whites. This disorganization stems from slavery, its influences on the contemporary caste system, the effects of the Southern plantation and sharecropper economy, the instability deriving from emancipation and migration, and low average social and economic status.

Under slavery, the mother was the pivot of the Negro family, and 1959 data of the Bureau of the Census show still a larger proportion of Negro families with females at the head than among whites.

However, the matriarchal family is not characteristic of all Negroes. The small partiarchal family is found among middle class Negroes, and the extended family, encompassing as many as four generations, in the rural South. Among upper and middle class Negroes, as among whites of the same class, the tendency is toward the equalitarian family, stressing equal status of husband and wife.

Socio-economic influences, and especially the increased mobility of the Negro, exert greater pressures against family stability among Negroes than whites and thus contribute to the Negro crime rate.

POVERTY AS A BACKGROUND FACTOR

(original
p. 60)

Crime statistics show a heavy concentration of offenders in the lower socio-economic class. William Lloyd Warner and Paul S. LUNT found that in one Massachusetts town 90 70 of the arrests involved members of the two lower classes which constituted only 57 % of the population. However, there is no simple and direct relationship between poverty and crime. It is affected by a lot of complicating factors.

This stems in part from the inferior socio-economic capacity of the Negro to exert pressure against such abuses.

The adjustment probably is greater for the Southern rural Negro migrating to the urban North than for the equivalent white. Under the rural Southern caste system, the vices of the lower-class Negro were ignored to some extent by the law, or handled informally by his employer. One study asserted that planters in rural areas of the deep South exercise controls over their Negro tenants which are exercised in urban communities by the police and courts. It is not unknown for rural justice "to advise planters to whip Negroes for theft rather than to bring them into court."[17] It is not uncommon for a white employer or landlord to come to the aid of "his" Negro who is in conflict with the law. Even if the Negro's role within a social system were unchanged by migration, the greater congestion of urban living would increase the likelihood that transgressions would come to public attention. Because of greater impact on persons outside his immediate group, the probability of arrest would be increased.

GREATER INCIDENCE OF DISORGANIZED FAMILIES

Family disorganization probably has been a more important contributor to crimes of Negroes than of whites. Since the family is the cradle of personality and a primary vehicle for the learning of socially approved adjustments to

the problems of life, it is not surprising that studies have found a high proportion of offenders come from disorganized families. Family disorganization among Negroes has stemmed from slavery, its influences on the contemporary caste system, the effects of the Southern plantation and sharecropper economy, the instability deriving from emancipation and migration, and the low average socio-economic status.

Under slavery, the mother was the pivot of the Negro family, with the role of the father rather casual and easily broken. The survival of the matriarchal family is indicated by 1959 data of the Bureau of the Census showing a larger proportion of families with female head among Negroes than among whites. This pattern is most characteristic of the cities.

However, the matriarchal family is not characteristic of all Negroes. In fact a variety of family types is found. The small patriarchal family is found particularly among middle-class Negroes with the father assuming economic responsibility and authority. The extended family, encompassing four generations, exists among many Negro families in the South, partially because of the economic value of a large family for farm labor. The upper and middle-class Negroes have followed the whites in acceptance of the equilitarian family stressing equal status of husband and wife.

Here again is the omnipresent economic factor that is hidden by the statistics—

For one thing, upper class crime or so-called "White collar crime" is less likely to be reconded on police blotters because of the political and financial importance of the persons involved (and the difficulty of obtaining sufficient evidence for prosecution.) Furthermore, these transgressions are ~~likely to be~~ often dealt with in civil courts or by government commissions. The criminal law is aimed primarily at the types of crime likely to be committed by people of lower economic levels.

Poverty damages the quality of family life, educational opportunity, and physical and mental health. It limits social and economic participation, and thus could be presumed to lead to crime. But not all poor people are criminal. The motivation toward crime is related to the discrepancy between ambition and achievement. It is necessary to "feel poor." A person of limited means may not experience the same frustration as a relatively well to do person whose aspirations outdistance his resources.

If there were a simple and direct relationship between poverty and crime, it would be difficult to reduce crime without changing economic conditions. Yet this has been done in many areas through parole, probation and prisoner rehabilitation programs and other means.

ECONOMIC HANDICAPS OF NEGROES

(original -- p.62)

However, economic handicaps may accentuate other environmental influences on crime, and this seems to be the case with respect to Negroes. Despite recent gains, Negroes still lag far behind whites in employment, wages, and housing.

Table IX ~~(original Table V)~~ shows that Negroes still are concentrated in the lower rungs of the occupational ladder, and Bureau of the Census figures show that Negro average income is about half that of whites. In 1958, for example, the median income for non-white males over 14 years of age was $1,981, compared with $3,976 for whites.

Insert Table IX

TABLE ~~V~~ IX. Annual Average Percentage Distribution Of Major Occupation Groups Of Employed Males, By Color And Sex, United States, 1948[a]

Major Occupation Group of Employed Persons	White	Nonwhite
Professional, technical and kindred workers	11.0	3.1
Farmers and farm managers	7.0	5.8
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	14.4	2.8
Clerical and kindred workers	6.9	5.1
Sales workers	6.5	1.2
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	20.1	9.3
Operatives and kindred workers	18.7	23.8
Private household workers	0.1	0.5
Service workers, except private household	5.5	15.1
Farm laborers and foremen	3.2	9.2
Laborers, except farm and mine	6.5	24.0
Totals	100.0	100.0

[a] Source: Current Population Reports, Labor Force, Series P-50, No. 89, U. S. Bureau of Census, June, 1959, Table 15.

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Negroes are also harder hit by unemployment. Between 1947 and 1951, the Department of Labor found the Negro unemployment rate to be 50 ~~per cent~~ % higher than the white. This was also reflected in the fact that the average length of time ~~[illegible]~~ Negro workers had held their jobs was 2.4 years, compared with ~~to~~ 3.5 years for whites.

IMPLICATION OF DEFICIENT EDUCATION

(original
-p. 64)

It is plausible to assume that crime rates decline with an increase in educational achievement, ~~but there is no~~ although reliable evidence ~~to date that this is so.~~ is lacking.

However, since education is a resource for promoting social adjustment and since it is the key to economic opportunity, the inferior educational opportunities of the Negro ~~may well~~ undoubtedly have an influence on his crime rate.

In March, 1960, the Bureau of the Census found that 9.8 ~~per cent~~ % of the non-white males over 14 were illiterate, compared with 1.7 ~~per cent~~ % of the whites. Other data show that Negroes tend to drop out of school and go to work at an earlier age than whites. This often means stunted vocational training and loss of eligibility for better paying jobs. ~~This, in turn, can be a cause of resentment and hence of crime.~~ cannot from pages 65, 67-68 of original

LOWER AVERAGE AGE OF NEGROES

(original
-p. 69)

Age is an important factor in criminality. Arrests tend to be concentrated in the younger age groups and prison commitments even more so.

The relationship has been explained in various ways. One group of social scientists suggests ~~that~~ the influence of biological traits, such as physical strength and vigor. Another group emphasizes the possibility of crimes as a by-product of the difficulties of the young in ~~xk~~ achieving social maturity.

and social factors and no direct relationship between schooling and crime can be established. Educational attainment often is a barometer of the person's adjustment to his society and of the share of socio-economic privileges granted him by that society.

Since education is a resource for promoting the social adjustment of those with the capacity and will to join in the educative process, the inferior educational opportunities of the Negro are pertinent to our study. Because formal education has become increasingly important as the key to economic opportunity, his inferior schooling affects the relationship between economic factors and crime. In March, 1960, the Bureau of the Census found that, of all males 14 years of age and older, 9.8% of the nonwhites and 1.7% of the whites were illiterate. However, recent progress of Negro education is indicated by the fact that the inferiority of the Negro in this respect tended to increase with age.

Data on the proportion of each age group in school in October, 1958, by race are shown in Table G. The greater decline of nonwhites after age 13 years attests to the early entrance of nonwhites into the job market and the relative lack of college education. Early employment often means stunted vocational training and loss of eligibility for better paying jobs. Aborted education can bring

resentment and, possibly, crime from such resentment. Probably most important is the loss of opportunity for the school to counteract the disorganizing influences of defective family and community life.

~~Of course, the data do not bear on the problem of relative quality of education.~~ The relationship between schooling and crime also involves such matters as the length of the school term, the physical environment of the school as a stimulus for learning, the range and richness of the curriculum, and the problem ~~of~~ faced by the teacher in explaining discrepancies between theory and practice in the ~~total~~ community.

As has been suggested already, the higher prison commitment and arrest rates for Negroes are partially the result of inferior community facilities and specialized institutions ~~for certain types of Negroes who constitute a problem to the community~~. The prison can be called a "dump" for many types of social problesm. It may be that the prison represents the first stage in a process of recognizing and meeting a social problem which society has not faced frankly and intelligently. Increased urbanism has required the community to take formal action to restrain the mentally defective, the sexually deviant, the alcoholic, and the psychotic. When there is no specialized institution to deal with such a social problem and the

informal techniques of rural days no longer suffice, the community must act to develop such institutions. Because the socially abnormal person is likely to qualify as a law violator in some respect, the jail or prison is pressed into service for the sake of expediency. The socially and economically ~~underprivileged~~ impoverished are more likely to be subjected to such action. ~~Even after specialized institutions are developed, any discrepancy between need and treatment resources will cause the underprivileged to be defined as criminals rather than patients, since they are likely to have low priority in the situation created by such discrepancy.~~ Because a greater proportion of their numbers suffer from social & economic deprivation, ~~qualify as underprivileged,~~ Negroes are more likely than whites to find themselves behind prison bars when objective and competent diagnosis would justify treatment more in the spirit of the hospital.

In a study of 300 institutionalized delinquents, Axelrad found evidence of differences in commitment on the basis of race.[28] In comparison with white juvenile commitments, Negro juvenile inmates were found to be two years younger on the average, to have been institutionalized after a smaller number of court appearances, to have had less exposure to probation, and to have had more of their number committed for less serious offenses.

Whatever the explanation, this relationship affects Negroes more than it does whites for the simple reason that the average age of Negroes is lower. Since there is a greater percentage of Negroes in the age groupx with the highest crime rate (20 to 24 years), they are exposed to a greater degree to the relationship between youth and criminality -- whatever it is -- than are the whites.

SUMMARY

(Page 70-71 of original -- OK as is.)

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SUMMARY

The greater incidence of crime among Negroes must be recognized. However, the higher gross crime rates need to be corrected for such factors as poverty, illiteracy, age, and differential law enforcement before an objective and reliable comparison with white crime rates is possible.

The explanation for greater Negro crime rates lies in the greater impact on the Negro of factors which cause crime among all racial groups. The unique nature of the effect of these factors lies in the social, economic, and psychological impact of social meanings assigned to race, rather than in race as a biological phenomenon. The greater number of crimes of Negroes does not stem from a separate, criminalistic Negro culture; rather the crucial factor is the greater proportion of Negroes assigned to the lower socio-economic classes which are exposed disproportionately to the risk of arrest on the basis of laws derived from the moral values of the middle class. Poverty has serious consequences for the quality of family life, educational opportunity, and physical and mental health. It limits social and economic participation. The Negro has the additional burden of racial discrimination supplementing the effects of poverty.

Traditions stemming from slavery and the socio-economic accommodations which followed emancipation have disorganized

Negro family life. Recent migration surges of the Negro to the city and out of the South have further disorganized his family life, and have posed new problems of personal adjustment faced by the ruralite exposed to the unfamiliar environment of city life. Poverty and discrimination have exposed these migrants disproportionately to the crime-breeding influences they found already existing in the urban slums.

A CHRONOLOGY OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS* IN THE DIRECT ACTION CAMPAIGN

(FEBRUARY 1960 - MAY 1963)

*A listing of every episode, every site and scene, of direct action since 1960 would fill a good-sized encyclopedia; this chronology is, therefore, limited to happenings considered to be of particular interest or importance.

CHRONOLOGY

1960

Feb. 1 -- The first sit-in demonstration held ~~place~~ in Greensboro, N. C.

Feb. 15-- Sit-ins spread to 15 southern cities in 5 southern states. Chief targets: F. W. Woolworth and S. H. Kress varirty stores.

Feb. 16-- Worst outbreak of violence since the beginning of the sit-in demonstrations occurred in Portsmouth, Va., where 250 whites and Negro high school boys clash in the parking lot of a local department store.

Feb. 23-- Rioting in Chattanooga

Feb. 25-- Students from Alabama State College staged first deep South sit-in in Montgomery County courthouse.

Feb. 27-- Police arrested 100 Negro and white students in Nashville after fights broke out in two of five stores where sit-ins were being staged.

Negro woman in Montgomery struck on head by one of a group of white men carrying baseball bats.

March 15- First mass sit-in demonstrations in Atlanta resulted in arrest of at least 76 Negroes.

March 16- First integration of lunch counters in a large southern city made in San Antonio, as four Negroes and a large group of whites eat side-by-side at 5 & 10¢ store counters. The same day two Negro students from Fisk were served coffee in a previously segregated bus station restaurant in Nashville.

March 20- Florida governor Leroy Collins, in a state-wide radio-TV address, declared that it is "unfair and morally wrong" to bar Negroes from one department of a store in which they are invited to trade. While the white store proprietor may have "a legal right to do this," Collins did not believe the proprietor "can square the right with moral, simple justice."

New York Times reported that informal organizations to support southern Negro students in their protest against lunch counter segregation had sprung up at 21 non-southern colleges and universities. Among them: Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Vassar, Wisconsin, Indiana, and California (at Berkeley).

March 30- Eighteen students at Southern University in Baton Rouge suspended following sit-in demonstrations and an orderly anti-segregation rally by an estimated 2-5000 students on state capitol steps. The suspension touched off a student rebellion as most of the 5,000 southern students boycott classes.

April 15-17--A regional Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee to guide anti-segregation activities was set up by southern Negro student leaders at the close of a meeting sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) on the capus of Shaw University in Raleigh. The meeting was attended by 132 Negro and 10 white students from 11 states and the District of Columbia, representing 37 communities involved in lunch counter sit-in domonstrations. Rev. Martin Luther King presided.

April 22--Trespass charges dismissed against 43 Negro students in Raleigh, where students originally arrested for demonstrating on the sidewalk of a privately-owned shopping center. The dismissal is based on 1946 Supreme Court ruling in a similar case, where Court held that property "ownership does not always mean absolute dominion. The more an owner, for his advantage, opens up property for use by the public in general, the more do his rights become circumscribed by the constitutional and statutory rights of those who use it." (Marsh v. Alabama).

May 7 -- Roy Wilkins announced plan to launch a "wade-in" campaign at a 10-state NAACP meeting. Wilkins also said NAACP will continue to guide, advise and support student sit-ins.

May 10-- Lunch counters of four national variety and two local department stores in Nashville desegregated peacefully after four weeks of negotiations between white and Negro leaders. A well-organized Negro boycott of Nashville buisnesses considered a major factor in bringing about the settlement.

May 17-- Georgia patrolmen and Atlanta policementtalked about 1500 Negro college students out of demonstrating against segregation at the state capitol as students mark sixth anniversary of Supreme Court's 1954 decision.

July 9-- Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee in Charlotte announced that segregated lunch counter service was being discontinued in seven downtown stores. Lunch counters previously desegregated in these cities by this date: Nashville, Winston-Salem, Arlington, Alexandria, Austin, Corpus Christi, Galveston and San Antonio.

August 1-- Lunch counter segregation ended in Durham, North Carolina, and Miami, bringing to 15 the number of cities in which sit-in demonstrations have proved partially or wholly successful since their start in Greensboro, where lunch counters desegregated July 25. Other cities now with desegregated lunch counters also include Chapel Hill, Salisbury, Knoxville, and Norfolk.

August 10-- Officials of variety chain stores informed Attorney General William Rogers that lunch counters have been desegregated in their stores in 69 southern cities. In more than 70% of these communities, integration took place without demonstrations or sit-ins, it is also reported.

August 27-- Racial violence erupted in Jacksonville after 10 days of demonstrations and a Negro was killed in the aftermath of this strife, becoming the first fatality incurred as a result of direct action activities.

October 3-- Negroes staged sparsely-attended stand-in demonstrations to protest barriers against Negro voter registration. Stand-ins organized by SCLC.

October 17-- Four national chain stores announced that about 150 lunch counters in 112 southern and border states cities have integrated.

October 19-22--Demonstrations in Atlanta result in the arrest of 80 persons, including Martin Luther King, Jr.

October 23-30--A 30-day truce is arranged between the Atlanta Committee on Appeal for Human Rights (a Negro student protest group), and Mayor William Hartsfield.

November 25-30--Sit-ins resumed in Atlanta, but no violence and no arrests made. On November 30, first desegregation of a public cafeteria in Atlanta occurred when 5 Negroes are served without incident at YWCA.

November 29--Dec. 2 -- Negroes sat-in at Woolworth counter in Jacksonville.

November 30--Two Negro students arrested in Little Rock after 2 days of sit-in demonstrations.

December 5-Supreme Court in a 7-2 decision ruled that discrimination in bus terminal restaurants operated primarily for interstate passengers was a violation of Interstate Commerce Act.

December11--Thousands of Negroes held 2 mass prayer meetings in Atlanta to back sit-in campaign to desegregate lunch counters. Next day first violence in Atlanta occurred when bomb exploded before dawn at a Negro elementary school, but police do not connect bombing with sit-ins.

December 27--4th Circuit Court in Richmond, Va., upheld right of restaurant operators to select customers on the basis of color.

February 16--New twist introduced in sit-in movement-- "jail-ins" -- as 13 sit-inners in Rock Hill, S. C. and 6 (4 of them whites) in Lynchburg, Va., refused to pay $100 fines and are given 30-day jail sentences. Four of those arrested in Rock Hill were SNCC leaders, and they became known as the "Rock Hill 4." SNCC's Atlanta headquarters urged a south-wide campaign of "jail, no bail." By February 10, a "jail-in" movement had resulted in 80 persons being imprisoned in Atlanta on similar charges. Five days later 4 Negroes and one white minister were jailed for demonstrating in support of the "jail-in"movement.

March-7--Atlanta Chamber of Commerce announced agreement to desegregate lunchrooms and other facilities.

March 27-29--Negro students from Tougaloo Christian College outside Jackson, Miss., arrested and jailed for staging sit-in at Jackson city library. Protest meeting of about 200 Negro students next day at Jackson State College broken up by police using clubs, tear gas, and 2 German police dogs.

April 17-- Supreme Court ruled that a privately-operated restaurant on space leased from a state agency could not refuse to serve Negroes. Case concerned a coffee shop in a garage owned by the Wilmington (Del.) Parking Authority, a state agency which leased the property. Six Justices concurred in the ruling.

May 14 -- Two groups of Freedom Riders, all members of CORE, attacked by whites in Anniston and Birmingham, abandoned tour next day. Tour started May 4, with New Orleans as destination.

May 16-- Negroes served at lunch counters in Jacksonville in uneventful start of integration.

May 20 -- Violence in Montgomery as mobs attacked Freedom Riders.

May 25 -- J. Farmer sent from his Jackson, Miss. jail cell, instructions to extend the Freedom Ride Movement, to railroads and air line terminals. Full racial equality at all Lockheed A'craft Corps guaranteed.

May 26 -- Establishment of Freedom Ride Co-ordinating Committee.

May 30 -- SRC warned that freedom is disintricated "what must be done and done quickly, if we are to forestall the emergence into power of real, genuine extremists."

June 8 -- Percy Sutton, a Negro and head of the NAACP's Manhattan chapter and N. Y. Assemblyman Mark Lane, white, were arrested when they sought to use segregated restroom facility at the Jackson air terminal after a flight from Montgomery, Alabama. Both posted $500.00 appeal bonds.

Five Negro and white girls who arrived by train from New Orleans were arrested in Jackson when they refused to leave the station's segregated waiting room.

June 9 -- NAACP filed in U. S. District Court in Jackson a suit to bar the enforcement of city and state segregated laws at intra-state transportation facilities.

June 12 -- U. S. Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr.'s ban on Freedom Ride activity in Alabama expired.

June 16 -- Freedom Riders arrested in Florida.

June 26 -- Justice Department sued in U. S. district court at New Orleans to bar racial segregation at restaurants in New Orleans's new Moisant International Airport.

Suit to end segregation at Mobile, Alabama airport's waiting room, restroom and restaurant facilities was filed in Mobile by NAACP on behalf of 3 Negro Army reservists.

July 2 -- Three white and 2 Negro Freedom Riders arrested on breach of peace charges when they sought to enter the Jackson bus terminal's white waiting room.

July 7 -- Eight more riders from Montgomery arrested on similar charges.

July 9 -- Seventeen more arrested at the trailways terminal after a ride from Montgomery.

July 10 -- Four Freedom Riders were arrested in Little Rock after refusing to leave the bus terminal's "white" waiting room.

July 13 -- Sentences suspended in return for promises to leave Arkansas.

July 17 -- Freedom Riders Leslie Lee Smith (Negro minister) and James O'Conner (white Barnard College instructor) were convicted of unlawful assembly by Marion County Judge Lewis Myers in Ocala, Florida. They were arrested after a scuffle.

July 26 -- Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black denied writ of habeas corpus for Freedom Rider Elizabeth Wyckoff - white, who had been previously convicted in Jackson. Denial was on the grounds that it had not been proven that the state had no legal processes available for her appeal.

August 4 -- Four Negroes from Shreveport were arrested at the city's continental bus terminal after trying to use segregated facilities.

August 16 -- Martin Luther King announced at Miami news conference that a program of Negro "stand-ins" was to be instituted soon "at places where they have been denied the right to register." Said 2-year-goal was to double number of registered southern Negro voters.

August 22 -- Jackson hearings for 189 Freedom Riders began. Hearings to continue at rate of 2 a day before Hinds County Judge Russell Moore.

September 22--Interstate Commerce Commission issued rules requested by Attorney General Robert Kennedy prohibiting racial discrimination in interstate buses and bus facilities. In a unanimous decision, ICC ruled that, effective November 1, interstate buses and terminals must display signs saying that the seating there is "without regard to race, color, creed or national origin..." Interstate carriers also banned, effective Nov. 1, from using terminal facilities where travelers are segregated by race. (A Justice Department statement filed with ICC July 20 said a survey of 294 bus terminals in 17 states had resulted in finding "open racial segregation" in 97 terminals in 12 states.

September 28--Many previously segregated restaurants, lunch counters and other facilities in Atlanta desegregated without incident. Charles Black, chairman of the Commission on Appeal for Human Rights, reported that 300 Negroes were served for the first time in 177 Atlanta restaurants in 77 establishments.

September 29--SRC report on sit-in movement summarized:

--Sit-in movement affected 20 states
more than 100 cities in southern and border states between February 1960 and September 1961.

--At least 70,000 Negroes and whites actively participated.

--Estimated 3600 arrested.

--At least 141 students, 58 faculty members expelled by college authorities.

--One or more eating establishments in 108 southern or border state cities desegregated as a result of sit-in activity.

--State-by-state breakdown:

Arkansas, 1 city; Florida, 15; Georgia, 3; Illinois, 3; Kansas, 1; Kentucky 9; Maryland, 3; Missouri 5; Nevada, 2; North Carolina, 17; Ohio, 1; Oklahoma, 5; (116 restaurants desegregated in Oklahoma City alone);

Tennessee, 7; Texas, 10; Virginia, 23; West Virginia, 3. No desegregation occurred in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, or South Carolina.

October 16 -- Robert Kennedy announced that three railroads -- Illinois Central, Southern and Louisville & Nashville -- have agreed to desegregate their facilities.

November 29 - December 2--Negro Freedom Riders were attacked or menanced by white mobs at the Greyhound bus terminal in McCombs, Miss.

December 1 -- This CORE Freedom Rider to McCombs was successful.

December 2 & 3 --Small groups of whites menaced 3rd Freedom Rider into and out of McCombs.

December 4-- Supreme Court upholds (by refusing to review a lower court ruling) the right of students to a hearing before their expulsion from a tax-supported college. Case concerned 6 students expelled from Alabama State College in Montgomery, a Negro school. College had accused them of leading sit-in and other mass anti-segregation demonstrations.

December 11-- Supreme Court unanimously reversed breach-of-the-peace convinctions of 16 Negro students who had staged sit-ins in Baton Rouge. It was court's first decision on cases directly involving the sit-in movement. Students arrested in March 1960 for seeking service at three white lunch counters, in a drug store, a department store, and a bus terminal.

Chief Justice Warren wrote opinion, said a Louisiana law defined disturbing the peace as acting "in such a manner as to unreasonably disturb or alarm the public." He said there was "no evidence ... that petitioners disturbed the peace, either by outwardly boisterous conduct or by passive conduct likely to cause a public disturbance."

In a separate but concurring opinion, Justice Marshall Harlan conceded that sit-ins could and did cause racial tension. But, said Harlan, sit-ins were "as much a part of the free trade in verbal ideas as in verbal expression." He held that no state could curb such expression unless it banned sit-ins as "a clear and present danger to the welfare of the community."

December 12-16-737 Negroes (and MLK) were arrested in Albany as a result of 5 mass marches on city.

December 15 --Louisiana demonstrations... Police used tear gas and 2 leashed dogs to quell mass demonstrations by 1500 Negroes in Baton Rouge. About 50 of the demonstrators were arrested. The demonstration had been called to protect the arrest of December 14, 23 Negroes who had picketed downtown stores and had staged CORE sponsored sit-ins. Following the mass protest, temporary injunctions barrin CORE from picketing was obtained by Baton Rouge officials from Federal and State Courts.

December 16-- About 500 Freedom Riders staged sit-ins in about 40 restaurants along Route # 40 between Baltimore and NewCastle , Delaware. The riders traveled in about 100 cars. They were served without incident in many restaurants but at least 8 Riders werearrested on trespassing charges in others.

December 16-- The marches had begun in protest against the trial of Freedom Riders arrested December 10 at the Central of Ga., railroad station. The Riders (5 Negro and 4 White) had arrived from Atlanta and entere the "white" waiting room where, according to ICC regulation, the segregated signs had been removed. The riders complied with the Police Chief's order to leave, but were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct, obstructing traffic, etc.

Three more mass marches December 13, led to the arrest of 205 Negroes. During the day Negroes ~~xxxx~~ entered the Trailways bus terminal, where some used the "white" waiting room and others were served ~~X~~ in the lunchroom.

265 Negroes (including King, Abernathy and W. G. Anderson, leader of the Albany Movement), and 1 white youth were arrested .

In addition to sidewalk and traffic obstruction charges, they were accused of parading without a permit.

December 18-- Peace plan negotiated. Under the plan the Negroes agreed to (1) end, for 60 days, mass protests and (2) boycott against white merchants, The city agreed to (a) comply with ICC's ruling of terminal desegregation, (b) release any arrested marcher if he were able to get a signature bond (c) ~~xxxx~~ reduce bonds on the Freedome Riders (d) allow Negroes to present desegregation demands.

~~December~~ A CORE-sponsored demonstration was stated by Negroes in New Orleans to protest alleged brutality by the Baton Rouge Police.

December 19--Another demonstration in New Orleans sponsored by the Consumers' league of New Orleans, resulted in the arrest of 11 more Negroes on similar charges.

DRAFT

(1)

Negro Protest

THE ~~DIRECT ACTION~~ MOVEMENT: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

INTRODUCTION

> It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Darkness, [redacted] it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us.
>
> --Charles Dickens,*

[redacted]

With this memorable passage, Dickens opened his novel about one of the world's great[redacted] revolutions. It seems equally applicable to another: the ~~nonviolent~~ Negro revolt taking place in this country ~~and particularly in the South~~ today.

is it still "particularly" in South?

In the past several years, the Negro revolt has experienced good times and survived bad times. The young Negroes in its vanguard have displayed both wisdom and foolishness. They have never lost belief in the rightness of their cause, nor incredulity over the failure of whites to understand it. They have enjoyed moments of light and endured moments of darkness. Now, though the battle is by no means over, the strife by no means done, they have passed through the winter of despair into the spring of hope. And, after 100 years of serfdom and segregation, they have passed from having nothing before them to having everything--all the rights their race has so long desired and been so long denied.

~~In some respects, this Negro revolt is unlike any in American history. As one observer has noted, it is "a revolution in which the revolutionaires bear no arms, throw up~~

what the "revolt" was like? who?

pick up New-Version →

*A Tale of Two Cities

D/A Report--New Version--Introduction

(Pick up at third graf, p. 1 of intro)

This Negro revolt has no precedent in American history. It is a revolution involving 10% of the nation's population. Yet it is a revolution in which the revolutionists carry no arms, threw up no street barricades, liquidate no rulers, and, with remarkably few exceptions so far, initiate no violence. It has a rallying song, but rather than a stirring La Marseillaise, it is an old Baptist hymn, one described by New Yorker writer Katherine T. Kinkead as "a now mournful, now serene piece called 'We Shall Overcome.'"

The Negroes still have not completely overcome the ignorance, intolerance, and injustice which have plagued their progress for generations. Their "crusade for freedom" has yet to reach the promised land. But some 18 million Negro Americans have reached the end of their patience. After a century of waiting for the freedom promised when their emancipation was proclaimed, they will wait no longer. After almost as long waiting for the rights promised by the 14th and 15th Amendments to materialize, they will not tolerate further evasion and delay. After almost a decade of waiting for the equal education promised by the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, they will accept no longer the deliberation which has merely served as a cloak for continued segregation. The place is here, the moment is now. In the words of James Baldwin, "there's a bill that's been due in this country for a long time....it's come in and it's got to be paid."

If the nation refuses to pay this bill, then what has hitherto been a non-violent revolt may well [redacted] degenerate into a violent one. If the nation fails to give full equality to Negroes here and now, then what has hitherto been a direct action movement of peaceful protest may well [redacted] turn into a bitter [redacted] conflict, one of race against race, American against American. The nation is clearly on the threshold of dramatic changes--or of domestic upheaval [redacted].

Why did the present crisis arise? It arose because, as the Washington Post put it editorially, [redacted] "the country has indulged in a catastrophic [redacted] lethargy about [redacted] this problem over the past decade." This lethargy coupled with Negro [redacted] refusal to continue passively accepting the humiliations of second-class citizenship resulted in the growth and spread of the non-violent direct action movement.

The concept of using non-violent means to achieve justifiable ends did not, of course, originate with the Negro American. It had first been tried, with conspicious success, by Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian leader who [redacted] made non-violence a militant creed. [redacted]

In so doing, he introduced a new kind of warfare, one which denounced hate and hostility in favor of using non-violent tactics scuh as mass, peaceful demonstrations against injustices. As Washington used musket and [redacted] powder to win America's independence from Britain, so Ghandi employed satyagraha (the name given his movement of non-violent, [redacted] non-cooperative protest) to do the same for India. Satyagraha, which literally means "truth force," has since been exported to America, where it is proving

equally effective in a people's [redacted] struggle to win their rights.

How has the weapon of satyagraha been employed on native ground? First, it has meant the use of [redacted] non-violence, the refusal of Negroes in the direct action movement to retaliate in kind against white harassment, to resort to the philosophy of an eye-for-an-eye, a life-for-a-life. Second, it has meant the breaking of local laws and the refusal to obey local customs which demean the Negro's dignity and deny him the rights and benefits guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution. It has meant [redacted] courting unjust imprisonment to [redacted] awaken the conscience of the nation to blatant injustice. Above all, it has meant mass picketing, mass [redacted] demonstrations, mass but peaceful protest. This protest has been [redacted] accurately described by Christian Century: "This is not a [redacted] passive but [redacted] an active protest which rejects violence but is nevertheless coercive, which renounces hatred and hostility but is nevertheless aggressive and compelling."

The highlights of this movement of peaceful yet [redacted] powerful protest are the subject of this report. For by looking back to see what has been attempted and what achieved by the non-violent direct action movement, one may be able to [redacted] discern some of the problems and prospects facing the movement in the years ahead. By analyzing and assessing what has happened, one can, it is hoped, speculate about what may happen.

This much seems certain, however, wherever the future may lead: the Negro revolt will [redacted] go on until,

at long last, there is an America whose practices are one and the same with its promises to all citizens.

"But why," many white Americans ask, "why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, and demonstrations? Why not negotiations instead?" One [redacted] answer to this question was given by Martin Luther King, Jr. in his Letter From Birmingham Jail:

> You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Non-violent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the ~~ixx~~ issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored.

Since early 1960, and particularly in the past few months, the issue, that of Negro rights, has been dramatized in so many American towns and cities that only a latter-day Rip Van Winkle could possibly have missed it. [redacted] Negro Americans have carried their crusade for freedom into the streets, the squares and the centers of American life, and their roar of protest has been heard [redacted] 'round the world, from Jackson to [redacted] Jakarta, from Manhattan to Mandalay.

DRAFT (2)

28

THE SIT-IN MOVEMENT, 1960-61

> ...they were on fire with their purpose.... Making an end to segregation had obviously given their lives far more focus than the thin studies offered them possibly could. But, more important...their truly desperate struggle--the beatings, the reprisals, the jailings--was rewarding them with the very identity and pride that Negroes in the United States have so long sought in vain. This is already their secret triumph.
>
> --Charlotte Devree* [redacted]

Greensboro, N. C. (pop. 119,574) is an industrial and educational community situated in the hilly Piedmont plateau about 85 miles ~~northwest~~ northwest of Raleigh. The city is named for a hero of the American Revolution, General Nathaniel Greene. Another American revolution began in Greensboro on February 1, 1960.

At 4:30 p. m. that day, four Negro students, all freshmen at North Carolina A. & T. College, sat down at the lunch counter of a local Woolworth's dime store and attempted to get coffee. They were still sitting at the counter an hour later, when the store closed. They had not been served; they had set off a protest movement that spread like a fire in dry timber across the South.

Within a week after the Greensboro sit-in, Negro students were demonstrating in Winston-Salem, Durham, Charlotte, Raleigh, Elizabeth City, and High Point in North Carolina, Fayetteville, ~~and other principal North Carolina cities~~. Within six weeks, demonstrations of some type had spread to another score of cities, bringing the movement into every southern state except Mississippi.

While these demonstrations varied in size and scope, they did have certain common characteristics. They were, for the

* "The Young Negro Rebels," Harper's magazine, October 1961.

See insert attached

most part, spontaneous; they were carried out by students (including some white students); they were concentrated on one sort of service--lunch counters of stores which sold other commodities to Negroes and which were usually branch stores of a large national chains; and they were generally non-violent.

The 1960 demonstrations were not, however, completely unprecedented. Sit-ins had been staged at eating places in Chicago, Los Angeles, and Washington during World War II.* There were later sit-ins in Kansas and Oklahoma cities in 1958 and 1959, as well as in Miami, Florida. But these demonstrations did not precipitate a major wave of activity elsewhere. ~~Nor did the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-56, though it did, of course, make Martin Luther King, Jr. a world famous figure.~~

Thus while these earlier manifestations of Negro unrest presaged the 1960 sit-ins, they did not produce the same result: the birth of the first mass movement of protest by Negroes throughout the South. Montgomery might be considered the Boston Tea Party of the Negro revolt, but Greensboro represented its Lexington and Concord.

If the sit-in demonstrations instilled thousands of Negro Southerners with a new sense of pride and power, they thoroughly baffled and bewildered most white Southerners. Long indoctrinated with the myths made music by Stephen Foster, long accustomed to Negroes seemingly content with their servile status, the average white Southerner was scarcely prepared to confront the young Negroes of the sit-in movement--the neatly dressed, dignified, and dedicated students who, as Louis Lomax later wrote, made "a moral crusade out of their right to sit down in a restaurant owned by a white man and eat a hamburger."

Moreover, despite attempts ~~by racist rabble rousers~~ to brand the demonstrators as "outside agitators," it was glaringly apparent

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*An interesting comparison between the non-violent movement of the 1940's and that of the 1960's was made by Carleton McBee in his Nation article, "The Evolution of Non-violence" (The Nation, August 12, 1961).

INSERT--PART II--D/A Study----

Insert at Sentence #4 in Graf #1 of p. 2.

partly because the [redacted] sit-ins took place in border states and [redacted] southern Negro ~~students~~ students could not identify themselves with [redacted] such events and partly because these sit-ins [redacted] received very little national publicity. And even though it did [redacted] receive national press [redacted] coverage, the earlier Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-56 also failed to [redacted] set off other protest demonstrations, largely because the concept of non-violent direct action had [redacted] not yet become well-known among [redacted] Negro Southerners. The idea of [redacted] non-violent protest spread slowly, just as the idea of independence did among the 13 American colonies.

Thus while.... (pick up original text)

that the overwhelming majority were native sons and daughters of the South. ~~And as~~ their protest movement expanded to other segregated facilities (e.g., churches, libraries, movie theatres, beaches), they gained the support of responsible adult and local Negro communities, and. One ~~such community~~ city was Nashville, where the student sit-ins were followed by a successful Negro boycott of the city's downtown stores. This is how Nashville journalist Wallace Westfeldt described it:

> This boycott was not started by outsiders nor was it maintained by outsiders. It was executed by the Nashville Negro, for the Nashville Negro, and any attempt to charge anyone else for its responsibility is indulging in wishful thinking.
>
> This boycott, incidentally, also destroyed another concept about the sit-ins widely held by southerners, the concept that the sit-in was purely a student movement, unsupported and unrecognized by responsible adults in the Negro community.

Confused and concerned by such a mass direct action movement, one that marked a turning point in the Negro's quest for equality matched only by the Supreme Court decision of 1954, the white South reacted in a variety of ways. In Chattanooga, for example, there were open clashes between Negroes and whites, until the police gained control of the crisis. In Montgomery, where students from Alabama State College staged ~~the first~~ sit-in ~~in the Deep South~~ at the Montgomery County court house on February 25, 1960, the police later crushed a Negro demonstration in the name of preventing "trouble," but in effect doing the bidding of a white mob. But in many other southern cities, including ~~Nashville,~~ Knoxville, Charlotte, and Winston-Salem, there was a genuine attempt by leading white citizens to seek a solution offering justice to Negroes. Hence by dramatizing the irrationality and immorality of discrimination, the sit-ins had one notable result: for the first time, many southern communities removed a bastion of segregation without legal compulsion.

Rock Hill?

at first finally appeared in Rock Hill

later

The first large southern city to desegregate its ~~lunch~~ lunch counters voluntarily was San Antonio, which did so on March 16, 1960. (desegregated service at three drug stores was started in Salisbury, N.C. on March 7, and some downtown stores there had been serving Negro students at lunch counters for two years.)

were there small towns earlier? (maybe Salisbury, NC)

Other cities soon followed suit: by June 1960, eating facilities ~~in~~ 18 southern cities had desegregated; by August 10, officials of national variety chain stores could report to Attorney General William Rogers that lunch counters in their stores in 69 southern cities had opened to all; and by late September 1961, ~~it was~~ the SRC estimated that one or more eating establishments in 108 southern or border state cities had desegregated as a result of sit-in activity. By then, however, the sit-in movement proper had come to an end. True, there were to be scattered sit-ins right down to the present, as well as a steadily increasing number of southern communities with desegregated lunch counters. But, ~~as America turned toward a New Frontier~~ in the spring of 1961, the [redacted] direct action movement turned toward new fields of protest, new areas of discrimination.

Still, if the sit-in movement proper had a short, hectic life span, ~~only lasting little more than a year~~, there can be no doubt that it was a supremely successful one. ~~Indeed, a future historian with a Churchillian flair for phrase-making could well be moved to comment: "Never before in the course of civil conflict [redacted] so much been won for so many by so few."~~ For the sit-ins did not merely bring about the opening of lunch counters to Negro Southerners. They gave Negroes in all parts of the South something far more substantial than a dime store hamburger. ~~Perhaps~~ As Ralph McGill ~~described it best when he~~ later wrote in The South and the Southerner:

> The sit-ins reached far out into the back country. They inspired adult men and women, fathers, mothers, grandmothers, aunts and uncles, to support the young students in the cities. Not even the Supreme Court's decision on the schools in 1954 had done this.

This ordering has the "sit in movement proper" overlapping the Freedom Ride. Do you intend that? Actually, it seems to me that the first sit in wave ran out of gas in the Summer of 1960. Why don't you assess the results more closely. Where were the 108 cities of that in the correct figure? All in upper South. Isn't it worth noting that sit in did not at this stage reach the Deep South anywhere, not even Atlanta (what were dates of Macon & Savannah?). Also, & this is most important, you give the impression that sit ins quickly victorious & swift. They were not. Can't we analyze & generalize about the process: negotiations, boycotts, picketing, federal pressure, or what have you, including biracial committees

DRAFT

Add Sit-ins -- 5

See insert

> But the students picketing in the lunch-rooms and the department stores -- this was something they could see and understand. From the day of the first sit-in the students brought a stronger front to contest against discrimination than could have been created by any other course.

Four other lasting results of the sit-ins were cited by C. Merrill Proudfoot in a speech, "Diary of a Sit-in: An Analysis of the Sit-in Movement," delivered to the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University in July 1962. They were: 1) the sit-ins "marked the development of new imaginative techniques to supplement the very necessary legal action"; 2) they "dramatized the fact of discrimination and the Negro's dissatisfaction with it"; 3) they "brought about contact between Negroes and whites in the South, creating a more favorable climate for race relations ~~[illegible]~~ progress generally"; and 4) they "brought the recognition of the Negro's economic power as an instrument for achieving social rights. (It goes without saying that one result was the opening of hundreds of eating facilities...which was a vast boost in the morale of Negroes)."

Then, too, as Louis Lomax pointed out in The Negro Revolt, "the sit-ins...convinced even more people that direct mass action was the shorter, more effective route to their goal of desegregation. But, from an internal viewpoint, more significant than the stale coffee, and soggy hamburgers was the brand of Negro that was emerging. They were no longer afraid; their boldness, at times, was nothing short of alarming."

Like any cause worth fighting for, the sit-in movement demanded a willingness to face possible beating, imprisonment, or death.

footnote

does this say anything we shouldn't say better?

do we agree? problem, this is poorly said. you can say it better.

delete

The sit-ins not only supplemented legal action with direct action and vastly boosted Negro morale and Negro [redacted] determination to have done with discrimination. They also convinced many white Southerners that the end of segregation was inevitable and very possibly desirable. If nothing else, the [redacted] losses to be incurred as a result of racial [redacted] disorders [redacted] caused an [redacted] agonizing reappraisal [redacted] in the white business community. And this, in turn, caused white businessmen to seek an end to the conditions that were the cause of Negro protests--and thereby the cause of considerably less [redacted] profit [redacted] for [redacted] their businesses.

The sit-ins [redacted] themselves did not, it [redacted] should be emphasized, result in the immediate opening of lunch counters to Negroes. But they did open the way for the sometimes twisted, sometimes tortuous, and almost always time-consuming negotiations that ultimately led [redacted] to desegregation. Accordingly, they brought about a true communication between the races, one that had never really existed to any large extent in the South before: for the first time, white Southerners had to sit down and deal with, bargain with, and listen to Negro Southerners talking to them man-to-man, talking to them as equals, not subordinates. It was no longer a case of "Mr. Charlie" giving orders to "Sam"; rather, it was a case of Mr. Sam engaging Mr. Charlie eyeball-to-eyeball.

The need to [redacted] negotiate, to [redacted] provide a [redacted] forum where members of both races could [redacted] exchange their views and reach agreements, led to the creation of bi-racial committees in numerous southern cities. Some of these committees were only temporary, but a good many were

permanent. Their value was two-fold. First, these committees, by making a reality of the oft-expressed desire for better communications between the races, released a new spirit of cooperation and bi-racial respect. Second, by taking local action through bi-racial committees, municipalities kept their racial problems on a local level, insulated from the storms of state politics. While the decision to form a bi-racial committee rested in most, if not all, cases with white leaders, there was one sine qua non for a successful committee: its Negro members had to be persons who had the trust of the Negro community.

Still, if sit-ins followed by negotiations and the formation of bi-racial committees led to the opening of lunch counters and the improvement of local race relations generally in many southern communities, these communities were confined, for the most part, to the upper South. The failure of the sit-ins to crack the Deep South was illustrated in a state-by-state summary of cities with some desegregated facilities released by SRC in late 1961. It showed:

Arkansas, 1 city; Florida, 15; Georgia, 3; Illinois, 3; Kansas, 1; Kentucky, 9; Maryland, 3; Missouri, 5; Nevada, 2; North Carolina, 17; Ohio, 1; Oklahoma, 5 (116 restaurants desegregated in Oklahoma City alone); Tennessee, 7; Texas, 10; Virginia, 23; West Virginia, 3. No desegregation occurred in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, or South Carolina.

single space

sing space

pick up original text, bottom p. 5.

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Actually, only one Negro -- and one who was not a demonstrator -- died as a result of sit-in direct action activities. (In Jacksonville, following the riots there on August 27, 1960, a former convict, running a road block set up by local police, was shot down by white service station attendants). But many were beaten and thousands arrested; others were expelled from college or lost their jobs as teachers. These were among the sit-in statistics presented by SRC in its special report of September 29, 1960, "The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation":

--At least 70,000 Negroes and whites actively participated in sit-in activities affecting each southern and border state, as well as Nevada, Illinois, and Ohio--20 in all.
--An estimated 3,600 students and supporters in southern and border states were arrested.
--At least 141 students and 58 faculty members were dismissed by southern colleges and universities.

These arrested for participating in demonstrations were responsible for another outcome of the sit-ins -- their effect on American jurisprudence. The involved question of sit-in demonstrations and the law is beyond the scope of this report. Suffice it to say, however, that all the sit-in cases reviewed thus far by the Supreme Court have been decided in favor of the defendants. Only a few months ago, in its most important decision to date on such cases, the Court reversed the trespass convictions of Negro and white students who had conducted sit-ins at lunch counters in four southern states, and of persons who encouraged them. The Court held that there was discriminatory "state action" in local ordinances and official statements. The cases came from Alabama, Louisiana, North and South Carolina.

Finally, no assessment of the sit-in movement can ignore its effect on the Negro civil rights organizations. If the sit-ins

did not produce

~~produced~~ a crisis of the old order ~~is a highly debatable question. But there can be little doubt that~~ they did provoke ~~provoked~~ controversy within the organizations and competition without. They also produced one wholly new -- and highly militant civil rights group. These organizations, old and new, are the subject of the next section of this report.

Which somewhat on the section should be reference to how public opinion - national South - received sit-ins, how press national & South - generally received.

Will compare press public reactions to sit-ins with press public reactions to freedom rides in Freedom Ride section.

> ...they are involved in the only belief that matters: that life begins tomorrow.
>
> --Kenneth Tynan*

At the time of the Greensboro sit-in of 1960, five Negro organizations were active in the civil rights field. They were respectively:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The oldest (founded Feb. 12, 1909), largest, and best-known civil rights organization, the NAACP had, through the courts, through its educational programs, and through its influence on public opinion, achieved notable victories in its long battle to end all racial discrimination in all aspects of public life. By 1960, however, many Negroes had begun to feel that the NAACP was too cautious and too conservative, too dependent on legal action and too little committed to direct action on a local level.

The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. This organization was chartered in 1940 as a separate entity from the NAACP so that it could obtain a tax-exempt status, which the NAACP did not have. Headed first by Thurgood Marshall, the Negro lawyer who successfully argued for the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision of 1954, and now by Jack Greenberg, a white lawyer, the Legal Defense and Education Fund served and serves as the litigation division of the civil rights movement, providing lawyers and funds to wage war against

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*Curtains, Atheneum, New York, 1961. Tynan was describing "The Angry Young Movement" in Great Britain, but his description could well apply to those in the civil rights movement of this country.

[redacted] racial discrimination through [redacted] local, state, and federal courts.

The National Urban [redacted] League. Founded in 1910, the Urban League concerned itself with job training and social welfare programs for Negroes, [redacted] making available research and planning guidance to other Negro groups. In essence, the goals of the Urban League [redacted] was and is comparable to [redacted] that of "Operation Bootstrap" in Puerto Rico: to develop an underdeveloped people by giving them a better education, better jobs, better housing, better health and better opportunities for advancement.

The Congress of Racial Equality. Organized in 1942, CORE was formed by a group of Negroes and whites who believed that legal action was not sufficient to [redacted] win the struggle against segregation; [redacted] it first tried the sit-in technique that year at a Chicago restaurant[redacted] and became a pioneer [redacted] American practitioner of Mahatma Gandhi's passive resistance techniques.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Martin Luther King, Jr. [redacted] brought SCLC into being at New Orleans in 1957, and he was chiefly responsible for keeping it alive in the years that followed. [redacted] SCLC's principal leaders were clergymen, and their principal creed was non-violence.

There was little difference in the ultimate goals of these Negro organizations; [redacted] all sought to achieve full citizenship rights and the integration of Negroes in all [redacted] AREAS of American life. Nor was there any disagreement over the idea of using non-violent means to attain [redacted] justifiable ends. But there were [redacted] differences about how far, how fast, and in what direction the drive for equal rights should move.

[redacted] At the beginning of 1960 The NAACP [redacted] still looked largely to the courts, boycotts, and

the ballot to bring about a redress of grievances, while the Urban League sought progress through biracial consultation and cooperation. Since they felt legal action was too slow and uncertain and Negro voters in the South too few, CORE and SCLC, on the other hand, advocated a more militant program of mass direct action, of moving out of the courtrooms and committee chambers and into the streets.

The student protest movement that swept the South in 1960 has been hailed by Louis Lomax as "a clear cut vindication for the proponents of direct and mass action." Certainly the sit-ins were, as has been noted previously, the first southwide manifestation of direct action. But in his book, The Negro Revolt, Lomax tends to minimize the role played by the NAACP in supporting the sit-ins, and he barely mentions the successful demonstrations carried out by NAACP Youth Councils in Oklahoma City and Kansas City during 1958-59. As historian August Meir noted in his review of Lomax's book*, "in spite of Lomax's iterations to the contrary, the national NAACP office did get behind the student sit-in movement after it started in February, 1960. It deliberately speeded up the formation of youth councils and college chapters with the specific purpose of engaging in demonstrations."

Then, too, despite the rivalry which arose between the NAACP and the younger, more militant civil rights groups for publicity, prestige, and power, the older organization continued to provide cash and counsel to sit-inners, picketers, and others arrested for participating in protest demonstrations. Nor should the role of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund be overlooked. By the summer of 1963, it was to be

*"The Revolt Against the NAACP: A Critical Appraisal of Louis E. Lomax's The Negro Revolt," Journal of Negro Education, Spring 1963.

representing some 7,500 demonstrators in 125 civil rights actions with (in addition to its New York staff of 17 full time lawyers) a network of 100 cooperating attorneys throughout the South.

The birth of the sit-in movement led directly to the [redacted] birth of the youngest and most militant Negro civil rights organization--the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. SNCC was set up by southern Negro students at the close of a meeting sponsored by SCLC on the campus of Shaw University in Raleigh, N. C. during the Easter Weekend of 1960 (April 15-17). Officially known as the "Leadership Conference on Non-violent Resistance," the two-day conclave was attended by more than 200 delegates representing [redacted] 52 colleges and high schools in 37 communities in 13 different states.

Initially, [redacted] SNCC was only a loose alliance of local student groups. But following a second conference held Oct. 14-16, 1960 in Atlanta, where it [redacted] established a permanent headquarters, SNCC reached an institutionalized stage and began to coordinate the activities of local student protest groups in the South. It also began to concentrate more and more of its efforts in the Deep South, with more and more emphasis on voter registration, during 1961-62. Sending its shock troops into such segregationist strongholds as southwest Georgia and the Mississippi Delta, SNCC [redacted] stirred up a hornet's [redacted] nest of [redacted] opposition. Some of the older civil rights leaders shuddered at [redacted] SNCC's timing and tactics, [redacted] but they could not help but respect [redacted] the courage and [redacted] [redacted] persistence displayed by its volunteer workers, [redacted] often in the face of almost insurmountable [redacted] opposition.

[redacted]

If there were and are differences of policy and personality among the civil rights agencies, their alliance has, in spite of everything, survived; if uneasy at times, it has nonetheless remained unbreakable. Indeed, it could be argued that whatever rivalries there are have done more ~~have done more~~ to advance than to obstruct the progress of the civil rights movement. Competition has given the Negro groups a better understanding of each other, and this, in turn, has ultimately resulted in conciliations and compromises which have produced a more consolidated strategy. The NAACP ,for example, has acknowledged the value of mass direct action campaigns. The movement's Young Turks, on the other hand, have recognized that court actions, boycotts, and the ballot can be weapons every bit as effective as a street demonstration. The organizations [redacted] have also learned that by coordinating their efforts, they can accomplish far more than any single group could by going it alone. Certainly no one group could have organized and carried out a [redacted] peaceful demonstration as spectacular and successful as the Washington March of August [redacted] 28, 1963. Sometimes, however, even for a united front, the going can prove extremely rough indeed. Just how rough was illustrated by that hectic, hazardous, and heroic episode in the Negro [redacted] revolt which [redacted] history will record as "the Freedom Rides of 1961."

THE FREEDOM RIDES

> Give us the courage and the spirit to be willing to turn our world, our nation, and especially the South upside down--until freedom becomes a reality for all men.
>
> --Blessing asked in a Negro church taking up a collection for Freedom Riders.

On March 13, 1961, the Congress of Racial Equality announced in New York that it would conduct freedom rides through the South by recruiting a small, bi-racial group to ride Greyhound and Trailways buses from Washington to New Orleans. The purpose of the rides, CORE explained, was to test racial discrimination in interstate travel terminals. In late April CORE advised President Kennedy that the rides would begin shortly and requested federal protection. And on May 4, the first freedom ride did begin, with 13 riders; six white, seven Negro, ranging in age from 18 to 61. Some boarded a Trailways bus, others a Greyhound. Their ride proved to be a long day's journey into nightmare.

The first freedom riders encountered few obstacles during their journey through Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. But the reception committee was out in full force when they arrived in Alabama on May 14. In Anniston and Birmingham, mobs swarmed forth to greet the riders. ~~with a true display of southern hostility.~~ An incendiary device was tossed through the window of the Greyhound six miles outside Anniston, and the bus was completely destroyed by fire. The passengers escaped without serious injury, but 12 were hospitalized, mostly for smoke inhalation. Those who arrived in Birmingham aboard Trailways fared even worse: they were savagely beaten, with one rider requiring over 50 head stitches.

Despite warnings of trouble, the Birmingham police did not arrive at the bus station until ten minutes after the mob attacked. No arrests were made in either Alabama city. Confronted by mob violence and official sanction of it, the riders lost heart, flew to New Orleans, and there disbanded. Their journey may have ended in a whimper of exhaustion, but the freedom rides had just begun.

note to Nashville group

In the weeks that followed, freedom riders poured into the South like passengers piling into a commuter express train at rush hour. Or so it may have seemed to many outraged white Southerners. Actually, there were only about a dozen freedom rides involving slightly more than 1,000 people. They certainly did not travel first-class, but their trip expenditures turned out to be enormous: the rides themselves cost an estimated $20,000 and the legal expenses that grew out of them (scores of riders were arrested, many imprisoned) exceeded $300,000. CORE~~, which gained immeasurable prestige and no little power as a result of the freedom rides, subsequently~~ joined with SCLC, SNCC, and the Nashville Student Movement to form a Freedom Riders Coordinating Committee. While the NAACP was not represented on this committee, it again provided funds and legal advice to the other organizations.

Mobbed in Montgomery (May 20), jailed in Jackson (May 29), heckled and harassed in numerous other southern cities, the freedom riders were scarcely welcome visitors in the Deep South ~~in Dixieland~~.

This strikes me as a chicken-egg question.

But whatever the costs financial and physical, whatever the reckless as well as responsible criticisms of the rider's methods and motives ~~(e.g., after the riders refused to heed Attorney-General Robert Kennedy's request for a "cooling-off" period, the New York Times commented, "non-violence that deliberately provokes violence is a logical contradiction")~~, they achieved their immediate goal. As a result of the freedom rides, segregation barriers at interstate terminals were swept away in all but a handful of southern towns.

Besides bringing about the desegregation of interstate terminals, the freedom rides had several lasting and important repercussions. First, as Yale Law School Dean Eugene V. Rostow observed at the time,* "by openly challenging the final bastion of segregation in the Deep South, the Freedom Riders chose the most dramatic theatre in the struggle for civil rights. ~~But their protest was national, not regional. It was addressed as much to New York and Chicago as to Mississippi."~~

Once again, like the sit-ins, the freedom rides were, in Dean Rostow's words, "a ~~generalized moral~~ demonstration against the nation's failure to provide equal treatment for the Negro." Once again, too, Negroes saw how a protest campaign, based on peaceful, legal means and non-violent action could effectively achieve progress, could effectively open doors long closed to them. The rides also helped open the eyes of many law-abiding, well-meaning white Southerners to something that should have been quite obvious: if there had been compliance with law and decency in the South, there would have been no freedom rides. see insert

*"The Freedom Riders and the Future," The Reporter, June 22, 1961.

D/A New Version----
Insert New Graf, Bottom P. 3, Freedom Rides Section

Nevertheless, even those white Southerners in sympathy with the riders' objectives were critical of their [redacted] tactics, of their continuing the rides after their point had been made. The[redacted] sentiments of such white Southerners seemed to be in accord with the views expressed by the New York Times in its editorial of May 26, 1961. The Times [redacted] declared:

> The facts and the situation today add up to a victory for the Freedom Riders, one that most Americans will [redacted] applaud. All the same, it looks as if this victory can be diminished, or nullified, if the agitators press on through an inflamed atmosphere. They are challenging not only long-held customs, but passionately held feelings. Non-violence that deliberately provokes violence is a logical contradiction.

In the long run, the freedom rides received more [redacted] criticism than praise from the press and public. This was true not only in the South, but throughout the nation: in June 1961 the Gallop Poll reported that while a majority of Americans approved of ending [redacted] segregation in interstate travel, 64% disapproved of the freedom riders' methods, largely on the grounds that they were [redacted] "causing too much trouble." In this respect, the freedom rides differed from the sit-ins, which had evoked widespread sympathy both in the South and in the nation.

Besides their effect on public opinion, there were several other notable differences between the freedom rides [redacted] and the [redacted] earlier sit-ins. [redacted] Unlike the sit-ins...
(pick up original text, beginning top of p. 4)

Unlike the sit-ins ~~however,~~ the freedom rides were not demands by local citizens for a fair share in the services of their communities. Where the sit-ins had been planned and carried out by local residents, the freedom rides were conceived and conducted by outside groups. Where the sit-inners had every intention of using the services they demanded, the freedom riders had little, if any, future need for what they sought. Where the sit-inners were citizens of their communities, the freedom riders were only visiting tourists. It was the difference between neighbors and strangers, between "hometown folks" and outsiders. It was also a difference duly noted and remembered by white Southerners, particularly those of a strongly segregationist bent.

Long before the freedom rides, for years in fact, southern segregationists had been quick to label any manifestation of Negro unrest as an evil conspiracy hatched by "outside agitators" to destroy "our Southern way of life." The sit-ins, which were obviously not the work of outside agitators, had done much to debunk this particular ~~segregationist~~ myth. But, with the coming of the freedom riders, many of whom ~~are~~ were undeniably non-southern outsiders, it rose from its ashes like the Phoenix of yore. The cry of "outside agitators" was to be heard again and again around the South ~~in the years immediately~~ following the 1961 freedom rides. But ~~few fair-minded, responsible Southerners took it seriously~~ it was hard to take this charge seriously; in fact, it was like a song ~~whose~~ whose words have long since gone ~~bad~~ stale.

hows do you know?

What was to be taken seriously was the effect the freedom rides had on southern police techniques. For out of the rides into Mississippi evolved a new way of coping with racial demonstrations, one devised by the Jackson ~~pl~~ police. It could hardly have been more

simple: you merely hauled off to jail anyone who dared to protest in any way the infringement of his constitutional rights. This is what the Jackson police did with the freedom riders almost as soon as they got off the bus in Mississippi's capital city. And this was what other police forces in several other southern cities were to do when the Negro revolt struck their community. It was their way of maintaining law and order. It was also a very effective way of putting down a peaceful demonstration. ~~by Americans exercising a basic American right--"the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."*~~

The freedom rides not only demonstrated anew the discrepancy between the law of the land and the law of the local police billy; they were equally successful in dramatizing ~~what Dean Rostow described as "the conflict between law and the resistance to law.~~ the failure of the Interstate Commerce Commission ~~through appropriate administrative action~~ to require full desegregation ~~of the facilities of interstate travel."~~ Here, in marked contrast to the sit-ins, where federal authority to intervene had been limited, was a clear and present need for the U. S. government to take action. It lost no time in doing so.

On July 20, 1961, the Justice Department filed a statement with the ICC in which it said a survey of 294 bus terminals in

*See Article I of the first ten amendments to the U. S. Constitution.

in 17 states had ~~resulted in finding~~ found "open racial segregation" in 97 terminals in 12 states. Earlier, on May 29, Attorney-General Kennedy ~~therefore~~ had filed a petition, ~~requested~~ requesting the ICC to issue rules prohibiting racial discrimination in interstate buses and bus facilities.

~~Two months later,~~ On September 22, the ICC did just that. In a unanimous decision, it ruled that, effective November 1, 1961, interstate carriers and terminals must display signs saying that the seating there was "without regard to race, color, creed or national origin..." Interstate carriers were also banned, effective the same date, from using terminal facilities where travelers were segregated by race.

In effect, the ICC ruling wiped out segregation in interstate travel, thereby bringing the drama of the freedom rides to a ~~triumphant~~ conclusion. But if the ICC ~~hung~~ rang down the curtain on one episode of the Negro revolt, it unknowingly set the stage for another. For one of the first tests of the ICC ruling was to be made in a small Georgia city just a four-hour drive straight south from Atlanta. It was, its Chamber of Commerce was mighty proud to tell you, the "tenth fastest booming city in the U.S.A." Its name was Albany.

trials still pending, charges not dropped, bail money held

DRAFT

THE DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

INTRODUCTION

> It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Darkness, of Light, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us.
>
> --Charles Dickens*

of Light, it

was the season

[redacted]

With this memorable passage, Dickens opened his novel about one of the world's great[redacted] revolutions. It seems equally applicable to another: the nonviolent Negro revolt taking place in this country--and particularly in the South --today.

In the past several years, the Negro revolt has experienced good times and survived bad times. The young Negroes in its vanguard have displayed both wisdom and foolishness. They have never lost belief in the rightness of their cause, nor incredulity over the failure of whites to understand it. They have enjoyed moments of light and endured moments of darkness. Now, though the battle is by no means over, the strife by no means done, they have passed through the winter of despair into the spring of hope. And, after 100 years of serfdom and segregation, they have passed from having nothing before them to having everything--all the rights their race has so long desired and been so long denied.

In some respects, this Negro revolt is unlike any in American history. As one observer has noted, it is "a revolution in which the revolutionaires bear no arms, throw up

* A Tale of Two Cities

no street barricades...and, with remarkably few exceptions, initiate no violence." But just as the French revolutionists had a rallying song, Le Marseillaise, so the American Negroes have theirs. Again, though, it is unique for a song of revolution, something described by New Yorker writer Katherine T. Kinkead as "a now mournful, now serene piece called 'We Shall Overcome.'"

The Negroes still have not completely overcome their foes of ignorance, intolerance and injustice, but there is now no doubt about the outcome of the struggle: the Birmingham campaign and Alabama Governor George Wallace's burlesque of a last stand at Tuscaloosa are proof enough of that. The walls have not come tubmling down yet; nontheless, their loud cracking and steady crubmling can be heard throughout the land.

Why, with all the odds, with virtually all the powers of southern states and local governments, against them, have the Negroes succeeded so well in their revolt against Jim Crow? Why, when beaten, jeered, jailed, even murdered, have the Negroes not retaliated with the viciousness of violence? Why, in the face of incredible persecutions and countless dangers, have these homegrown rebels seldom lost their heads, muchless heart?

Dedication to a cause [is certainly] [redacted] one reason for their courage and determination. A strong religious conviction [redacted] another. And while both have had an influence, perhaps the simplest explanation--and the principal reason--for the success of the Negro revolt is just this: it is non-violent.

The concept of using non-violent means to achieve justifiable ends did not, of course, spring fresh born from the brain of Martin Luther King, Jr. Thoreau, and Tolstoi were staunch apostles of the gospel of peaceful civil disobedience, though neither ever won many converts. The man who actually

shaped the concept of non-violence into a militant creed was Mahatma Gandi.

In so doing, he introduced a new kind of warfare, one which denounced hate and hostility in favor of using non-violent tactics such as mass, peaceful demonstrations against injustices. As Washington used musket and powder to win America's independence from Britain, so Ghandi employed satyagraha (the name given his movement of non-violent, noncooperative protest) to do the same for India. Satyagraha has since been exported to America, where it is proving equally effective as a weapon in a people's struggle to win their rights.

The highlights of that struggle are the subject of this report. For by looking back to see what has been attempted and what accomplished by the non-violent direct action movement thus far, one may be able to discern some of the problems and prospects facing the movement in the years ahead. By analyzing and assessing what has happened, one can, it is hoped, speculate about what may happen.

This much seems certain, however, wherever the future may lead: the direct action movement will go on until, at long last, there is an America whose practices are one and the same with its promises to all citizens.

"But why," many white Americans have asked and still ask, "why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches and demonstrations" Why not negotiation instead?" This is how Martin Luther King replied to such questions in his Letter from Birmingham Jail:

> You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Non-violent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks to to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored.

Since early 1960, the issue, that of Negro rights, has been dramatized in so many southern towns and cities that only a latter-day Rip Van Winkle could possibly have missed it. A people long docile suddenly sprung to action and their roar of protest was soon heard across the globe, from Jackson to Jakarta, from Memphis to Moscow.

D R A F T

THE SIT-IN MOVEMENT, 1960-61

> ...they were on fire with their purpose.... Making an end to segregation had obviously given their lives far more focus than the thin studies offered them possibly could. But, more important...their truly desperate struggle--the beatings, the reprisals, the jailings--was rewarding them with the very identity and pride that Negroes in the United States have so long sought in vain. This is already their secret triumph.
>
> --Charlotte Devree,* ~~describing "The Young Negro Rebels" in Harper's Magazine~~

Greensboro, N. C. (pop. 119,574) is an industrial and educational community situated in the hilly Piedmont plateau about 85 miles northwest of Raleigh. The city is named for a hero of the American Revolution, General Nathaniel Greene. Another American revolution began in Greensboro on February 1, 1960.

At 4:30 p. m. that day, four Negro students, all freshmen at North Carolina A. & T. College, sat down at the lunch counter of a local Woolworth's dime store and attempted to get coffee. They were still sitting at the counter an hour later, when the store closed. They had not been served; they had set off a protest movement that spread like a fire in dry timber across the South.

Within a week after the Greensboro sit-in, Negro students were demonstrating in Winston-Salem, Durham, Charlotte, and other principal North Carolina cities. Within six weeks, demonstrations of some type had spread to another score of cities, bringing the movement into every southern state except Mississippi.

While these demonstrations varied in size and scope, they did have certain common characteristics. They were, for the

*"The Young Negro Rebels," Harpers Magazine, October, 1961.

most part, spontaneous; they were carried out by students (including some white students); they were concentrated on one sort of service--lunch counters of stores which sold other commodities to Negroes and which were usually branch stores of a large national chains; and they were generally non-violent.

The 1960 demonstrations were not, however, completely unprecedented. Sit-ins had been staged at eating places in Chicago, Los Angeles, and Washington during World War II.* There were later sit-ins in Kansas and Oklahoma cities in 1958 and 1959, as well as in Miami, Florida. But these demonstrations did not precipitate a major wave of activity elsewhere. Nor did the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-56, though it did, of course, make Martin Luther King, Jr. a world-famous figure.

Thus while these earlier manifestations of Negro unrest presaged the 1960 sit-ins, they did not produce the same result; the birth of the first mass movement of protest by Negroes throughout the South. Montgomery might be considered the Boston Tea Party of the Negro revolt, but Greensboro represented its Lexington and Concord.

If the sit-in demonstrations instilled thousands of Negro Southerners with a new sense of pride and power, they thoroughly baffled and bewildered most white Southerners. Long indoctrinated with the myths made music by Stephen Foster, long accustomed to Negroes seemingly content with their servile status, the average white Southerner was scarcely prepared to confront the young Negroes of the sit-in movement--the neatly dressed, dignified, and dedicated students who, as Louis Lomax later wrote, made "a moral crusade out of their right to sit down in a restaurant owned by a white man and eat a hamburger."

Moreover, despite attempts by racist rabble rousers to brand the demonstrators as "outside agitators," it was glaringly apparent

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*An interesting comparison between the non-violent movement of the 1940's and that of the 1960's was made by Carleton McBee in his Nation article, "The Evolution of Non-violence" (The Nation, August 12, 1961).

that the overwhelming majority were native sons and daughters of the South. And as their protest movement expanded to other segregated facilities (e.g., churches, libraries, movie theatres, beaches), they gained the support of responsible adult and local Negro communities. One such community was Nashville, where the student sit-ins were followed by a successful Negro boycott of the city's downtown stores. This is how Nashville journalist Wallace Westfeldt described it:

> This boycott was not started by outsiders nor was it maintained by outsiders. It was executed by the Nashville Negro, for the Nashville Negro, and any attempt to charge anyone else for its responsibility is indulging in wishful thinking.
>
> This boycott, incidentally, also destroyed another concept about the sit-ins widely held by southerners, the concept that the sit-in was purely a student movement, unsupported and unrecognized by responsible adults in the Negro community.

Confused and concerned by such a mass direct action movement, one that marked a turning point in the Negro's quest for equality matched only by the Supreme Court decision of 1954, the white South reacted in a variety of ways. In Chattanooga, for example, there were open clashes between Negroes and whites, until the police gained control of the crisis. In Montgomery, where students from Alabama State College staged the first sit-in in the Deep South at the Montgomery County court house on February 25, 1960, the police later crushed a Negro demonstration in the name of preventing "trouble," but in effect doing the bidding of a white mob. But in many other southern cities, including Nashville, Charlotte and Winston-Salem, there was a genuine attempt by leading white citizens to seek a solution offering justice to Negroes. Hence by dramatizing the irrationality and immorality of discrimination, the sit-ins had one notable result: for the first time, many southern communities removed a bastion of segregation without legal compulsion.

The first large southern city to desegregate its ~~lunch~~ lunch counters voluntarily was San Antonio, which did so on March 16,1960.

Other citids soon followed suit: by June 1960, eating afacilities in 18 southern cities had desegregated; by August 10, officials of variety chain stores could report to Attorney General William Rogers that lunch counters in their stores in 69 southern cities had opened to all; and by late September 1961, it was estimated that one or more eating establishments in 108 southern or border state cities had desegregated as a result of sit-in activity. By then, however, the sit-in movement proper had come to an end. True, there were to be scattered sit-ins right down to the present, as well as steadily increasing number of southern communities with desegregated lunch counters. But, as America turned toward a New Frontier in 1961, so the nonviolent direct action movement turned toward new fields of protest, new areas of discrimination.

Still, if the sit-in movement proper had a short, hectic life span, one lasting little more than a year, there can be no doubt that it was a supremely successful one. Indeed, a future historian with a Churchillian flair for phrase-making could well be moved to comment: "Never before in the course of civil conflict has so much been won for so many by so few." For the sit-ins did not merely bring about the opening of lunch counters to Negro Southerners. They gave Negroes in all parts of the South something far more substantial than a dime store hamburger. Perhaps Ralph McGill described it best when he wrote in The South and the Southerner:

> The sit-ins reached far out into the back country. They inspired adult men and women, fathers, mothers, grandmothers, aunts and uncles, to support the young students in the cities. Not even the Supreme Court's decision on the schools in 1954 had done this,

> But the students picketing in the lunch-rooms and the department stores -- this was something they could see and understand. From the day of the first sit-in the students brought a stronger front to contest against discrimination than could have been created by any other course.

Four other lasting results of the sit-ins were cited by C. Merrill Proudfoot in a speech, "Diary of a Sit-in: An Analysis of the Sit-in Movement," delivered to the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University in July 1962. They were: 1) the sit-ins "marked the development of new imaginative techniques to supplement the very necessary legal action"; 2) they "dramatized the fact of discrimination and the Negroes dissatisfaction with it"; 3) they "brought about contact between Negroes and whites in the South, creating a more favorable climate for race relations ~~XXXX

Actually, only one Negro -- and one who was not a demonstrator -- died as a result of sit-in direct action activities, (in Jacksonville, following the riots there on August 27, 1960, a former convict, running a road block set up by local police, was shot down by white service station attendants). But many were beaten and thousands arrested; others were expelled from college or lost their jobs as teachers. These were among the sit-in statistics presented by SRC in its special report of September 29, 1960. "The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation':

--At least 70,000 Negroes and whites actively ~~participated~~ participated in sit-in activities affecting each southern and border state, as well as Nevada, Illinois, and Ohio--20 in all.
--An estimated 3,600 students and supporters in southern and border states were arrested.
--At least 141 students and 58 faculty members were dismissed by southern colleges and universities.

These arrested for participating in demonstrations were responsible for another outcome of the sit-ins -- their effect on American jurisprudence. The involved question of sit-in demonstrations and the law is beyond the scope of this report. Suffice it to say, however, that all the sit-in cases reviewed thus far by the Supreme Court have been decided in favor of the defendants. Only a few weeks ago, in its most important decision to date on such cases, the Court reversed the trespass convictions of Negro and white students who had conducted sit-ins at lunch counters in four southern states, and of persons who encouraged them. The Court held that there were discriminatory "state action" in local ordinances and official statements. The cases came from Alabama, Louisiana, North ~~Carol~~ and South Carolina.

Finally, no assessment of the sit-in movement can ignore its effect on the Negro civil rights organizations. Whether or not the sit-ins

produced a crisis of the old order is a highly debatable question. But there can be little doubt that they provoked controversy within the organizations and competition without. They also produced one wholly new -- and highly militant civil rights group. These organizations, old and new, are the subject of the next section of this report.

FIVE WHO MADE A REVOLUTION: THE NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

> ...they are involved in the only belief
> that matters: that life begins tomorrow.
>
> --Kenneth Tynan*

At the time of the Greensboro sit-in of 1960, four Negro organizations were active in the civil rights field. They were respectively:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The oldest (founded Feb. 12, 1909), largest, and best-known civil rights organization, the NAACP had fought its most important battles for the Negro cause in the nation's courts, achieving its greatest victory in 1954 when the Supreme Court outlawed the doctrine of "separate but equal." Its purpose: to end all racial discrimination and segregation in all public aspects of American life.

The National Urban League. Founded in 1910, the Urban League concerned itself with job training and social welfare programs for Negroes, providing research and planning guidance to other Negro groups. Its purpose, as described by its executive director Whitney Young, Jr: "We...do an action research job--the sort of job that not merely identifies the extent of poor housing, unemployment and general social disorganization; but a research which concerns itself with community attitudes towards these social ills."

The Congress of Racial Equality. Organized in 1942, CORE was formed by a group of Negroes and whites who believed that legalism was not sufficient to win the battle against segregation; it first tried the sit-in technique that year at a Chicago restaurant. Its purpose: to bring equality of opportunity in all spheres of American life, regardless of race.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Martin Luther King, Jr. brought SCLC or SLICK into being at New Orleans in 1957, and he was chiefly responsible for keeping it alive in the years

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*Curtains, Atheneum, New York, 1961. Tynan was describing "The Angry Young Movement" in Great Britain, but his description could well apply to those in the civil rights movement of this country.

that followed. Its purpose: to achieve full citizenship rights and the integration of the Negro in all aspects of life.

As can easily be seen, there was little difference in the ultimate goals of these Negro organizations. Nor was there any disagreement over the idea of using non-violent means to attain justifiable ends. But there were differences about how far, how fast, and in what direction the drive for equal rights should move.

The NAACP looked largely to the courts, boycotts, and the ballot to bring about a redress of grievances, while the Urban League sought progress through biracial consultation and cooperation. Since they felt legalism was too slow and uncertain and Negro voters in the South too few, CORE and SCLC, on the other hand, advocated a more militant program of mass direct action, of moving out of the courtrooms and committee chambers and into the streets.

The student movement that swept the South in 1960 was, in the opinion of Louis Lomax, "a clear-cut vindication for the proponents of direct and mass action." But, as August Meier subsequently noted in his review of Lomax's book*, "the students looked to the NAACP and other adult leaders for financial and legal aid." Furthermore, Meier pointed out, "the NAACP [had] moved into direct action--and far more than Lomax is willing to admit....The most noted example was the successful demonstrations of the Oklahoma City Youth Council in 1958-1959." And despite the rivalry which arose between the NAACP and the Young Turk groups as the movement developed, the older organization continued to provide cash and counsel to sit-inners, picketers, and others arrested for participating in protest demonstrations.

The youngest of the Young Turk groups with which the NAACP both competed and cooperated (competition and cooperation are

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*"The Revolt Against the NAACP: A Critical Appraisal of Louis E. Homax's The Negro Revolt," Journal of Negro Education, Spring 1963.

the Siamese twins of a social action movement, as any student of the New Deal era can testify) was founded at Shaw University in Raleigh, N. C., during the Easter Weekend of 1960 (April 15-17). This was the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, (SNCC), which subsequently established its headquarters in Atlanta. Its purpose: to create a new society through non-violent efforts. Operating on a shoestring budget, with a tiny staff and an equally tiney office (which struck one newspaperman as being "like a command post on D-Day"), SNCC or SNICK, as it is commonly called, was soon sending its shock troops into such segregationist strongholds as Southwest Georgia and the Mississippi Delta. The older civil rights organizations were often aghast at SNICK's seemingly reckless bravado, but they could not help admiring its determination to persevere and prevail, often in the face of almost insurmountable white opposition.

If there were and are differences of policy and, personality among what Time magazine has called "the Big Five in Civil Rights," their alliance has, in spite of everything, survived; if uneasy at times, it has nenetheless remained unbreakable. Indeed, it could be argued that the rivalries between the Big Five have done more to advance than to obstruct the progress of the civil rights movement. For one thing, interagency competition has given the Negro groups a better understanding of each other, and this, in turn, has ultimately resulted in conciliations and compromises which have produced a more consolidated strategy. The NAACP, for example, has acknowledged the value of mass direct action campaigns. The Young Turks, on the other hand, have recognized that court actions, boycotts, and the ballot can be weapons every bit as effective as a street demonstration. Then, too, all the organizations have learned that by coordinating their efforts, they can accomplish far more than any single group could possibly expect to by going it alone. Sometimes, however, even for a united front, the going can prove extremely rough indeed. Just how rough was illustrated by that hectic, hazardous and herioc chapter of the Negro revolt which history will record as "the Freedom Rides of 1961."

THE FREEDOM RIDES

> Give us the courage and the spirit to be willing to turn our world, our nation, and especially the South upside down--until freedom becomes a reality for all men.
>
> --Blessing asked in a Negro church taking up a collection for Freedom Riders.

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The first freedom riders encountered few obstacles during their journey through Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. But the reception committee was out in full force when they arrived in Alabama on May 14. In Anniston and Birmingham, mobs swarmed forth to greet the riders with a true display of southern hostility. An incendiary device was tossed through the window of the Greyhound six miles outside Anniston, and the bus was completely destroyed by fire. The passengers escaped without serious injury, but 12 were hospitalized, mostly for smoke inhalation. Those who arrived in Birmingham aboard Trailways fared even worse: they were savagely beaten, with one rider requiring over 50 head stitches.

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Mobbed in Montgomery (May 20), jailed in Jackson (May 29), heckled and harassed in numerous other southern cities, the freedom riders were scarcely welcome visitors in Dixieland.

But whatever the costs financialland physical, whatever the reckless as well as responsible criticisms of the rider's methods and motives (e.g., after the riders refused to heed Attorney-General Robert Kennedy's request for a "cooling-off" period, the New York Times commented, "non-violence that deliberately provokes violence is a logical contradiction"), they achieved their immediate goal. As a result of the freedom rides, segregation barriers at interstate terminals were swept away in all but a handful of southern towns.

Besides bringing about the desegregation of interstate terminals, the freedom rides had several lasting and important repercussions. First, as Yale Law School Dean Eugene V. Rostow observed at the time,* "by openly challenging the final bastion of segregation in the Deep South, the Freedom Riders chose the most dramatic theatre in the struggle for civil rights. But their protest was national, not regional. It was addressed as much to New York and Chicago as to Mississippi."

Once again, like the sit-ins, the freedom rides were, in Dean Rostow's words,"a generalized moral demonstration against the nation's failure to provide equal treatment for the Negro." Once again, too, Negroes saw how a protest campaign, based on peaceful, legal means and non-violent action could effectively achieve progress, could effectively open doors long closed to them. The rides also helped open the eyes of law-abiding, well-meaning white Southerners to something that should have been quite obvious: if there had been compliance with law and decency in the South, there would have been no freedom rides.

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*"The Freedom Riders and the Future," The Reporter, June 22, 1961.

Unlike the sit-ins, however, the freedom rides were not demands by local citizens for a fair share in the services of their communities. Where the sit-ins had been planned and carried out by local residents, the freedom rides were conceived and conducted by outside groups. Where the sit-inners had every intention of using the services they demanded, the freedom riders had little, if any, future need for what they sought. Where the sit-inners were citizens of their communities, the freedom riders were only visiting tourists. It was the difference between neighbors and strangers, between "hometown folks" and outsiders. It was also a difference duly noted and remembered by white Southerners, particularly those of a strongly segregationist bent.

Long before the freedom rides, for years in fact, southern segregationists had been quick to label any manifestation of Negro unrest as an evil conspiracy hatched by "outside agitators" to destroy "our Southern way of life." The sit-ins, which were obviously not the work of outside agitators, had done much to debunk this particular segregationist myth. But, with the coming of the freedom riders, many of whom are undeniably non-southern outsiders, it rose from its ashes like the Phoenix of yore. The cry of "outside agitators" was to be heard again and again around the South in the years immediately following the 1961 freedom rides. But few fair-minded, responsible Southerners took it seriously; in fact, it was like a song whose words have long since gone bad.

What was to be taken seriously was the effect the freedom rides had on southern police techniques. For out of the rides into Mississippi evolved a new way of coping with racial demonstrations, one devised by the Jackson police. It could hardly have been more

simple: you merely hauled off to jail anyone who dared to protest in any way the infringement of his constitutional rights. This is what the Jackson police did with the freedom riders almost as soon as they got off the bus in Mississippi's capital city. And this was what other police forces in several other southern cities were to do when the Negro revolt struck their community. It was their way of maintaining law and order. It was also a very effective way of putting down a peaceful demonstration by Americans exercising a basic American right--"the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."*

The freedom rides not only demonstrated anew the discrepancy between the law of the land and the law of the local police billy; they were equally successful in dramatizing what Dean Rostow described as "the conflict between law and the resistance to law: the failure of the Interstate Commerce Commission, through appropriate administrative action, to require full desegregation of the facilities of interstate travel." Here, in marked contrast to the sit-ins, where federal authority to intervene had been limited, was a clear and present need for the U. S. government to take action. It lost no time in doing so.

On July 20, 1961, the Justice Department filed a statement with the ICC in which it said a survey of 294 bus terminals in

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*See Article I of the first ten amendments to the U. S. Constitution.

in 17 states had resulted in finding "open racial segregation" in 97 terminals in 12 states. Attorney-General Kennedy therefore requested the ICC to issue rules prohibiting racial discrimination in interstate buses and bus facilities.

Two months later, on September 22, the ICC did just that. In a unanimous decision, it ruled that, effective November 1, 1961, interstate carriers and terminals must display signs saying that the seating there was "without regard to race, color, creed or national origin..." Interstate carriers were also banned, effective the same date, from using terminal facilities where travelers were segregated by race.

In effect, the ICC ruling wiped out segregation in interstate travel, thereby bringing the drama of the freedom rides to a triumphant conclusion. But if the ICC rung down the curtain on one episode of the Negro revolt, it unknowingly set the stage for another. For one of the first tests of the ICC ruling was to be made in a small Georgia city just a four-hour drive straight south from Atlanta. It was, its Chamber of Commerce was mighty proud to tell you, the "tenth fastest booming city in the U.S.A." Its name was Albany.

THE AGONY OF ALBANY

> It is, of course, easy for observers to criticize the tactics of the Albany Movement. There was a rush of unanticipated events, and if the response was not one of perfectly coordinated tactical efficiency, it was one of courage, passion, and sacrifice, and it brought forth on American soil--too often hard and cold in recent years -- some of the noblest qualities that human beings have shown anywhere.
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The pattern of events which were to make Albany a world-famous site--and symbol--of Negro protest began November 1, 1961--the day ICC ruling against discrimination in terminals took effect. That day, in a test of the ruling, ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ two SNCC field workers, Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagan, led a small group of Negro students into the white waiting room at the Trailways bus station in Albany. They were ordered out by local police.

While there had been growing evidence of local unrest, including a request from Negro leaders to the city commissioners in early January asking for the desegregation of certain city facilities, the bus station incident led directly to the birth of the Albany Movement on November 17, 1961. This coalition of a Negro ministerial alliance, NAACP, SNCC, and other Negro organizations was formed with the express purpose of attacking discrimination in a number of areas: bus and train stations, libraries, parks, hospitals, buses, jury representation, public and private employment, and police brutality. The Albany Movement lost no time in launching its desegregation campaign.

On Wednesday morning, November 22, 1961, three Negroes were arrested by Albany Police Chief Laurie Pritchett when they attempted to use the Trailways Terminal Restaurant. On December 10, 1961, an integrated SNCC group tried to enter the white waiting room at the city's Union Railway Terminal, were ordered out by Chief Pritchett, and then arrested as they got into cars outside the terminal. This is how Howard Zinn described what followed those arrests:

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*Albany, A Study in National Responsibility, Southern Regional Council, 1962.

> The newly-formed Albany Movement now responded. During the next seven days, a series of huge meetings in Negro churches and marches downtown by more than 100 Albany Negroes, singing and praying and asking freedom for the arrested students, ended in mass arrests order by Chief Pritchett. It was on the fifth day that Martin Luther King, Jr. , and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, invited by the Albany movement, arrived from Atlanta....They led another march downtown, which ended in the arrest of hundreds more. The total arrested now stood at 737, and Chief Pritchett, representing the city, began negotiations with Negro leaders....

The negotiations resulted in the release of jailed demonstrators on bond, and the first mass demonstrations in Albany came to an end shortly before Christmas, 1961. But the agony of Albany had only just begun.

In the first six months of 1962, the uneasy truce between Negroes and whites in Albany disintegrated. White leaders refused to make any concessions, accept any compromises, and the frail lines of bi-racial communication established in December snapped apart completely as city officials attempted to try and convict those arrested in the pre-Christmas demonstrations.

The bubbling cauldron of Negro unrest finally boiled over again in July, 1962. When King and Abernathy were convicted on charges of parading without a permit, obstructing the sidewalk, and disorderly conduct on July 10, they chose to go to jail rather than pay a $178 fine. The SCLC leaders were released two days later, but their jailing precipitated weeks of Negro marches and demonstrations.

Applying the arrest-and-jail tactics employed by the Jackson police during the freedom rides of the previous year, Chief Pritchett kept law and order in Albany, thereby earning national praise for what one state official hailed as "the number one job of law enforcement in recent Georgia history." But, as Zinn pointed out, he did this "by putting into prison every man, woman, or child" who joined in peacefully protesting against racial discrimination. By Labor Day, when the 1962 mass demonstrations drew to a climax, the number arrested totalled more than 1,100. If not as large in number, there were to be additional demonstrations and additional arrests in Albany during the spring and summer of 1963.

Yet for all their protest and sacrifice, for all their passion and courage, the Negroes of Albany have not as yet prevailed in their long, bitter battle for equal rights. True, the transportation terminals have been desegregated, and the city library opened to Negroes as well as whites, though only on a "take-out" basis. True, too, the city in early 1963 dropped all its segregation ordinances, but, in the words of Chief Pritchett himself, "Albany is just as segregated as ever."

In a recent New Republic article titled "Epilogue in Albany," Atlanta newsman Reese Claghorn described the south Georgia city of 37,000 whites and 23,000 Negroes as "a monument to white supremacy," one representing "at once the triumph of sophisticated segregation and the low point for the mass demonstration in this, the decade of mass demonstrations." He also cited the "caustic evaluation" of Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southeastern regional NAACP director: "Albany was successful only if the goal was to go to jail."

This view of the Albany campaign was not shared by Martin Luther King, who made this statement to Claghorn: "There is still a great deal of work to be done in Albany. However, I think it must be said that we have achieved something. We have made it possible for the leaders of Albany to confront segregation and the Negroes of Albany have been made more aware. This movement gave a new sense of dignity and destiny to the Negro citizens of Albany. For this reason, Albany can never be the same again. Negroes have straightened their backs, and you can never dump your load until you have straightened your back."

In Claghoun's opinion, "the chief hope for change, in structure if not in spirit, lies now in court action, which was neglected in the first frenzy of the demonstrations." But court action, like so much else in Albany, has worked both ways, both for the Negroes and against them.

For example, on August 12, 1963, the last day of a court-ordered deadline, the Doughterty County Board of Education submitted a proposal to begin desegregating public schools in Albany on a grade-a-year basis, beginning with the first grade in 1964. Three days earlier, however, the president, acting president, and another member of the Albany Movement had been charged with obstructing justice in indictments returned by a federal grand jury in Macon. Six others active in the Albany protest campaign were charged with perjuring themselves before the grand jury.

The charges stemmed from a boycott campaign organized against an Albany supermarket in April, 1963, because its owner as a juror had voted against a Negro in a federal civil suit. The store, which had a predominately Negro trade, closed following the boycott. The defendants are expected to go on trial in October. The prospects of such a trial could scarcely be less pleasing for the future of the Albany Movement, whatever the verdict brought in.

Thus almost three years of Negro protest in Albany have so far resulted in little more than a stalemate; it has been a period of tragedy rather than triumph, of frustration rather than fulfillment. Nevertheless, there can now be little doubt now that white supremacy in Albany, as in all the Deep South, is making its last stand. Nor can there now be any question about Albany's place in the history of the direct action movement in mid-twentieth century America; it is a place alongside Montgomery, Greensboro, and Birmingham.

The historical importance of what happened in Albany was aptly and accurately summed up by the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, executive Assistant to Martin Luther King, Jr., in his article, "Albany, Failure or First Step?", which appeared in the June 1963 issue of New South magazine. Walker wrote:

> The Albany Movement is unique in our history, and in the course of the Negro's non-violent uprising for two reasons. First, the Albany Negroes assaulted the entire system of segregation, an attack unprecedented in the Negro push. Second, they united -- Negro janitors, domestics, ditch-diggers, cultivated educators and prosperous business and professional people - in legal, peaceful demonstrations, jail sentences, boycott, and other perilous techniques. Thus the Albany Movement, for the first time, represented a whole [author's italics] Negro community, including children, who were jailed....

If Albany's Negroes set a precedent by making the first all-out attack by an entire Negro community against an entire system of segregation, they also unveiled the pattern of things to come. "If the country must be prepared for the possibility of other Oxfords," SRC Executive Director, Leslie W. Dunbar warned in his introduction to Zinn's study of Albany, "it needs to be prepared for the likelihood -- almost the certainty -- of other Albanys."

The other Albanys were not long in coming, and when they did, they came with the force and suddeness of a cloudburst. Moreover, they came not just in the South but across the length and breadth of the land, not just in ones and twos but in the hundreds. And with their coming in the centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, the American dilemma became a great deal more than the title of a book most Americans had never bothered to read. In 1963, it became the nation's number one topic of concern and its solution the nation's number one topic of controversy.

BIRMINGHAM AND BEYOND

> The significance of the Birmingham movement is not the small concessions extracted from the white community. It is the massiveness of the Negro demonstrations that punctured the white man's comforting belief that Negroes generally are satisfied with the pace of things and that militant "outside agitators" are the only cause of unrest.
>
> --Robert E. Baker*

It was early Sunday morning, May 12, 1963. From a cluttered hotel room in Birmingham, a reporter for one of the nation's most respected newspapers phoned a member of the Justice Department in Washington and described the havoc he had witnessed on the city's streets just a few hours before. When he finished speaking, the Justice Department official asked, "What does it mean?" The reporter's reply was brief, but there was no doubt about the seriousness in his voice as he said: "Go back and read James Baldwin again. This is the fire next time."

The riots which convulsed Birmingham during the night of May 11-12 may indeed have seemed to be the proof of Baldwin's eloquent but frightening prediction of what could happen if Negro bitterness and belligerence continued to fester and spread; they were certainly a tragic and terrifying climax to the weeks of mass demonstrations in the city often called "the Johannesburg of the South."

The immediate cause of the riots was, of course, the almost simultaneous bombing of a Negro motel and the home of Martin Luther King's brother late Saturday night, May 11. The bombings were the last straw for Birmingham Negroes. With their nerves and emotions already strained to the breaking point by mass arrests, hosings, and police dog attacks, it was hardly surprising that some of them (of an anything but non-violent persuasion) should, on this particular occasion, reply in kind to white violence.

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*From a news analysis story which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on May 26, 1963.

But the May 11-12 riots did not necessarily mean that Negroes in Birmingham and elsewhere were ready to storm the barricades in order to win their rights. They did not mean that Negroes were ready to jettison non-violent direct action and take to the streets with rocks, bombs, and bullets. They did mean, though, that Birmingham Negroes could no longer be bullied, bombed and beaten by whites without impunity. And it is quite possible that the riots made white leaders realize the high price they could expect to pay if they failed to fulfill the terms of the Birmingham agreement.

A more important question, and one much debated in recent weeks, is this: what did the prolonged non-violent protest campaign in Birmingham mean for the Negro, the South, and the nation? For one thing, it surely meant the beginning of the end of Negro patience with the installment plan system of acquiring equal rights; "all, here, now" is no empty slogan but rather a battle cry. For another, it meant the opening of a new and possibly final chapter in the history of the direct action movement. Above all, it meant that the nation could no longer ignore the needs, evade the demands, and shut out the voices of one-tenth of its citizens. A good summation of the meaning of Birmingham was made recently by the man most responsible for what happened there, namely Martin Luther King, Jr.

"Birmingham," he wrote in the July SCLC Newsletter, "will surely mark a watershed in the history of the non-violent revolution in America. No civil rights thrust of the Negro community in our nation has so completely captured the attention and sympathy of public opinion. No single instance of non-violent direct action has prompted such widespread parallel activity, particularly in the Deep South. Never before has the Federal Government evinced the serious concern it now manifests in its first serious grappling with the American dilemma of race and color prejudice. No moment of history has focused its attention on the Negro as the key figure on the American scene today, 'Faith 7' notwithstanding."

If King's view of Birmingham could not be considered that of an unbiased observer, neither could it be dismissed as pure propaganda. Evidence abounded everywhere that Birmingham had orbited the racial problem into a new stratosphere -- more heated, more explosive, more dangerous. New demonstrations, some marked by occasional violence, spread into every corner of the South, sprang up in cities like Greensboro, Atlant

and Nashville, places which complacently assumed their token concessions during the sit-ins had placated Negro demands, and even fanned out across the Mason-Dixon line into the urban centers of the North. "Wherever the problem festered," reported Newsweek in late May, "the name of Birmingham was invoked as a warning, a symbol, and an epithet."

Birmingham not only set off a wave of demonstrations; it also introduced a new kind of demonstration. Rather than marching by the hundreds, Negroes in Birmingham marched by the thousands. Rather than coming out to protest all at once in a one-shot demonstration, the marchers came in wave-after-wave, day-after-day. Rather than relying on adults alone, leaders of the Birmingham campaign deployed school children by the hundreds. Before it was all over, the police had arrested more than 2,400 Negroes; Birmingham's jails overflowed and the city's Fairground barracks were turned into jails for teen-agers.

Thus, in Birmingham and in countless communities beyond it, the 1963 demonstrations differed from those of 1960 in their magnitude, their impatience, and their impact. Where the 1960 sit-ins had inspired Negro students and many of their elders in the South, the 1963 protest in Birmingham fired the imagination of Negroes all over the United States. Where Negro community involvement in 1960 had been a rarity, in 1963 it became the rule. Where the 1960 Negro demonstrators had been satisfied by a good eal less than half a leaf, those of 1963 would accept nothing less than all. No longer could white moderates expect Negroes to swallow the gospel of "partial freedom gradually"; in 196 , Negroes were loud and implacably insistent in their demand for "full freedom now."

The extent of the 1963 Negro protest movement was underscored by a Justice Department report issued at the beginning of August. It disclosed that there had been 758 demonstrations in 186 cities in the ten weeks since the Birmingham truce of May 10, 199 of them having taken place in the single week before President Kennedy's press conference of August 1. Some indication of the size of these demonstrations could be seen in the number of arrests. Between April 3 and June 24, in eleven southern states alone, there were an estimated 10,420 arrests; between June 24 and July 24, in the same states, an estimated 1,323 additional arrests were made. Comparing these arrest figures for a four-month period of 1963 with those of the period of February 1, 1960-September 1, 1960, when the number of arrests was estimated to have been 3,600, is somewhat like comparing a tidal wave to a light drizzle.

The overall effect of this raging epidemic of demonstrations

was, the New York Times pointed out in its August 11 "News of the Week" section, "impossible to measure precisely. The Justice Department... says that there has been 'improvement' in 319 cities in the 11 states of the Old Confederacy plus four border states." An SRC summary of newspaper reports through July 24 showed "some desegregation" in 79 cities in eleven southern states.

King's mention of the "serious concern" of the federal government over the race problem (see above) was no exaggeration. The Birmingham crisis coupled with the wave of demonstrations elsewhere and the possibility of another Oxford at the University of Alabama (which, fortunately, did not materialize) caused the Kennedy administration to take an unequivocal stand on the civil rights issue. That stand took its most dramatic form in the President's call for major legislation against segregation. The debate over this legislation promised to be as bitter as those over slavery more than a century ago. In the end, however, Congress was expected to pass the 1963 civil rights bill, although the fate of the controversial public accommodations section was highly uncertain.

As the long, hectic summer of 1963 drew to a close, the civil rights crisis was a long way from being resolved. But the upsurge of Negro discontent had at least awakened the nation to the gravity of the race problem and the urgency for a solution to it. Even so, the path of future progress remained uncharted and the end remained unknown. Much, it was true, had been done to mitigate the problem, but much more would still have to be done if the American Negro was to receive a full, fair share of those blessings of liberty which most white Americans have long taken for granted. In short, the second ordeal of the union was far from over.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

> No one wishes to make the problem seem smaller than it is. No one wishes to make its solution seem easy. No one wishes to make light of the fears that beset us. But whether we be fearful or no, we shall never, because we are a Christian people, be able to evade the moral issues. It is time--
>
> --Alan Paton*

Just as present-day historians cite the summer of 1863 as the turning point of the American Civil War, so, it seems virtually certain, future historians will cite the summer of 1963 as the turning point of the American civil rights struggle. The issues involved in this struggle, as in the Civil War, are legal, economic and political; most of all, they are moral. The alternatives may not be those of the Civil War -- indivisible union or irreparable separation -- but they are no less stark and serious: total equality or total repression. For it is no longer a matter of what the American Negro deserves in the eyes of American whites; it is a matter of what American Negroes intend to get, and they have announced what that is again and again: "One hundred years of fractional citizenship is enough. We want full citizenship now."

Their determination to win full citizenship has unquestionably confronted the country with its most serious domestic crisis since the Civil War. When the non-violent Negro revolt reached its peak this summer, it surprised millions of white Americans with its fervor and force. But it scarcely can be said to have happened overnight. The sit-ins and the Freedom Rides, Greensboro and Albany are proof enough of that. Furthermore, the revolt was not brought about by the formal decision of any single, organized group. Thousands of Negroes in thousands of hamlets, towns and cities, down on the farm and up in Manhattan, made an individual commitment and took an individual stand.

(To KUM) *~~Cry, the Beloved Country~~, Scribner's, New York, 19

They, in turn, inflamed and inspired others to go and do likewise. And if their struggle for individual liberty and a right to their own self-respect has given them a new self-confidence, it has also given the nation a new image of the Negro: Uncle Tom has turned into Tom Paine, and Ole Black Joe has finally gone from dis earth, leaving Lucas Beauchamp to take his place.

In an address at Radcliffe Alumnae College on June 14, 1963, Miss Pauli Murray, a Yale Law School Tutor, presented a frank and forthright evaluation of the issues facing the American people in the centennial year of the battle of Gettysburg. This, in part, is what she said:

> By now, it must be clear to all of us that for the second time in our Nation's history, we stand on the threshold of a major decision on human rights of the most fundamental character. In 1963 it has been forcefully brought home to us that our Nation cannot endure with fractional degrees of equality or citizenship. The right to human dignity is indivisible....
>
> The central issue...is human dignity -- the inherent rights of free men and women. This issue is not merely the American dream: it is the foundation of our society. We cannot re-affirm too often the principle upon which our Nation stands or falls...
>
> There is a growing national concensus that racial discrimination is essentially a moral problem. If so, it must be attacked at the moral as well as legal level. Non-violent direct action is based upon the conviction that in social conflict, the power of the spirit is stronger and more enduring than the power of force in a physical contest....
>
> The wider significance of these non-violent demonstrations by Negroes and their white supporters is that they have brought together two revolutionary ideas: the equality of the rights of man and the assertion of those rights through a spiritually and morally powerful non-violent technique. They are out-pacing the application of the law and making a creative contribution to rapid social change with a minimum of violence. Historians may well record this as one of the important social developments of the 20th century. Non-violence has filled the vacuum between the declaration and the implementation of fundamental law.

While non-violence is undeniably "one of the important social developments" of this century, and while non-violent protest has been one of the Negroe's most effective weapons in his fight for full citizenship, non-violence alone will not solve the racial problem anymore than boycotts, the ballot, or brotherhood will or even a combination of all four. Once the white imposition of inequality on Negroes has been removed, the Negro revolution will be over. Once that revolution is over, the real reconstruction must begin. It will not be an easy undertaking.

Having been kept down for so many generations, the Negro masses must be taught how to stand up. Having been given an inferior education and inferior jobs, they must be taught to master the tools, the skills, and the competition of an urbanized, increasingly automized society. In sum, the nation and the Negro face the staggering responsibility of curing the illnesses of ignorance, of righting the wrongs of educational and economic inequality. At best, the victory of the civil rights movement can only be regarded as a beginning and a means. The end will still have to be attained, and there is only one way to attain it: through reforms that will cure those perennial social plagues of any deprived and downtrodden minority-poverty, unemployment, poor housing, poor education, poor medical care, and lack of opportunity.

Thus, far few Americans have concerned themselves with the problems of reconstruction that will inevitably arise as the Negro revolt passes into history. But this cannot be said of Loren Miller, Los Angeles civil rights attorney and publisher of the California Eagle, one of the country's oldest Negro newspapers. In the June 29, 1963 issue of the Nation, Miller faced head-on the problem of bringing eighteen million Negroes into the mainstream of American life after nearly two centuries of isolation and inequality. His conclusion to the piece, which was titled "Freedom Now -- What Later?", is worth repeating:

> We are back where we began. The nation has been given a second chance to solve the problem that Abraham Lincoln proclaimed with the Emancipation Proclamation a hundred years ago: that of constructing a social order to replace an old one swept away when Negroes burst out of isolation and sought admission to the American body politic. We muffled the first chance and consigned Negroes to a new, and in some ways more galling, isolation.

> That first failure has haunted us ever since. Its consequences have become intolerable. We will achieve only half-success this time if we settle back and accept civil rights victory as an end in itself. Foresight and planning can transmute that victory into a means for construction of a commonwealth as good as imperfect humans can build.

Since "Freedom Now" is still not completely achieved, "What Then" remains to be seen. What then indeed for the ~~for the~~ white Southerner as ~~the~~ well as the Negro Southerner? Perhaps the best answer that can be made at the present time was made long before the present time by a North Carolina newspaperman named W. J. Cash. He closed his now classic commentary on The Mind of The South with these words:

> In the coming days, and probably soon, [the South] is likely to have to prove its capacity for adjustment far beyond what has been true in the past. And in that time I shall hope, as its loyal son, that its virtues will tower over and conquer its faults and have the making of the Southern world to come. But of the future I shall venture no definite prophecies. It would be a brave man who would venture them in any case. It would be a madman who would venture them in the face of the forces sweeping over the world in the fateful year of 1940.

It would take equal bravery -- or equal madness -- for a man to venture any definite prophecies in the face of the forces sweeping over the South, the nation, and the world in this, the fateful year of 1963.

-ENDIT-

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Applying the arrest-and-jail tactics employed by the Jackson police during the freedom rides of the previous year, Chief Pritchett kept law and order in Albany, thereby earning national praise for what one state official hailed as "the number one job of law enforcement in recent Georgia history." But, as Zinn pointed out, he did this "by putting into prison every man, woman, or child" who joined peacefully protesting against racial discrimination. By Labor Day, when the 1962 mass demonstrations drew to a climax, the number arrested totalled more than 1,100. If not as large in number, there were to be additional demonstrations and additional arrests in Albany during the spring and summer of 1963.

Yet for all their protest and sacrifice, for all their passion and courage, the Negroes of Albany have not as yet prevailed in their long, bitter battle for equal rights. True, the transportation terminals have been desegregated, and the city library opened to Negroes as well as whites, though only on a "take-out" basis. True, too, the city in early 1963 dropped all its segregation ordinances, but, in the words of Chief Pritchett himself, "Albany is just as segregated as ever."

In a recent New Republic article titled "Epilogue in Albany," Atlanta newsman Reese Claghorn described the south Georgia city of 37,000 whites and 23,000 Negroes as "a monument to white supremacy," one representing "at once the triumph of sophisticated segregation and the low point for the mass demonstration in this, the decade of mass demonstrations." He also cited the "caustic evaluation" of Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southeastern regional NAACP director: "Albany was successful only if the goal was to go to jail."

This view of the Albany campaign was not shared by Martin Luther King, Jr., who made this statement to Claghorn: "There is still a great deal of work to be done in Albany. However, I think it must be said that we have achieved something. We have made it possible for the leaders of Albany to confront segregation and the Negroes of Albany have been made more aware. This movement gave a new sense of dignity and destiny to the Negro citizens of Albany. For this reason, Albany can never be the same again. Negroes have straightened their backs, and you can never dump your load until you have straightened your back."

Insert what we see now but not of what we see

See insert

In Claghorn's opinion, "the chief hope for change, in structure if not in spirit, lies now in court action, which was neglected in the first frenzy of the demonstrations." But court action, like so much else in Albany, has worked both ways, both for the Negroes and against them.

For example, on August 12, 1963, the last day of a court-ordered deadline, the Doughterty County Board of Education submitted a proposal to begin desegregating public schools in Albany on a grade-a-year basis, beginning with the first grade in 1964. Three days earlier, however, the president and two other members of the Albany Movement had been charged with obstructing justice in indictments returned by a federal grand jury in Macon. Six others active in the Albany protest campaign, including Slater H. King, acting president of the movement, were charged with perjuring themselves before the grand jury.

a recent court action?

Insert Albany, P. 3, Following Grafs 3

Negroes may have straightened their backs in Albany, but any assessment of the direct action campaign there to date adds up to a minus in terms of tangible results. As Charles Wittenstein, director of the American Jewish Committee in the Southeast, has commented, "if lunch counter desegregation marks the high water mark of direct action by use of picketing and boycotting, then Albany, Ga. represents its low water mark--indeed, its most dismal failure." It should be noted, however, that Albany has had an intangible influence on other Georgia cities, notably Macon and Brunswick, an influence best summed up in the phrase, "we don't want another Albany here." Accordingly, these cities have adopted a successful policy of negotiated desegregation.

In Cleghorn's opinion, "the chief hope for change, in structure if not in spirit," in Albany "lies now in court action, which was neglected in the first frenzy of the demonstrations." And, indeed, there is some evidence to support this view.

For example, on August 12, 1963, the last day of a court-ordered deadline, the Dougherty County Board of education submitted a proposal to begin desegregating public schools in Albany on a grade-a-year basis, beginning with the first grade, in 1964.

But if court action can work in favor of Albany's Negroes, it can also work against them, as happened three days before Dougherty County brought forth a school desegregation plan. On August 9 the president and two other members of the Albany Movement were charged with obstructing justice in indictments returned by a federal grand jury in Macon. Six others active in the Albany protest campaign, including Slater H. King,

acting president of the movement, were [redacted] charged with perjuring themselves before the grand jury. The charges stemmed from a boycott campaign organized [redacted] against an Albany supermarket in April 1963, because its owner as a juror had voted against a Negro in a federal civil [redacted] suit. The store, which had a predominantly Negro trade, closed [redacted] following the boycott. The [redacted] defendants are expected to go on trial in October.

The case has aroused considerable controversy since the indictments are the first of their kind to emerge from the hundreds of racial demonstrations in the South. The contrast between the Justice Department's [redacted] inaction during the [redacted] demonstrations of 1962, when a Negro attorney was beaten over the head with a wooden cane by the white sheriff of Dougherty County, and its 1963 action in bringing charges against leaders of the Albany Movement has been bitterly [redacted] noted by civil rights groups. [redacted] It was also noted editorially by the Atlanta Journal: [redacted]

> [redacted] The Justice Department in the past usually has acted as if it could forget Albany. Although the federal government has clear authority in cases involving conspiracy to deny constitutional rights, the department has never moved against any such denials in Albany.

PICK UP GRAF #1 on P. 4

The charges stemmed from a boycott campaign organized against an Albany supermarket in April, 1963, because its owner as a juror had voted against a Negro in a federal civil suit. The store, which had a predominately Negro trade, closed following the boycott. The defendants are expected to go on trial in October. ~~The prospects of such a trial could scarcely be less pleasing for the future of the Albany Movement, whatever the verdict brought in.~~

Thus almost three years of Negro protest in Albany have so far resulted in little more than a stalemate; it has been a period of tragedy rather than triumph, of frustration rather than fulfillment. Nevertheless, there can now be little doubt ~~now~~ that white supremacy in Albany, as in all the Deep South, is making its last stand. Nor can there now be any question about Albany's place in the history of the direct action movement in mid-twentieth century America; it is a place alongside Montgomery, Greensboro, and Birmingham.

The historical importance of what happened in Albany was [redacted] ~~accurately~~ summed up by the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, executive Assistant to Martin Luther King, Jr., in his article, "Albany, Failure or First Step?", which appeared in the June 1963 issue of New South magazine. Walker wrote:

> The Albany Movement is unique in our history, and in the course of the Negro's non-violent uprising for two reasons. First, the Albany Negroes assaulted the entire system of segregation, an attack unprecedented in the Negro push. Second, they united -- Negro janitors, domestics, ditch-diggers, cultivated educators and prosperous business and professional people - in legal, peaceful demonstrations, jail sentences, boycott, and other perilous techniques. Thus the Albany Movement, for the first time, represented a whole [author's italics] Negro community, including children, who were jailed....

If Albany's Negroes set a precedent by making the first all-out attack by an entire Negro community against an entire system of segregation, they also unveiled the pattern ~~&&&~~ of things to come. "If the country must be prepared for the possibility of other Oxfords," SRC ~~Executive Director, Leslie W. Dunbar~~ warned in ~~his~~ the introduction to Zinn's study of Albany, "it needs to be prepared for the likelihood -- almost the certainty -- of other Albanys."

The other Albanys were not long in coming, and when they did, they came with the force and suddeness of a cloudburst. Moreover, they came not just in the South but across the length and breadth of the land, not just in ones and twos but in the hundreds. And with their coming in the centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, the American dilemma became a great deal more than the title of a book most Americans had never bothered to read. In 1963, it became the nation's number one topic of concern and its solution the nation's number one topic of controversy.

BIRMINGHAM AND BEYOND

> The natural yearning to attain the full status of man, a full and deserving partner in the grand and guarded experiment called democracy, this can be said to be the real and sincere desire of America's problem minority: the Negro.
>
> --Lewis W. White, a young Negro school teacher reared and educated in Birmingham

It was early Sunday morning, May 12, 1963. From a cluttered hotel room in Birmingham, a reporter for one of the nation's most respected newspapers phoned a member of the Justice Department in Washington and described the havoc he had witnessed on the city's streets just a few hours before. When he finished speaking, the Justice Department official asked, "What does it mean?" The reporter's reply was brief, but there was no doubt about the seriousness in his voice as he said: "Go back and read James Baldwin again. This is the fire next time."

The riots which convulsed Birmingham during the night of May 11-12 may indeed have seemed to be the proof of Baldwin's eloquent but frightening prediction of what could happen if Negro bitterness and belligerence continued to fester and spread; they were certainly a tragic [redacted] climax to the PROLONGED [redacted] mass demonstration CAMPAIGN in the city often called "the Johannesburg of the South."

The immediate cause of the riots was ~~, of course,~~ the almost simultaneous bombing of a Negro motel and the home of Martin Luther King's brother late Saturday night, May 11. The bombings were the last straw for Birmingham Negroes. With their nerves and emotions already strained to the breaking point by mass arrests, hosings, and police dog attacks, it was hardly surprising that some of them (of an anything but non-violent persuasion) should, on this particular occasion, reply in kind ~~&~~ to white violence.

The May 11-12 riots had been preceded ~~by five weeks of demonstrations~~ by Negroes against segregation, five weeks in which the demonstrations steadily increased both in volume and in violence. The demonstrations, which began April 3 with a few quiet sit-ins at downtown lunch counters, were broken up again and again by Birmingham's finest, the police force headed by outgoing city commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor.

But day after day, hundreds of Negroes continued to throng into downtown Birmingham, chanting "march, march, march for freedom." And day after day, the situation grew more explosive.

Finally on May 4, at the urging of both white and Negro leaders in Birmingham, Burke Marshall, chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, flew in from Washington and began a series of conferences. They resulted in the much publicized "Birmingham truce" of May 10. Under the terms of this agreement, desegregation of some downtown lunch counters and public facilities was promised "within 90 days," an upgrading of Negro employees was to be made within 60 days, and all Negroes then in jail were to be released under nominal bail or on their own recognizance. The truce was scarcely satisfactory to all--many Negroes felt it offered too little and many whites thought it promised too much--but it did bring an end to the demonstrations. Recent events in the steel center of the South indicate, however, that the city's racial troubles are far from solved. At the moment, there are no sure answers to the question, "what will happen next in Birmingham?"

A more important question, and one much debated in recent months, is this: what did the prolonged pretest campaign in Birmingham mean for the Negro, the South, and the nation? For one thing, it surely meant the beginning of the end of Negro patience with the installment plan system of acquiring equal rights; "all, here, now" is no empty slogan but rather a battle cry. For another, it meant the opening of a new and possibly final chapter in the history of the direct action movement. Above all,

it meant that the nation could no longer ignore the needs, evade the demands, and shut out the voices of its citizens. A good summation of the meaning of Birmingham was made recently by the man most responsible for what happened there, namely Martin Luther King, Jr.

"Birmingham," he wrote in the July [redacted] SCLC Newsletter, "will surely mark a watershed in the history of the non-violent revolution in America. No civil rights thrust of the Negro community in our nation has so completely captured the attention and sympathy of public opinion. No single instance of non-violent direct action has prompted such widespread parallel activity....Never before has the federal government evinced the serious concern it now manifests [redacted] in...grappling with the American dilemma of race and color prejudice. No moment of history has [redacted] focused its attention on the Negro as the key figure of the American scene today...."

If King's view of Birmingham could not be considered that of an unbiased observer, neither could it be dismissed as pure propaganda. Evidence abounded everywhere that Birmingham had orbited the racial problem into a new stratosphere--more heated, more explosive, more dangerous. New demonstrations, some marked by outbreaks of violence, spread [redacted] to every corner of the South, ~~sprang up~~ flared up anew [redacted] in cities like Greensboro, Atlanta, Nashville and Savannah, which complacently assumed their token concessions during the sit-ins had placated Negro demands, and even fanned out across the Mason-Dixon line into the urban centers [redacted] of the North. "Wherever the problem festered," reported Newsweek in late May, [redacted] "the name of Birmingham

was invoked as a warning, a symbol, and an epithet."

Birmingham not only set off a wave of demonstrations; it also introduced a new kind of demonstration. Rather than marching by the hundreds, Negroes in Birmingham marched by the thousands. Rather than coming out to protest all at once in a one-shot demonstration, the marchers came in wave-after-wave, day-after-day, week-after-week. Rather than relying on adults alone, leaders of the Birmingham campaign deployed school children by the hundreds. Before it was all over, the police had arrested more than 2,500 demonstrators, most of them teen-agers, some as young as six and seven-years-old.

The strategy of sending teen-age children and younger out to march in demonstrations has been strongly criticized by many observers of the Birmingham campaign. The exposure of children to fire hoses and police dogs, jails and juvenile detention homes, was, these critics have contended, highly dangerous, particularly since most were not skilled in the techniques of non-violent protest. That is undoubtedly true. But however dangerous the risks and however unskilled the children, their experiences at the hands of Bull Connor's police won them millions of ARDENT supporters. The photographs of a police dog leaping at a Negro teen-ager, of teen-age girls being pressed against a wall by water from a hose that Connor claimed could strip the bark from a tree, of young children being hustled off to jail, these shocked and stirred the world. More than anyone, the Negro children of Birmingham set off the explosion of emotion that swept the country.

The demonstrations provoked by events in Birmingham

differed from those of 1960 in their magnitude, their impatience and their impact. Where the 1960 sit-ins had inspired Negro students and many of their elders in the South, the 1963 protest in Birmingham fired the imagination of Negroes throughout America. Where Negro community involvement had been seen occasionally in 1960 (e. g., Nashville, Orangeburg, S. C.), in 1963 it was seen everywhere, from Danville to Detroit, from Charleston to Chicago. No longer could white moderates expect Negroes to swallow the bromide of "partial freedom gradually;" in 1963 Negroes were loud and implacably insistent in their demand for "full freedom now."

The extent of the 1963 Negro protest movement was underscored by a Justice Department report issued at the beginning of August. It disclosed that there had been 758 demonstrations in 186 cities in the ten weeks since the Birmingham truce of May 10, 199 of them having taken place ~~in the single week before President Kennedy's press conference of August 1.~~ in the last week of July. Some indication of the size of these demonstrations could be seen in the number of arrests. Between April 3 and June 24, in eleven southern states alone, there were an estimated 10,420 arrests; between June 24 and July 24, in the same states, an estimated 1,323 additional arrests were made; between July 24 and August 28, 2,043 more arrests. Comparing these arrest figures for a ~~four-month~~ five-month period of 1963 with those of the period of February 1, 1960-September 1, 1960, when the number of arrests was estimated to have been 3,600, is somewhat like comparing a torrential downpour to a light drizzle.

The overall effect of this raging epidemic of demonstrations

why quote? see over

impossible to determine precisely.

was, ~~the New York Times pointed out in its August 11 "News of the Week" section, "impossible to measure precisely.~~ The Justice Department ~~says that~~ reported in early August that there has been 'improvement' in 319 cities in the 11 states of the Old Confederacy plus four border states. An SRC summary of newspaper reports through AUGUST 28 showed "some desegregation" in 98 cities in eleven southern states.

King's mention of the "serious concern" of the federal government over the race problem (see above) was no exaggeration. The Birmingham crisis coupled with the wave of demonstrations elsewhere and the possibility of another Oxford at the University of Alabama (which, fortunately, did not materialize) caused the Kennedy administration to take an unequivocal stand on the civil rights issue. That stand took its most dramatic form in the President's call for ~~major~~ legislation against segregation. The debate over this legislation promised to be as bitter as those over slavery more than a century ago. In the end, however, Congress was expected to pass the 1963 civil rights bill, although the fate of the controversial public accommodations section was highly uncertain.

As the long, hectic summer of 1963 drew to a close, the civil rights crisis was a long way from being resolved. But the upsurge of Negro discontent had at least awakened the nation to the gravity of the race problem and the urgency for a solution to it. Even so, the path of future progress remained uncharted and the end remained unknown. Much, it was true, had been done to mitigate the problem, but much more would still have to be done if the ~~American~~ Negro Americans were ~~was~~ to receive a full, fair share of those blessings of liberty which most white Americans have long taken for granted. In short, the second ordeal of the union was far from over.

September is still Summer. watch it!

It'll be September, and probably well into it, by the time this report comes out.

In the most part, the occurrence in the West South
& the Southeastern, once again, I have been apart
of day South, about 1000 miles, I needed, but the most
talking about?

Charleston - Savannah (Oct. 1),
Columbus - Birmingham - Anderson,
Montgomery - Macon County, Calhoun,
Baton Rouge - Athens -
etc.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

> No one wishes to make the problem seem smaller than it is. No one wishes to make its solution seem easy. No one wishes to make light of the fears that beset us. But whether we be fearful or no, we shall never, because we are a Christian people, be able to evade the moral issues. It is time--
>
> --Alan Paton*

Just as present-day historians cite the summer of 1863 as the turning point of the American Civil War, so, it seems virtually certain, future historians will cite the summer of 1963 as the turning point of the American civil rights struggle. The issues involved in this struggle, as in the Civil War, are legal, economic, and political; most of all, they are moral. The alternatives may not be those of the Civil War -- indivisible union or irreparable separation -- but they are no less stark and serious: total equality or total repression. For it is no longer a matter of what ~~the American~~ Negro Americans deserve in the eyes of ~~American~~ white Americans; it is a matter of what [redacted] Negroes intend to get, and they have announced what that is again and again: "One hundred years of fractional citizenship is enough. We want full citizenship now." [redacted]

Their determination to win full citizenship has unquestionably confronted the country with its most serious domestic crisis since the ~~Civil War~~ depression. When the non-violent Negro revolt reached its peak this summer, it surprised millions of white Americans with its fervor and force. But it scarcely can be said to have happened overnight. The sit-ins and the Freedom Rides, Greensboro and Albany, are proof enough of that. Furthermore, the revolt was not brought about by the formal decision of any single, organized group. Thousands of Negroes in ~~thousands~~ hundreds of hamlets, towns and cities, down on the farm and up in Manhattan, made an individual commitment and took an individual stand.

SCLC decided to grant Birmingham

that's one incident, but what about Greensboro, Albany, Danville, Farmville, etc., etc.

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*Cry, the Beloved Country, Scribner's, New York, 19

(To KUM)

They, in turn, inflamed and inspired others to go and do likewise. And if their struggle for individual liberty and a right to their own self-respect has given them a new self-confidence, it has also given the nation a new ~~image~~ view of the Negro: Uncle Tom has turned into Tom Paine, and Ole Black Joe has finally gone from dis earth, leaving ~~Lucas Beauchamp~~ James Meredith to take his place.

In an address at Radcliffe Alumnae College on June 14, 1963, Miss Pauli Murray, a Yale Law School Tutor, presented a frank and forthright evaluation of the issues facing the American people in the centennial year of the battle of Gettysburg. This, in part, is what she said:

> ~~By now, it must be clear to all of us that for the second time in our Nation's history, we stand on the threshold of a major decision on human rights of the most fundamental character. In 1963 it has been forcefully brought home to us that our Nation cannot endure with fractional degrees of equality or citizenship. The right to human dignity is indivisible...~~
>
> ~~The central issue...is human dignity -- the inherent rights of free men and women. This issue is not merely the American dream: it is the foundation of our society. We cannot re-affirm too often the principle upon which our Nation stands or falls...~~
>
> There is a growing national consensus that racial discrimination is essentially a moral problem. If so, it must be attacked at the moral as well as legal level. Non-violent direct action is based upon the conviction that in social conflict, the power of the spirit is stronger and more enduring than the power of force in a physical contest....
>
> The wider significance of these non-violent demonstrations by Negroes and their white supporters is that they have brought together two revolutionary ideas: the equality of the rights of man and the assertion of those rights through a spiritually and morally powerful non-violent technique. They are out-pacing the application of the law and making a creative contribution to rapid social change with a minimum of violence. Historians may well record this as one of the important social developments of the 20th century. Non-violence has filled the vacuum between the declaration and the implementation of fundamental law.

The power of a non-violent protest demonstration to move the minds and hearts of men, to show [redacted] how "the power of the spirit" can be "stronger and more enduring than the power of force," was dramatically brought home to the 90 million Americans who watched the television coverage of the August 28 "March on Washington." An almost majestic display of peaceful protest, the march from the Washington [redacted] Monument to the Lincoln Memorial was, also, in the words of New Republic writer Murray Kempton, "the largest religious pilgrimage of Americans that any of us is ever likely to see."

Twenty-one years earlier, Gunnar Myrdal had written in his book, An American Dilemma, that Negro Americans "have not lost their belief that the American Creed will come out on top." The March on Washington was, above all, a reaffirmation of that belief.

The Washington marchers left the nation's [redacted] capital as quietly and peacefully as they came, and a great debate immediately began over what they had accomplished. The nation's conscience had been touched, but how deeply and how decisively was still undetermined. Southern Congressmen contended that the marchers had accomplished nothing so far as winning any new votes for the President's [redacted] civil [redacted] rights bill was concerned, but that remained to be seen. Negro leaders claimed that the March marked a "new beginning" for the [redacted] Negro protest movement, but that claim seemed somewhat exaggerated.

It did seem certain, however, that Congress would eventually pass a new civil [redacted] rights measure, even though no one could foretell the fate of the controversial public accomodations

bill. It seemed [redacted] equally certain, too, that the drive for Negro rights would be intensified, but with greater [redacted] emphasis on voter registration campaigns, boycotts, and job training programs and less on street demonstrations (particularly since many of the summer demonstrators had to return to school in September).

Whatever the weapons employed [redacted] by Negroes in their continuing fight for full citizenship, whatever the power of non-violent demonstrations, of boycotts, the ballot, or brotherhood, the mere end of segregation and discrimination will not mean the "New World A' Comin'" has arrived at last. Once the last white imposition of inequality on Negroes has been removed, the Negro revolution will be over. Once that revolution is over, the real reconstruction must begin. It will not be an easy undertaking.

Having been kept down for so many generations, the Negro masses must learn ~~be taught~~ how to stand up. Having been given an inferior education and inferior jobs, they must ~~be taught to~~ master the tools, the skills, and the competition of an urbanized, increasingly automatized ~~automated~~ society. In sum, the nation and US NEGROES [redacted] face the staggering responsibility of curing the illnesses of ignorance, of righting the wrongs of educational and economic inequality. At best, the victory of the civil rights movement can only be regarded as a beginning and a means. The end will still have to be attained, and there is only one way to attain it: through reforms that will cure those perennial social plagues of any deprived and downtrodden minority-poverty, unemployment, poor housing, poor education, poor medical care, and lack of opportunity.

Thus, far few Americans have concerned themselves with the problems of reconstruction that will inevitably arise as the Negro revolt passes into history. But this cannot be said of Loren Miller, Los Angeles civil rights attorney and publisher of the California Eagle, one of the country's oldest Negro newspapers. In the June 29, 1963 issue of the Nation, Miller discussed [redacted] the problem of bringing some 18 [redacted] million Negroes into the mainstream of American life after nearly two centuries of isolation and inequality. His conclusion to the piece, which was titled "Freedom Now -- But THEN What [redacted]?", is worth repeating:

> We are back where we began. The nation has been given a second chance to solve the problem that Abraham Lincoln proclaimed with the Emancipation Proclamation a hundred years ago: that of constructing a social order to replace an old one swept away when Negroes burst out of isolation and sought admission to the American body politic. We muffled the first chance and consigned Negroes to a new, and in some ways more galling, isolation.

P. 4.

> That first failure has haunted us ever since. Its consequences have become intolerable. We will achieve only half-success this time if we settle back and accept civil rights victory as an end in itself. Foresight and planning can transmute that victory into a means for construction of a commonwealth as good as imperfect humans can build.

Since "Freedom Now" is still not attained, "What [redacted] Then" is difficult to predict. But it is clear that the problems confronting Negro Americans are problems that confront all Americans, that the solution of Negro problems can be achieved [redacted] only by the solution of pressing national problems--the problems of periodic economic depression, prolonged unemployment, inadequate schools, and worse housing [redacted] that blight American affluence today.

Thus it may well be in finding a solution for the American dilemma, the nation will find a new [redacted] opportunity for greatness. Thus it may well be that in the process of freeing themselves, Negro Americans will bring about "a new birth of freedom" for all Americans.

"We talk about ourselves these days," Walter Lippmann observed a few years ago, "as if we were a completed society, one which has [redacted] achieved its purposes and has no further great business to transact." Perhaps the greatest and most lasting achievement of the Negro protest movement will prove to be this: that it made an affluent society recognize that it was still an [redacted] imperfect society, with all its purposes by no means achieved and with much great business still to be transacted in that never-finished business of democracy.

And [redacted] in retrospect, what began as an attempt to get a

to get a cup of coffee in a segregated drugstore in a segregated [redacted] North Carolina town at 4:30 p. m. on February 15, 1960 ~~the first day of the second month of 1960~~ can now [redacted] be seen as the beginning of an [redacted] historic movement of protest and power that was ultimately destined to sweep America [redacted] "from sea to shining sea." In prospect, that movement may be destined to achieve the realization of the American dream, the dream described by a southern Baptist minister on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington [redacted] late in the afternoon of a longest day that, like one in June 1944, will never be forgotten. It is the [redacted] kind of dream that Katherine Lee Bates had in mind when she wrote:

"Oh beautiful for patriot dream
That sees beyond the years,
Thine alabaster cities gleam
Undimmed by human tears.

"America, America!
God shed His grace on thee,
And crown [redacted] thy good with brotherhood,
From sea to shining sea."

-30-

1795

no street barricades...and, with remarkably few exceptions, initiate no violence." But just as the French revolutionists had a rallying song, Le Marseillaise, so the American Negroes have theirs. Again, though, it is unique for a song of revolution, something described by New Yorker writer Katherine T. Kinkead as "a now mournful, now serene piece called 'We Shall Overcome.'"

The Negroes still have not completely overcome their foes of ignorance, intolerance, and injustice, but there is now no doubt about the outcome of the struggle: the Birmingham campaign and Alabama Governor George Wallace's burlesque of a last stand at Tuscaloosa are proof enough of that. The walls have not come tumbling down yet; nontheless, their loud cracking and steady crumbling can be heard throughout the land.

Why, with all the odds, with virtually all the powers of southern states and local governments, against them, have the Negroes succeeded so well in their revolt against Jim Crow? Why, when beaten, jeered, jailed, even murdered, have the Negroes (with very few exceptions) not retaliated with the viciousness of violence? Why, in the face of incredible persecutions and countless dangers, have these homegrown rebels seldom lost their heads, muchless heart?

Dedication to a cause [redacted] (is certainly) one reason for their courage and determination. A strong religious conviction [redacted] (is) another. And while both have had an influence, perhaps the simplest explanation--and the principal reason--for the success of the Negro revolt is just this: it is non-violent.

The concept of using non-violent means to achieve justifiable ends did not, of course, spring fresh born from the brain of Martin Luther King, Jr. Thoreau, and Tolstoi were staunch apostles of the gospel of peaceful civil disobedience, though neither ever won many converts. The man who actually

why make its parallel? The French Revolution ended.

Prince Edward? Albany? Jackson?

Because the counter-revolutionary opinion was on their side?

did Birmingham "succeed" because of non-violence

I do not know that I know tonight non-violence!

See Thoreau's essay

PAGE (s) MISSING

shaped the concept of non-violence into a militant creed was Mahatma Gandi.

In so doing, he introduced a new kind of warfare, one which denounced hate and hostility in favor of using non-violent tactics such as mass, peaceful demonstrations against injustices. As Washington used musket and powder to win America's independence from Britain, so Ghandi employed satyagraha (the name given his movement of non-violent, noncooperative protest) to do the same for India. Satyagraha has since been exported to America, where it is proving equally effective as a weapon in a people's struggle to win their rights.

The highlights of that struggle are the subject of this report. For by looking back to see what has been attempted and what accomplished by the non-violent direct action movement thus far, one may be able to discern some of the problems and prospects facing the movement in the years ahead. By analyzing and assessing what has happened, one can, it is hoped, speculate about what may happen.

how define?

This much seems certain, however, wherever the future may lead: ~~the direct action movement~~ the Negro revolt will go on until, and at long last, there is an America whose practices are one the same with its promises to all citizens.

how can we be sure?

"But why," many white Americans have asked and still ask, "why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches and demonstrations? Why not negotiation instead?" This is how Martin Luther King, Jr. replied to such questions in his Letter from Birmingham Jail:

> You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Non-violent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored.

do we agree with this reply?

have carried their crusade for freedom into the streets, the squares and the centers of American life, 4 and

Since early 1960, the issue, that of Negro rights, has been dramatized in so many southern towns and cities that only a latter-day Rip Van Winkle could possibly have missed it A people ~~long dozile suddenly~~ sprung to action and their roar of protest ~~was seen~~ has been heard ~~across the globe~~ around the world, from Jackson to Jakarta, from Memphis to Moscow.

have

weary in action 1954-60,

FIVE WHO MADE A REVOLUTION: THE NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

> ...they are involved in the only belief
> that matters: that life begins tomorrow.
>
> --Kenneth Tynan*

At the time of the Greensboro sit-in of 1960, four Negro organizations were active in the civil rights field. They were respectively:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The oldest (founded Feb. 12, 1909), largest, and best-known civil rights organization, the NAACP ~~had fought its most important battles for the Negro cause in the nation's courts, achieving its greatest victory in 1954 when the Supreme Court outlawed the doctrine of "separate but equal." Its purpose: to end all racial discrimination and segregation in all public aspects of American life.~~

you did not take, much more, and where other may be covered for reviewing by editor

The National Urban League. Founded in 1910, the Urban League concerned itself with job training and social welfare programs for Negroes, providing research and planning guidance to other Negro groups. Its purpose, as described by its present executive director Whitney Young, Jr: "We...do an action research job--the sort of job that not merely identifies the extent of poor housing, unemployment and general social disorganization; but a research which concerns itself with community attitudes towards these social ills."

he was not director in 1960

The Congress of Racial Equality. Organized in 1942, CORE was formed by a group of Negroes and whites who believed that ~~legalism~~ legal action was not sufficient to win the battle against segregation; it first ~~[illegible]~~ tried the sit-in technique that year at a Chicago restaurant. Its purpose: to bring equality of opportunity in all spheres of American life, regardless of race.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Martin Luther King, Jr. brought SCLC ~~or SLICK~~ into being at New Orleans in 1957, and he was chiefly responsible for keeping it alive in the years

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*Curtains, Atheneum, New York, 1961. Tynan was describing "The Angry Young Movement" in Great Britain, but his description could well apply to those in the civil rights movement of this country.

that followed. ~~Its purpose: to achieve full citizenship rights and the integration of the Negro in all aspects of life.~~

~~As can easily be seen,~~ There was little difference in the ultimate goals of these Negro organizations. Nor was there any disagreement over the idea of using non-violent means to attain justifiable ends. But there were differences about how far, how fast, and in what direction the drive for equal rights should move.

The NAACP looked largely to the courts, boycotts, and the ballot to bring about a redress of grievances, while the Urban League sought progress through biracial consultation and cooperation. Since they felt ~~legalism~~ legal action was too slow and uncertain and Negro voters in the South too few, CORE and SCLC, on the other hand, advocated a more militant program of mass direct action, of moving out of the courtrooms and committee chambers and into the streets.

The student movement that swept the South in 1960 was, in the opinion of Louis Lomax, "a clear-cut vindication for the proponents of direct and mass action." But, as August Meier subsequently noted in his review of Lomax's book*, "the students looked to the NAACP and other adult leaders for financial and legal aid." Furthermore, Meier pointed out, "the NAACP [had] moved into direct action--and far more than Lomax is willing to admit....The most noted example was the successful demonstrations of the Oklahoma City Youth Council in 1958-1959." And despite the rivalry which arose between the NAACP and the Young Turk groups as the movement developed, the older organization continued to provide cash and counsel to sit-inners, picketers, and others arrested for participating in protest demonstrations.

The youngest of the Young Turk groups ~~with which the NAACP both competed and cooperated (competition and cooperation are~~

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*"The Revolt Against the NAACP: A Critical Appraisal of Louis E. Lomax's The Negro Revolt," Journal of Negro Education, Spring 1963.

Probably went to Mississippi in Spring - Detail - 1961, a year after founding. He was, Detail, the first. See over

role of SCLC in founding?

~~the Siamese twins of a social action movement, as any student of the New Deal era can testify)~~ was founded at Shaw University in Raleigh, N. C., during the Easter Weekend of 1960 (April 15-17). This was the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, (SNCC), which subsequently established its headquarters in Atlanta. Its purpose: to create a new society through non-violent efforts. Operating on a shoestring budget, ~~with a tiny staff and an equally~~ out of a cluttered and tiny office (which struck one newspaperman as being "like a command post on D-Day"), SNCC ~~or SNICK, as it is commonly called,~~ ~~was soon sending~~ has sent its shock troops into such segregationist strongholds as Southwest Georgia and the Mississippi Delta. ~~The~~ Some of the older civil rights ~~organizations~~ leaders were often aghast at ~~SNICK~~ SNCC's seemingly reckless bravado, but they could not help admiring its determination to persevere and prevail, often in the face of almost insurmountable white opposition.

today's longest staff jail

really?

CORE too?

If there were and are differences of policy and, ~~&&&&&&&&~~ personality, ~~among what Time magazine has called "the Big Five in Civil Rights,"~~ ~~their~~ alliance with agencies has, in spite of everything, survived; if uneasy at times, it has nonetheless remained unbreakable. Indeed, it could be argued that ~~the~~ rivalries there are ~~between the Big Five~~ have done more to advance than to obstruct the progress of the civil rights movement. ~~For one thing, interagency~~ competition has given the Negro groups a better understanding of each other, and this, in turn, has ultimately resulted in conciliations and compromises which have produced a more consolidated strategy. The NAACP, for example, has acknowledged the value of mass direct action campaigns. The Young Turks, on the other hand, have recognized that court actions, boycotts, and the ballot can be weapons every bit as effective as a street demonstration. Then, too, all the organizations have learned that by coordinating their efforts, they can accomplish far more than any single group could possibly expect to by going it alone. Sometimes, however, even for a united front, the going can prove extremely rough indeed. Just how rough was illustrated by that hectic, hazardous, and ~~&&&&&&~~ heroic chapter of the Negro revolt which history will record as "the Freedom Rides of 1961."

bravery?

with the agencies

I like it.

have they? Washington, Aug. 28

SNCC at first just an alliance of local/campus groups.
Became an operating organization only after a fall 1960 conference in Atlanta, & not really for some months after that. Represents shift from local spontaneity to organized outbreaking protest?

By [redacted] 1963, 36 states had ratified the proposed 24th Amendment to the Constitution banning any tax on voting for national officers in general elections--President, Vice-President, and Congressmen. Only two more states need to ratify the ~~Amendment before it becomes~~ Amendment to make it federal law, and the U. S. constitutional change [redacted] could take place before the 1964 presidential election.

Hopes for ratification of the [redacted] anti-poll tax Amendment in [redacted] 1964 rose in late [redacted] December when it became known that ~~the amendment will~~ the amendment would be brought before a special session of the Maine legislature meeting in January. Maine rejected the proposal last year in a confused debate, but several state officials and newspaper editors ~~are optimistic about the chances for ratification~~ believe it may be ratified this winter.

If Maine should [redacted] ratify, backers of the amendment think that the 38th state to act will be Arizona, the home state of GOP [redacted] presidential aspirant Senator Barry Goldwater. One of the houses of the Arizona legislature approved the amendment last year, but it did not come to a vote in the other. Another possibility for the 38th state is South Dakota, whose legislature also meets this winter.

While the legislatures of three southern states--Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia--also meet in 1964, they are not [redacted] expected to approve the amendment. There is a ~~possibili~~ possibility, however, that the Georgia legislature may act on the measure in ~~its~~ its 1964 sessions it took no action whatever in 1963.

The anti-poll tax amendment, which ~~received~~ Congressional approval in the summer of 1962, had been introduced at every session of Congress since 1949 by Senator Spessard L. Holland, Florida Democrat who has long favored the elimination of poll taxes as a prerequisite to vote. As a member of the Florida legislature, Holland was the chief backer of the bill that repealed the poll tax in that state in [redacted] 1941.

The amendment, which had died a slow death in the Senate Judiciary Committee headed by Mississippi's James O. Eastland on all previous attempts, was brought to the floor in 1962 by adding the anti-poll tax provisions to a resolution making Alexander Hamilton's home a national monument.

The amendment has two sections. The first provides that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice-President, for electors for President or Vice-President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax." The other section provides that "the Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The amendment would affect only five southern states--Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. The poll tax remains in no other states as a prerequisite to voting.

The first southern state to abolish its poll tax was North Carolina, ~~which did so~~ in 1920. In addition to North Carolina and Florida, the other southern states which have abolished the tax are: Louisiana, in 1934; Georgia, in 1945; South Carolina, in 1951; and Tennessee, in 1953.

Illinois, the "Land of Lincoln," was the first state to ratify the anti-poll tax amendment on Nov. 14, 1962. ~~It was followed by~~ New Jersey followed on Dec. 3, 1962.

During the first six months of 1963, the amendment was ratified by 34 other states, including the border states of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia (the Oklahoma House of Representatives rejected the measure on the ground that any other course would

would amount to interference in the business of other states).

In the South, only two states have ratified the anti-poll tax amendment, Tennessee ~~did so~~ on March 21, 1963, and ~~was followed by~~ Senator Holland's home state, Florida, on April 18. The only other southern state to act on the amendment was Mississippi, which not only rejected it resoundingly but also ~~took the unnecessary step of~~ formally ~~notifying~~ and pointedly notified the federal government of its action.

In Texas, during its 1963 session, the state legislature decided to submit to Texas voters a proposed change in the state constitution repealing the poll tax voting requirement. Although Texas Governor John Connally predicted "chaos" at the 1964 general election unless Texans voted to repeal the poll tax law, ~~the repealer amendment was~~ legislature's amendment was defeated by a ~~[illegible]~~ substantial majority in a special ~~[illegible]~~ election ~~held [illegible]~~ Nov. 9, 1963.

"The Texas vote means," the Tulsa (Okla.) Tribune commented in November, ~~[illegible]~~, "that poll taxes could continue to be required in local and state elections, but if a federal anti-poll tax law goes through, any registered voter would be allowed to vote for national officials. This would be pretty awkward."

This apparently is how Texas elections would be run if the U. S. constitutional amendment is ratified and if no further state action is taken:

A ~~person~~ Texan who wanted to vote only for national candidates could go to the county tax assessor-collector and get a certificate saying "poll tax not paid." He could vote for President, Vice-President, a U. S. Senator and Congressman, but no state or local candidates, regardless of party. If he wanted to vote for the state and local candidates, then the voter would ~~[illegible]~~ continue to pay the $1.50 or $1.75 (most Texas counties charge a 25¢ fee in addition to the $1.50 state tax) poll tax. All candidates, state and national, are on the same ballot, which is likely to pose a considerable

headache for the vote counter.

In Virginia, anticipating passage of the 24th Amendment, the Byrd [redacted] Organization rallied its forces at a two-day (Nov. 18-20, 1963) special session of the General Assembly, [redacted] easily overrode ~~the opposition of~~ a bi-partisan minority, and won overwhelming approval of a plan for an [redacted] alternative to the $1.50 poll tax (which is cumulative for three years) in federal elections.

The new Virginia law permits anyone wishing to vote in federal elections, without paying the poll tax, to file a certificate of residence properly witnessed or notarized. The certificate is due six months before a general election, the same deadline imposed for poll tax payers. However, the [redacted] poll tax will still be required for state and local elections. The new law is not effective until the national amendment is ratified.

Several opponents of the law said that they would challenge the act in court. They charged that it imposes double standards for voting, one system for federal elections and another for state and local elections.

A [redacted] suit challenging the constitutionality of Virginia's poll tax law was in fact filed in the U. S. District Court in Norfolk on Nov. 29 by Evelyn Butts, prominent local Negro [redacted] civil rights proponent.

Though Mrs. Butts' petition made no reference to the [redacted] poll tax legislation enacted by the special session of the General Assembly, one of her attorneys said the new law would fall into the purview of the action since the suit is aimed at the basic premise of the [redacted] poll tax.

Mrs. Butts' suit calls for a declaratory judgement banning the [redacted] poll taxes as null and [redacted] a permanent injunction restraining enforcement of the [redacted] suit [redacted] still [redacted] awaiting court action [redacted] this writing.

In the two remaining poll tax states, Alabama and Arkansas, ~~no action has been taken either~~ have neither acted for or against the 24th Amendment or to change existing state poll tax laws in anticipation of its ratification.

In Arkansas, the state legislature did consider some new registration laws, but they were never approved. Governor Orval E. Faubus has said, however, that if the 24th Amendment is ratified, he will call a special session of the legislature to pass a new voter registration law. At the present time, Arkansas has a $1.00 annual poll tax, and a current poll tax receipt entitles one to vote. The state has no accompanying permanent registration system; the same is true of Texas.

Alabama has a permanent voter registration system tied to annual payment of a $1.50 poll tax. Persons over 45, members of the Armed Forces and Veterans are exempted from payment of the poll tax. To vote, one must have paid any delinquent poll tax for the previous year, too. Mississippi's registration system is also permanent, but a voter must present his $2.00 poll tax receipts (or exemption certificates) for the current year and the previous year to the election manager before being allowed to vote in a primary election.

If the 24th Amendment should become law this year, [redacted] principal for the States May ~~Tuesday~~ have to [redacted] allow voters additional time for registration ~~in the five poll tax states.~~ [redacted] Currently, however, poll tax payments are due on the following dates in the five states: [redacted] Alabama, February 1; Arkansas, October 1; Mississippi, February 1; Texas, January 31; and Virginia, May 2.

[redacted]

In the 1960 presidential election, this is how the five poll tax states ranked among the 50 states in the percentage of citizens of voting age who voted: Texas, 44th; Arkansas; 45th; [redacted] Virginia, 46th; Alabama, 49th; and Mississippi, 50th. The per-

Legislature would have to set deadline for payment of poll tax

THE PRICE WE PAY

June 1964

The Price We Pay...
Introduction

This publication samples the costs—chiefly money—incurred by the South's resistance to equal opportunity. Nearly all the documentation has come from the press, largely the southern press. Some other printed sources have been used.

If all expenditures and loss could be added up, the sum would be shocking. The shock is even greater if, in reading each item, one keeps in mind the many and drastic needs in the South for wise use of its public monies and resources to improve society and the lot of its individuals.

Not all of the waste here documented has a price tag. Can the people of Mississippi, for example, afford the cost to the human spirit that comes from being cut off from a culture's highest artistic achievement? Is there enough money in the world to cover the cost to the American nation in international good will lost by unacceptable race relations?

There are probably those who would try to use the figures here to blame not themselves for being so easily parted from their money, but to blame those Americans who, by demanding Constitutional rights for all, have in a sense necessitated the expenditures.

Any such rationale founders on elementary arithmetic: ~~the~~ estimated cost of implementing the Civil Rights ~~bill~~ Act of 1964 for five years—$100 million—would be only .6 per cent of the Gross National Product increase—$17 billion—which could be realized for one year with full and free use of our human resources. There were southern Congressmen who reported with indignation that the 1963 March on Washington cost the District of Columbia government an estimated $805,000 — $1,022,300. Can this cost be called a responsibility of the marchers? A fair judgment will see it as a cost forced on the national government by reactionary elements of the South and by a dilatory Congress.

And so with the other wastes of money and resources documented here—they come from discrimination, not its victims.

Will southern states, which can least afford it, which so need to develop the potential of their people to the highest degrees of human dignity, continue in the ways documented here to waste the substance of their people?

The Price We Pay...

In the Economy of Communities

In Failure to Attract Industry and Investment

WALL STREET JOURNAL
May 15, 1963

. . . In recent years, its failure to attract any significant amount of new industry and its reliance on the limping steel industry—U. S. Steel Corp.'s Tennessee Coal & Iron division is the area's biggest employer—have combined to slow Birmingham's economy. In 1957, the metropolitan area had its highest employment, 246,000. Today, the total is estimated at 228,000.

Some Birmingham citizens say that in recent years large numbers of their best educated young men and women have been deserting the city to find opportunity elsewhere. It hasn't all been due to the lack of economic opportunity, says one young citizen. "We lost ourselves a generation; they just don't want to put up with all this racial strife."

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
January 30, 1957

Humans, resources, technology, management and education are the five major areas necessary for development if Mississippi is to make economic progress, C. E. Kirk told the noon Lions Club [of Greenville, Miss.] at its weekly meeting Wednesday.

Kirk, who is plant manager for the Ludlow Manufacturing Co., in Indianola, spoke as a guest of the local Lions Club on the subject, "Blueprint for Mississippi's Economic Progress."

Kirk is also a representative for the Mississippi Economic Council and brought along charts and statistics which were gathered largely through the council. . . .

"Where we are losing out," he said, "is in the new, highly skilled industries like the chemicals, electronics and pharmaceutical companies."

"The problem is many of our working age people (20-40) are leaving and those who stay don't have enough education to attract the newer breed of industries into the state," Kirk said.

As a result, Mississippi's per capita income doubled from 1939 to 1945, but it stayed the same in relation to the nation's average.†

SURVEY OF CURRENT BUSINESS
August 1962
U. S. Department of Commerce

[†*Mississippi has the lowest per capita income of all 50 states: $1,229. The national average is $2,263.*]

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
January 27, 1963

. . . A report circulated by S. D. Wolfe, temporary chairman of the Lafayette County Rural Development Committee, says Oxford [Miss.] has lost two new industries because of the crisis.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
April 15, 1963

. . . However while the state's over-all business advance continued, economists in other Southeastern states remained convinced that Mississippi would suffer in later years because of the racial outbreaks.

They cited Little Rock, Ark. as evidence, noting that the industry stopped locating there for two years after the racial troubles in 1957.

A leading economist said he expected the number of new industries in Mississippi "to start declining by the middle of 1963, and to continue shrinking for a long time to come until and unless, the state shows that it is willing to rejoin the Union."

GREENSBORO *DAILY NEWS*
September 6, 1963

Downtown demonstrations last spring by Negroes seeking a change to integrated facilities in restaurants had an adverse effect in attracting new industry, Chamber of Commerce officials told the Greensboro Human Relations Committee yesterday.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

. . . Industrial development people admit that the turmoil is frightening away prospective new industry. Sidney M. Smyer, a prominent real estate man who has been active in business groups talking with Negroes, says: "This situation is going to have definite effects on locating further business here [Birmingham]. People aren't going to come where there is trouble —it's hard enough to get them when you have a favorable climate." W. Cooper Green, executive vice-president of Alabama Power Co., sums it up: "Violence hurts—labor violence, criminal violence, racial violence. You have to live it down."

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
May 24, 1963

Birmingham (AP)—. . . At a Chamber of Commerce meeting, Chairman Caldwell Marks of an industry-hunting committee disclosed receipt of insulting letters from prospective industries and cancellation of plans for firms to locate here.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
Washington Correspondent
James Free
February 2, 1964

Washington—Gov. George Wallace's war against "the central government" could be far more costly to the people of Alabama if the federal government ever decides to fight back. . . .

Moreover, the Defense Department is now cutting down on the number of military and naval bases and installations over the country. And, when all other considerations are close to even, defense advisers may decide that it would be wise to close an installation in a state that persists in fighting the federal government rather than a similar installation in another state that is more cooperative.

Representative Kenneth Roberts got some figures together recently showing that in the fiscal year that ended last June 30, the Defense Department alone spent in Alabama more than $700 million in payrolls, upkeep, contracts, and the like.

THE FINANCIAL TIMES (London) September 23, 1963

. . . The severe economic damage caused by racial unrest has forced the city's business community into action. . . . Birmingham is endowed with a rich supply of raw materials and with ample resources of labor. But the flow of new industries into the area was halted by the onset of racial violence. . . . As one businessman puts it: "We have become the world's headquarters for racial violence, and nothing worse could happen to a city."

NEW YORK *TIMES* June 30, 1963

City Council [New York] President Paul R. Screvane proposed yesterday that the city refuse to invest any of its $3,400,000,000 pension funds in the securities of companies practicing racial discrimination. . . .

Because the amount that may be invested in any one corporation's bonds is small, the pension funds own bonds in dozens of different corporations, which are scattered all over the country.

NEW YORK *TIMES* December 18, 1963

The United Presbyterian Church urged its agencies yesterday to use their financial influence upon businesses with which they deal to eliminate racial discrimination. . . .

The statement [of the Church] urged the agency boards to "analyze investment opportunities and financial policies that would directly witness to the concern of the United Presbyterian Church for an integrated society."

If church funds are invested in concerns that discriminate, efforts should be made to have those practices changed, the statement suggested.

ST. LOUIS *POST DISPATCH* June 20, 1963

An investigation of the racial policies of corporations, in which the overseas mission board of the United Church of Christ has invested funds was ordered by board directors at a meeting yesterday. . . .

The board has investment holdings of about $18,000,000.

And Then, on the Other Hand . . .

CHATTANOOGA *TIMES* September 29, 1963

Huntsville, Ala. (AP)—. . . For Huntsville—and the nation—the space age began with the arrival of about 200 former German missilemen and their families, led by Wernher von Braun. . . .

With their arrival, Huntsville began turning its back on the South of magnolias and old lace.

At the end of World War II, Huntsville was known chiefly as the largest cotton market east of Memphis. It had 3,500 homes and 12 small industries including three big cotton mills.

Two of the cotton mills are now closed and Huntsville today has over 25,000 homes and about 40 industries. The median family income is $6,600—highest in Alabama. . . .

Like most of the businessmen interviewed in Huntsville, Cummings [Milton Cummings, native businessman and president of Brown Engineering Company, Inc.] is irritated over the image of Alabama as an area of

racial strife. It has hurt his effort to recruit scientists and engineers.

"We have found," he said, "a number of engineers who simply don't want to expose their children to this race thing." . . .

Mrs. Patrick W. Richardson . . . mother of two small boys and the wife of one of Huntsville's leading attorneys, says:

"I guess you could say Huntsville was a hungry town. I can remember the Huntsville Times carrying a story on page one in 1938 saying where the breadlines would form for that day—1938 was when the depression was supposed to be over." . . .

"We like Huntsville," she said. "We've always lived here, but we wanted something better. If Huntsville stagnated, we would have stagnated and I guess my husband's law practice would have been a matter of writing two or three wills a week. We wanted something more than that."

The Price We Pay...

In the Consumer Market

NORFOLK *VIRGINIAN-PILOT*
(by the Herald Tribune News Service)
September 26, 1963

. . . William Capitman, president of the Center for Research in Marketing, Inc., at Peekskill, N. Y., said Negro purchasing behavior represents both the greatest danger and the greatest potential in the American marketplace. He said Negroes, with an annual income of $20 billion, have a sales potential as great as the entire population of Canada. . . .

At the moment, Capitman said, 30 to 40 per cent of the Negro population is engaged in unorganized economic boycotts, refusing to buy from producers or sellers considered to be unfriendly to Negroes.

Eighty-nine per cent of 1,164 Negroes interviewed in the third survey told the Negro interviewers they would take part in any boycott called by their leaders. Capitman called this one of the most significant phenomena in marketing history. . . .

In Birmingham . . .

TIME
June 7, 1963

. . . In Birmingham, retailers have averaged a $750,000 weekly loss, some because Negro trade boycotted stores, some because whites did not venture downtown for fear of possible violence.

WASHINGTON *POST*
June 5, 1963

(AP)—Federal Reserve Board figures show that retail sales in Birmingham dropped sharply in May—a time of sit-ins, mass demonstrations and occasional violence in that racially troubled city.

For the week which ended May 25, retail sales were off 11 per cent compared to the corresponding week of 1962. For the preceding three weeks the figures were also minus: 17, 19 and 14 per cent.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

. . . Long-suffering downtown merchants have watched their sales run some 20% under last year's, and lag behind those of most other Southern cities.

"People put off shopping trips," says one store owner. "It goes deeper than just downtown Birmingham. It affects every phase of business, social and civic life in this community."

Adds another merchant: "A solution must be found immediately or Birmingham will be killed as a prosperous city."

WALL STREET JOURNAL
May 16, 1963

. . . A restaurant owner comments: "We're hurt and hurt bad because our business community refused to exercise leadership when it could have saved the situation."

The restaurant owner says his business has fallen 25% since the latest outbreak of racial strife began April 3.

WASHINGTON POST
May 16, 1963

(AP)—. . . An executive of a big department store said . . . "It is difficult to appraise the business conditions. . . . But business is off drastically since last week. We don't know specifically whether to attribute this to the boycotting or to the general atmosphere of the city."

And Elsewhere . . .

THE STATE
(Columbia, S. C.)
July 21, 1963

Charleston—The basic story of this city now isn't on the street where Negroes demonstrate. . . .

It involves the dollars and cents that pump the life blood into the heart of Charleston through its long business artery, King Street.

"Since this started in early June, business along the street is off anywhere from 20 to 50 per cent depending on whom you talk to," one prominent retail merchant confided.

"Some of them are literally worried sick," the *News and Courier* [Charleston newspaper] said at one point in an editorial July 18.

NEW YORK TIMES
March 2, 1964

Canton, Miss.—. . . The Negroes opened a boycott against 19 white merchants last January that now threatens some of them with financial ruin. The objectives are "more courteous treatment" for Negro customers, and . . . pressure by the white merchants on county officials to accept Negro voters applicants.

HOUSTON POST
November 10, 1963

Prairie View—. . . The boycott of the game [Prairie View A & M College versus Bishop College of Dallas] and other homecoming activities had been called by leaders of Students for Equality, Liberty and Freedom in support of their efforts to desegregate nearby Hempstead. . .

A businessman in the community of Prairie View waved his hand in his empty store and said:

"There was no business. You can see the effect this has had on us."

NEW YORK *TIMES*
September 2, 1960

Jacksonville—. . . Newsboys sold only half as many papers as usual in the downtown shopping area. Parking lots, ordinarily overflowing, were checkered with vacancies. Clerks and elevator operators reported that customers who normally crowd the stores in the week before school opens were staying home. . . .

Last night was the first since Saturday to be undisturbed by home-made fire bombs, shootings or beatings. . .

The Governor blamed the people and elected officials of Jacksonville for the breakdown of law and order.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
June 6, 1963

All of Georgia's larger counties showed gains in retail and other taxable sales during the first quarter of 1963 except Dougherty, where racial demonstrations and Negro boycotts have hit the county seat, Albany.

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
July 7, 1963

Jackson, Miss.—. . . To what extent downtown business was hurt by the five weeks of picketing, boycotts and marches and sit-ins has been carefully concealed by spokesmen for Capitol Street, the main business section. . . .

But the chain stores, which were the targets of pickets and sit-ins, one trade association spokesman admitted, found business off as much as 40 to 60 per cent during the peak of the demonstrations.

BALTIMORE *AFRO-AMERICAN*
March 7, 1964

Jackson, Miss.—. . . The two white-owned food markets in colored neighborhoods, which refused to hire colored employees and to cease selling products of companies that also discriminate, have already gone out of business.

And Then, on the Other Hand . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 14, 1963

Baltimore (AP)—An owner of Gwynn Oak Amusement Park—scene of mass racial demonstrations and arrests earlier this summer—has called the park's new policy of racial integration an economic success.

He said the park has more reservations for next season than it had in the late summer of any other year.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
July 15, 1963

Atlanta—. . . Among those restaurants, hotels, theatres and other places of public accommodation in the South that have begun serving or hiring Negroes, only a few report suffering any lasting consequences. A sizable number, in fact, declare that business has been better than ever. . . .

Mr. Henry Rather [Dallas hotel man] says a recent check of the city's 35 largest hostelries failed to turn up a single instance of lost business because of desegregation.

The Price We Pay...

In Police and Jail Costs

This section and a later chapter, Legal Costs, document public outlays which in part result from demonstrations and other actions instigated by Negroes. Often, Negroes are blamed for the waste involved. The true cause is the denial of rights. Any community, any state, which wants to end this waste need only take the necessary steps to provide equal protection and rights for all citizens.

In Mississippi . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
April 16, 1964

(UPI)—When a few minor hitches are cleared away the Mississippi Legislature will soon adopt a new law empowering the governor to send patrol forces into any community where he deems there is an emergency.

The legislation . . . will cost $4 million the first two years, add 200 men to the patrol force and provide them with a police academy.

In Savannah . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
February 11, 1964

Savannah has been rebuffed in its efforts to collect from the state $18,000 which it spent for quarters and food for state troopers during racial disorders.

In Albany . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
March 3, 1964

Albany—Mayor Jimmy Davis estimated Monday the 2-months stay of a group of pacifists cost Albany taxpayers about $5,000 in jail expenses.

In Memphis . . .

MEMPHIS *COMMERCIAL APPEAL*
September 18, 1963

Protests and demonstrations by Negroes against staggered hours at five Negro schools have cost the Memphis Police Department more than $9,000 in overtime pay since September 4.

In Greensboro . . .

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
May 21, 1963

. . . Clarence Smith, purchasing agent for Guilford County, estimated taxpayers were supporting the jailed Negro demonstrators at a minimum of $1,200 a day "just for food."

In Danville . . .

RICHMOND *NEWS LEADER*
September 9, 1963

Danville (AP)—The cost of policing civil rights demonstrations in this Southside city which has been the scene of sporadic racial unrest since May 31 has been placed at more than $60,000.

Danville Mayor Julian R. Stinson announced over the weekend that overtime pay for policemen and other deputized law enforcement officers in June, July and August came to $48,199.

He said other expenses incurred included approximately $6,515 for such items as night sticks, tear gas, office supplies and court costs.

In Cambridge . . .

BALTIMORE *SUN*
June 24, 1963

Cambridge (AP)—Thirty-seven days of militia law here has cost Maryland at least $176,000. That's only the estimate of keeping National Guard troops billetted here.

The other costs—State Police expenditures and the economic toll to the community—have not been accounted for, and may be unaccountable.

The bill for the first 25 days of militia rule, from June 14 to July 8, was nearly $100,000. According to the comptroller, pay for the Guard totaled $83,199.83, the food bill was about $14,700 and the cost for gasoline was $1,858.89.

Also in Cambridge . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
March 9, 1964

. . . for the subsequent nine months, July 1963 through March 1964

. . . Keeping the Guard in Cambridge for nearly nine months has cost the taxpayers close to $70,000 and hasn't solved anything; it has cut Guard enlistments; it has led to legislators being besieged with complaints about the financial pinch felt by families of Guardsmen who had had to be away from their jobs.

In Williamston, N. C. . . .

GREENBORO *DAILY NEWS*
August 9, 1963

. . . The Martin County Commissioners in a brief meeting approved a bill of $1,095 for extra police protection during July.

Extra law enforcement officers were necessary recently to prevent violence as a result of nightly demonstrations by Negroes.

In Jackson . . .

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
October 31, 1963

He [Mayor Allen Thompson] said the city spent an extra $138,429.75 in overtime and equipment combatting the demonstrations from late May through August.

In Charleston . . .

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
October 17, 1963

Costs of locking up racial demonstrators during July and August jabbed three Charleston County budgets out of kilter, according to a report issued this week by County Manager E. D. Martin.

The Prison Farm Barracks, County Jail and Prison Farm all had to spend more than half of their six-months allotted fund in three months' time because of the demonstrations.

In High Point . . .

GREENSBORO *DAILY NEWS*
August 30, 1963

High Point—. . . City Hall is showing some concern over the mounting costs of Negro demonstrations here.

A $9,000,000 budget, closely trimmed in order to keep the same tax rate of $1.20 per $100 valuation, cannot stand too much additional and unbudgeted expense, it was pointed out by city officials.

Protest activities have cost $7,132.52 in overtime pay for policemen alone. Also to be considered is the wear and tear on the Police Department.

Statewide in North Carolina . . .

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
August 17, 1963

The State Highway Patrol has spent more than 11,000 man-hours dealing with racial demonstrations so far this year. The extra activity has cut sharply into traffic law enforcement.

Figures compiled Friday by patrol headquarters show traffic violations charged during the first six months of 1963 were down 18,558 compared with the same six-months' period last year.

Statewide in Mississippi . . .

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
March 27, 1963

Jackson (UPI)—. . . Public Safety Commissioner T. B. Birdsong told United Press International Tuesday the morale of highway patrolmen, most of whom were on duty at the scene of the riot [at the University of Mississippi], was hurt by the crisis. . . .

He pointed out that the state's highway death toll "rose very sharply" after the September 30 riot which marked the entry of Negro James Meredith to the university.

Since then, there have been 327 traffic deaths in Mississippi, compared to 252 during the same period a year earlier.

And in Birmingham . . . the state paid . . .

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
June 20, 1963

Montgomery—. . . State Budget Officer J. V. Jordan said a tabulation three weeks ago showed that "upwards of $90,000" had been spent up to that time in keeping hundreds of state troopers in Birmingham to keep a watch on racial disorders there.

Jordan said a later tabulation . . . would boost that figure by a substantial amount.

State Conservation Director Claude D. Kelley said it cost his department $25,000 to send about 100 conservation officers, deputized as state troopers, to Birmingham.

ABC officials reported they had been forced to spend an extra $17,350 for sending specially-deputized liquor enforcement agents to Birmingham.

State fiscal officials said the total expense could run well over $200,000.

the city paid . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 22, 1963

. . . The cost of the five weeks of demonstrations was considerable. It is estimated that overtime pay to policemen, repair of damage to police vehicles and the feeding of more than 1,500 prisoners will total about $50,000.

Whatever the cost, most Birmingham citizens hope it is the final payment.

the county paid . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 22, 1963

The county [Jefferson] may have spent as much as $10,000 more.

and the people paid . . .

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
May 14, 1963

. . . Losses from fires during the weekend rioting were placed at $41,775 by Deputy Fire Marshal William E. Berry. And vandalism will boost the destruction toll much higher.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
May 26, 1963

Governor Wallace is pushing through an emergency appropriation of $250,000 to cover expenses of troopers.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
May 15, 1963

. . . Governor Wallace called for a doubling of the cost of drivers' licenses in Alabama to finance an Alabama Highway Patrol to cope with racial disturbances.

In Jackson, Mississippi . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
February 27, 1964

Jackson has been steadily strengthening its police force in recent months and has laid in an added supply of gas masks, shotguns and helmets. The city also recently purchased a $15,000 tank-like vehicle designed especially for riot control.

BALTIMORE *AFRO-AMERICAN*
March 7, 1964

. . . Mayor Allen Thompson has asked state lawmakers for $1,000,000 with which to build a compound for "agitators and others who do not go along with the Mississippi way of life."

THE MISSISSIPPIAN
(University of Mississippi)
April 10, 1964

Jackson—The Mississippi House has unanimously passed two more bills to help local officials deal with racial problems. The bills would allow counties and cities to send prisoners to Parchman [state prison] if their jails become overcrowded. The cities or counties would bear the entire expense and furnish guards. The measures would prevent jail overcrowding resulting from mass arrests of demonstrators.

The Price We Pay...

In Other Resources Depleted

NEW YORK TIMES
March 19, 1964

Jackson—. . . Mississippi's Sovereignty Commission has been the clearing house for $260,000 in contributions to a lobby in Washington opposing the civil rights bill.

According to Erle Johnston, director of the commission, that much money has gone through his hands in the last nine months to the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, Inc. . . .

In Washington, meanwhile, John C. Satterfield, secretary of the Coordinating Committee, said the group had spent $200,000 to $250,000 since its incorporation there last July. . . .

Financing was worked out at a meeting here last summer. Allotments were established for the Southern states, and the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission was designated to channel contributions to the Washington office.

The Sovereignty Commission was created by the Legislature in 1956. It was given authority to accept contributions from private or out-of-state sources.

To help prime the pump for the Coordinating Committee in the beginning, the Sovereignty Commission contributed $10,000 from its $250,000 biennial state appropriation.

It also agreed to pay the bill for the services of Mr. Satterfield as the committee's legal adviser. . . . He charges $25 an hour, up to $2,000 a month.

MIAMI HERALD
January 29, 1964

Washington—. . . According to figures filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives the commission [Mississippi Sovereignty Commission] gave Synon's committee [John J. Synon, director of the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, salaried at $519.23 a week] $20,000 in the quarter-year ending September 30, 1963 and $100,000 in the quarter ending December 31.

ST. PETERSBURG *TIMES*
Editorial, February 8, 1964

. . . Most of Mississippi's financial support for the anti-civil rights group . . . has been from "private contributions" to the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission. . . . This is what the director of the commission says. But even he admits that $20,000 of the state's grant to the Washington lobby was drawn from tax funds.

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
February 9, 1964

Jackson—. . . While the State Sovereignty Commission has invested only $20,000 so far in CCFAF [Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms] it has sunk over $160,000 of state funds since June 1960 in the White Citizens Council's television and radio series.

Oddly, the Citizens Council does not submit any statement or invoice as a matter of record in order to receive its $2,000 payment from the state.

The state auditor's office said last week that all other invoices made by the state must have a statement showing what was received in return.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
April 3, 1964

(AP)—The Mississippi Senate gave unanimous passage Thursday to a bill appropriating $50,000 to finance further efforts to defeat the Civil Rights Bill pending before Congress.

The measure . . . was in the form of a deficit appropriation to the State Sovereignty Commission. . . .

Committee sources said the money was earmarked for the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms in Washington.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 3, 1964

A drive to enlist the support of various Alabama organizations in fighting the civil rights bill now pending in the Senate was launched here Monday by the State Sovereignty Commission.

Howell [Eli Howell, executive director of the Commission] said the nationwide campaign would be directed by the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms. . . . The Sovereignty Commission had earlier appropriated $10,000 to this group.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
April 23, 1964

The State [Alabama] Sovereignty Commission has issued a $15,000 check to the Coordinating Committee for Freedom Fund.

WASHINGTON *POST*
April 19, 1964

. . . Official state commissions in Florida and Alabama also have contributed a total of $13,000 to the CCFAF [Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms]. The Plaquemines Parish (La.) Council, headed by political boss Leander Perez, who built a stockade in the swamps for arrested racial demonstrators, has appropriated $5,000 in taxpayers' money to the CCFAF.

ST. PETERSBURG *TIMES*
April 2, 1964

Tallahassee—. . . Prentice [George Prentice, executive director of the Florida Commission on Constitutional Government] could be in Lincoln, Neb., headquarters for a new national ultra-conservative organization of

which he was recently made executive director. He flew to Nebraska to take the job with the private organization using Florida state funds. Taxi, hotel and food expenses were also paid for with Florida state funds.

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
Editorial, February 8, 1964

. . . The sense of impatience that other states must feel for states such as Mississippi, which is, at once, the most abjectly mendicant of all the 50 states and the most aggressively unyielding in its segregationist sentiments. . . .

Why—it could be asked—should other states help pay [via federal tax dollars] for services that Mississippi says it is unable to afford on its own when Mississippi *can* afford to kick away $120,000 on lobbying and propaganda against a single piece of federal legislation within a single six month period?

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
Bob Ingram column,
March 1, 1964

. . . It was once reported here that the expenses incurred by the National Guard crew which flies the C-47 on the Wallace tours was paid by the federal government. No state official bothered to correct me, they apparently preferred that I remain ignorantly incorrect. Just discovered is the fact that the expenses of the Guardsmen are paid by you, the taxpayers of Alabama. An allocation was approved a couple of days back for $1,356.48 from the General Fund for the active duty pay earned by the three-member crew on the midwest tour, plus some expenses.

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
March 30, 1964

. . . Wallace [Alabama Governor George C. Wallace] blew into Washington during the week to meet with some Maryland supporters. He is running in the Maryland Democratic Primary.

He arrived in the Alabama plane surrounded by no less than eight aides. Among his outriders were three bodyguards, two press assistants, and assorted other advisers—all on the Alabama state payroll.

KENTUCKY *LABOR NEWS*
May 2, 1964

. . . The political ad [in the Louisville *Courier-Journal*] was signed by one BILL JONES as secretary of Wallace's Indiana committee. Jones, it turns out, is neither a Hoosier nor a union member. An Alabama state employee, Jones is simply the governor's press secretary! About 18 other state employees complete the pack traveling at Wallace's heels. A $250,000 state-owned plane, with a state-paid pilot and co-pilot, carries this happy crowd from soap box to whistle stop in Indiana.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 6, 1964

The State Sovereignty Commission adopted as its first objective Thursday a massive campaign aimed at defeat of the civil rights bill pending in Congress.

As one gesture, the Commission agreed to pick up the check, not to exceed $1,000, for airplane gasoline for the Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The Jaycees, who have distributed thousands of copies of the civil

rights bill in Alabama and other states, also have arranged for the use of an airplane, the Commission was told, for conferences in other parts of the country to spread opposition to the bill.

from tabulation by William C. Havard, Chairman Department of Government Louisiana State University

The Louisiana Legislature held five "Extraordinary Sessions" during 1960 and 1961 to deal with legislation designed to maintain segregation. Appropriations for these extra sessions amounted to $934,000.

THE ATLANTA *INQUIRER* Eliza Paschall column, March 7, 1964

. . . One cost that is seldom counted is the time which trained responsible leaders must take from their professional duties to "work on desegregation." Every time the Steering Committee of the Summit Leadership Conference meets there are businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors who are not doing what businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors are supposed to be doing. The same is true of the Atlanta Coordinating Committee.

If these same people were all free to work on the problems that come with twentieth century growth, instead of working on the problem of making the color of your skin no more important than the color of your hair, we might at least catch up with, even get one step ahead of automation, expressways, art centers, and school curricula.

***DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES* (Greenville, Miss.) March 4, 1964**

City Council yesterday voted five to one to borrow $40,000 for the construction of a Negro community center on Hernando Street and $10,000 for remodeling of the present community center on Robertshaw.

He [Park Commissioner] said the Negro facility is needed since there is at present nowhere for Negroes to attend Park Commission activities.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS* May 14, 1963

Emergency expenses resulting from the racial demonstrations of the last several weeks will cause a curtailment of some county services, the County Commission [Jefferson County, Alabama] said Monday.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS* September 15, 1963

. . . The extra costs, including overtime pay for police and other personnel used during the demonstrations last spring totaled $45-46,000, money that might have gone into additional city equipment or services, Boutwell [Mayor Albert Boutwell of Birmingham] said.

***THE REPORTER* February 27, 1964**

Greenville, South Carolina, is having its problems. Faced with a suit to integrate its municipal swimming pool, the city council voted last October to convert it into a "marineland." "Integrated pools operate at a loss," Alderman W. I. Bouton . . . explained in proposing the switch. The economy-minded council apparently had no alternative but to import six sea lions from California. Since then, however, it's been just one thing after another. . . . The trouble began as soon as the sea lions were flown in by jet from Santa Barbara. They not only needed a series of vitamin and

antibiotic inoculations on arrival but fifty pounds of fish a day as well.

Yet the "animal groceries" budget had already been exceeded by $378 at that point and the $1,500 ration allowance that was provided "obviously left no margin," one alderman found, "for feeding camels and yaks." (There was no question that camels and yaks deserved treatment equal to sea lions) . . . it was discovered that the pool had sprung a leak. . . . The costs, however, turned out to be manageable, and for several days the local papers carried dolorous pictures of the woebegone seals dryly sitting it out on the shower-room benches while the pool was drained and the repairs were made. In mid-January a $1,200 concrete island with five spiral decks was lowered into the pool, and there is talk of a stainless-steel slide to come. But this gives no assurance yet that the sea lions will learn to be as happy as kids, black or white, in a swimming pool. At the end of January, one sea lion was found dead of unknown causes at the side of the pool, and another died at the veterinarian's.

The Price We Pay...

In Elections

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS* reprinting editorial from Brewton (Ala.) *Standard* January 25, 1964

. . . With the ratification of the anti-poll tax amendment by South Dakota the poll tax, as pertains to federal elections in this state, has just about two years to go before it becomes obsolete. Between now and that time, we hope that our legislators in Montgomery will eliminate the poll tax from state law. Otherwise, it will cost the state a tremendous amount of money for holding separate elections when federal and state candidates are placed on the same ballot.

The Price We Pay...

In Employment

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Jim Montgomery column
August 29, 1963

Racial discrimination in employment was singled out Wednesday as one of a complex set of forces which, together, are costing the American people more than $30 billion a year in personal income, most of it in the Southeast.

Ironically, it was not in Washington or at a civil rights forum that this estimate of economic loss was cited. . . .

An Atlanta economist presented the calculation in a rather more academic setting in Minneapolis. . . .

Dr. Joseph Airov, associate professor of economics at Emory University, was referring to the regional differences in per capita income in which the Southeast ranks hindmost among the eight major regions of the United States.

Statement of Under Secretary of Labor John F. Henning, before Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower
July 24, 1963

The unemployment rate for nonwhites as a whole is today over twice as high as for whites—in May, 10.3 per cent compared with 5.0 per cent. Among married men with family responsibilities, the difference is even wider, 8 per cent compared with 3 per cent.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 10, 1963

New Orleans—Several witnesses at a civil rights hearing here testified today that industry in the South was penalizing itself when it discriminated against Negroes.

Because of this discrimination, they said, the brighter and better-educated young Negroes migrate to the North and never return. This often leaves unfilled jobs for which they could qualify and discourages establishment of new industry for lack of skilled workers, they added.

About 750 of the brighter Negro boys of New Orleans go to school at St. Augustine's. Father Messina [Rev. Joseph Messina, counselor at the school] said 60 per cent of the school's graduates go North to complete their education and only 10 per cent of them return. These are largely in the educational field. . . .

Mr. Kerns [J. Harvey Kerns, executive director of the Urban League of Greater New Orleans] charged that although the Southern Bell Telephone Company had been advertising in New Orleans for months for telephone operators and other specialized workers, it had turned down all Negro applicants. . . .

Representatives of the Boeing Company and of Kaiser Aluminum, both of which have national policies of equal opportunity in employment, said they had found difficulty finding skilled Negro help here.

NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE
Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely
Rinehart & Company, Inc.
1957, p. 124, quoting Nashville *Tennessean* of April, 1957

One of the most shocking and challenging problems to the state of Tennessee is the continuing and costly loss of its young people.

In a survey conducted by a reporter for this newspaper, it was found that the state is losing an estimated 20,000 young persons a year, wasting an estimated $200 million invested in them because of inability to provide jobs for them.

NEW ORLEANS *STATES-ITEM*
April 6, 1964

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze said in New Orleans today Louisiana's refusal to accept federal manpower retraining aid may have caused 25 per cent of the jobs in the Michoud rocket plant to go to out-of-staters.

Celebrezze, in the city to address a labor convention, declared that all other states are receiving the aid.

The HEW secretary said he understood that 50 per cent of the 10,000 employees at the Saturn rocket plant were imported from other states and he guessed that half of these could have been drawn from local surplus labor if the proper training was available.

Federal officials told Louisiana last year the state was losing $1,088,000 by refusal to sign an agreement for funds under the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act.

Celebrezze, at a press conference in the Royal Orleans Hotel, said Louisiana never has given a reason for its failure to participate, but he said he had a hunch it had to do with integration.

The funds, under the act, would not be available to segregated facilities.

A Study of the Economic Loss to New Orleans Caused by Migration of College-Educated Negroes, by T. Earl Sullenger, Ph.D.

. . . In brief, we conclude that the City of New Orleans is sustaining an annual economic loss of over 4-8 Million Dollars as the result of the migration of its college-educated Negroes.

WASHINGTON *POST*
June 5, 1963

Richmond (AP)—The Federal Government has under consideration a vocational education program for school-less Prince Edward [Virginia] County Negro children and is awaiting results of a survey to determine what other programs might be needed. . . .

The survey, being conducted by a Michigan State University research team under a $75,000 Federal grant, will provide basic information . . . to determine what other educational programs might be needed in the County.

Prince Edward closed its public schools in 1959 to avoid court-ordered desegregation. Since then white children have attended private, segregated schools. About 500 of the County's 1,600 Negro school-age children have been attending classes outside the County but the remainder have had no formal education in the past four school years.

WASHINGTON *POST*
Marquis Childs column,
May 28, 1963

[Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel] . . . wanted the committee [the House Subcommittee on Education] to approve $5 million for the next fiscal year for grants to the states to carry out, under state

approval, programs in reading and writing for those who cannot read or write English or have less than an eighth grade education. . . .

Of the white population 25 years and older 6.7 per cent have completed less than five years of school. The percentage for the Negro population is 23.5. This is one measure of separate but unequal as it has prevailed in many parts of the country.

In Mississippi and Georgia nearly 40 per cent of the Negro population has had less than five years of school. For Texas, the figure is 23.6. In Missouri, it is 17.2. Illinois is 13.8 and New York 11.8.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
February 20, 1964
(Reprinting an article which appeared in the Milwaukee *JOURNAL*

In Georgia the median income to support each individual white person is $2,470, each Negro $927. White unemployment is 3.7 per cent, Negro 6 per cent. Weltner [Representative Charles L. Weltner, D. Ga.] estimated that if even the employed Negroes in Georgia earned at the white median rate they would add a half billion dollars a year to the state economy—instead of loading it with relief costs.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

Such an atmosphere is a serious problem for companies that need to hire executives and highly trained workers. Rust Engineering Co., for example, employs some 400 people, mostly graduate engineers, in Birmingham. George M. Rust, executive vice-president, says flatly that his company can't attract the trained engineers it needs. He pins the blame directly on the racial troubles.

"Periodically we run help-wanted ads in newspapers around the country," Rust explains. "We generally get 10 to 15 responses to each ad. About the time of the demonstrations last May we ran 10 ads from which we got just two answers." He goes on: "One highly skilled man we needed badly put us off because he wanted to see how the racial situation developed. Finally he decided not to come."

from a statement on the "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination" presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, September 1962, by the Council of Economic Advisers

. . . The elimination of discrimination [in employment] would have an impact on the distribution of income among whites. Wage and salary incomes of whites in the lower paid occupations (with higher proportions of non-whites) would tend to rise while the opposite would be true in the higher income occupations. Thus the low income white population would also benefit and a more equal income distribution among whites would result.

The Price We Pay...

In Legal Costs

"... no State can directly dictate or casually promote a distinction in the treatment of persons solely on the basis of their color." The principle is now so explicit a fixture of constitutional law that it must astonish laymen to see Virginia's Attorney General waste the taxpayers' money contesting the point. Judge Bryan enunciated it again in Alexandria, ordering the state to discontinue its practice of segregating the voting and property tax records by citizens' race.

ATLANTA *DAILY WORLD*
September 21, 1963

Savannah, Ga. (UPI)—About 250 Negroes awaiting trial in connection with recent sit-in demonstrations here asked for separate jury trials Wednesday. . . .

Solicitor General Andrew J. Ryan, Jr., estimated that, if the Negroes went ahead with their plan, it would take a year and a half to complete the 250 trials. According to Georgia law, any person accused of either a misdemeanor or a felony has the right to demand a jury trial.

Section 59-120
GEORGIA CODE

. . . The first grand jury impaneled at the fall term of the superior courts of the several counties shall fix the compensation of jurors and court bailiffs for the next succeeding year, such compensation not to exceed $3 per diem. . . .

390 weekdays (in 18 months) X $12 per day ($1 per juror per day minimum) = $4,680

CHARLOTTE *OBSERVER*
August 24, 1963

Greensboro (AP)—Solicitor L. Herbin, Jr., said Friday that if all 183 defendants charged with obstructing a street here without a permit June 6 pleaded not guilty he would plan a single trial for them in Superior Court Monday.

A single trial, he estimated would save Guilford County and the state more than $25,000. He based the figure on an estimated cost of $30 a minute for court operation. . . .

"If we were to try these cases individually, it would take about half a year. . . ."

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
May 15, 1964

Perry [Ga.]—A fight between white persons and Negroes at a drinking fountain outside the Superior Courtroom in the Houston County courthouse Thursday brought about a mistrial in a case. . . .

Investigators and witnesses said the fight developed when a Negro drank from the white drinking fountain. . . .

As soon as order was restored, Judge Howell Bell declared a mistrial and released the jury.

NORFOLK *JOURNAL AND GUIDE*
November 30, 1963

Thus the long legal battle against school integration, the costs of which haven't yet been fully determined, and the continuing Prince Edward County court battle, all costly to the State, are draining off tax dollars which could and should be used for education and public works construction.

RICHMOND *NEWS LEADER*
October 29, 1963

The Powhatan county school board has been ordered [by Federal District Judge John D. Butzner, Jr.] to pay $2,100 in fees to the two Negro attorneys who successfully opposed the county's segregated school policy.

A Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1963

The Little Rock School District, for example, had desegregation litigation from 1956 through 1962 resulting in at least 23 reported decisions by courts of record. During that period, legal fees paid by the district totaled $95,796.37, of which an estimated 75 percent is attributable to the legal position of the school board in opposition to desegregation.

Remarks of Senator Paul H. Douglas in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*
April 3, 1964, p. 6613

A single trial in a district court—with normal attendant motions, discovery procedures, and so forth—with one appeal to the circuit court and an application for certiorari to the Supreme Court, costs from $15,000 to $18,000. I refer to a letter from Gordon Tiffany, staff director, Commission on Civil Rights, dated January 29, 1960 and published at 106 *Congressional Record* 3663-3364.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
February 9, 1964

. . . During the past several years, the city of Jackson has been subjected to various court actions, in addition to pursuing a steady course of prosecuting racial demonstrators and others charged with public breach of city ordinances.

This activity has grown to such proportions that it overshadows most of the city's ordinary run of business, has caused the expenditure of a formidable [amount] of money.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
April 7, 1964

Washington (AP)—The Supreme Court rejected today a request by L. B. Sullivan, a city commissioner of Montgomery, Ala., for apportionment of costs in the case in which the court overturned a $500,000 libel judgment he won against the New York Times. . . .

Mr. Sullivan, in a motion filed with the Supreme Court, asked for "apportionment of printing costs and fees," that is, a division of the costs between him and the Times.

The Court routinely assesses such amounts against the loser, and a brief court order today rejected Mr. Sullivan's motion without comment.

The Office of the Supreme Court estimated the costs at about $13,000.

NEW YORK TIMES
April 23, 1964

(UPI)—A Federal judge ordered all public facilities in Gadsden, Ala., permanently desegregated today . . .

District Judge H. H. Grooms issued the ruling on an omnibus integration suit filed by Gadsden Negroes . . .

The defendants also were ordered to pay all court costs.

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The Price We Pay...

In Education

In Loss of and Inability to Attract Faculty, Students and Research

WALL STREET JOURNAL
September 19, 1963

Birmingham—. . . "The racial situation has kept some people from joining our faculty, even though we offered them a greater opportunity than anyone else," says Dr. S. Richardson Hill, dean of the University of Alabama Medical Center here. "One doctor had already decided this was the best place for him. But after he talked it over with his family he decided against it." . . .

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
August 16, 1963

Oxford (AP)—The University of Mississippi—which ends its most difficult year Sunday with graduation of James H. Meredith—is losing more than 20 per cent of its faculty. . . .

An Associated Press survey shows that 54 faculty members listed in the 1962-63 university catalog will not return for the fall term which begins next month. . . .

He [university chancellor Dr. J. D. Williams] said the normal turnover among his teachers in past years has been 10 per cent. . . .

Before Meredith enrolled . . . most of the faculty turnover had been instructors and assistant professors—the two lowest grades.

But now there are 11 faculty members with rank of full professor and 17 associate professors leaving. . . .

Among those are two department chairmen, Dr. Samuel F. Clark of chemistry and Dr. William H. Willis of classics. . . .

Dr. Clark in an interview, said:

"My decision to leave Ole Miss, an institution for which I have felt and still feel a deep affection, stemmed from the serious loss of academic freedom to faculty and students of the university and to the breakdown of moral and professional responsibility on the part of the university's administrative officers."

Both Dr. Clark and Dr. Willis have been department heads since 1947. . . .

The entire three-man philosophy department is leaving. Seven of the 12 full-time chemistry teachers will not return.

The art department loses three of its five professors; classics two of four; physics three of seven; mathematics four of 10.

from testimony by Undersecretary of Commerce, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. July 23, 1963

. . . In Little Rock, although racial unrest was sparked by school desegregation, protests over segregated public accommodations further inflamed the environment. Under these conditions, recruitment of technical people became extremely difficult. According to the provost for medical affairs of the University of Arkansas . . . "the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community."

***BUSINESS WEEK* February 29, 1964**

. . . Said Dr. Willis Tate, president of Southern Methodist University in Dallas: "One of the first questions asked by a talented professor who is invited to teach at a Southern University is: 'Is your university fully integrated?' This question today has become very important to an educator, more so than it has ever been. It has become part of his moral code, the fiber of his integrity."

NEW YORK *TIMES* June 9, 1963

Oxford, Miss.—Although two Negro students were registered quietly at the University of Mississippi this week, the aftermath of last fall's rioting still plagues the school.

The number of new students who applied by June 1 for the fall term totals 884, 30 per cent below last year's total of 1,264, according to the figures compiled by the registrar's office.

The biggest decrease has been in the number of out-of-state students.

NASHVILLE *TENNESSEAN* September 27, 1963

Oxford, Miss. (AP)—Four dormitories at the university of Mississippi are being closed for lack of students, university authorities announced yesterday.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* Ralph McGill column, August 27, 1963

The crisis is, Dr. Willard [Dr. Willam R. Willard, vice president of the Medical Center, University of Kentucky] finds, clearly delineated. There is a sharp decline in the number and quality of applicants to medical schools. Dr. Willard names no institutions. But the schools described in Group One, where research and experiments are conducted, are, the report says, "not handicapped by sponsorship which restricts admission of students by race, creed or color as in some Group Two schools." The marginal schools, and those most burdened, are, therefore, in the South. . . .

In 1960-61 the ten schools in Group One averaged $11.3 million [in expenditures] per school. Group Two averaged $1.7 million. Federal grants for research naturally—and properly—went largely to the Group One institutions.

***BUSINESS WEEK* MAGAZINE February 29, 1964**

A Houston jury in a state civil court last week O.K.'d a move by the trustees of Rice University to break away from two stipulations of the institution's founder [not to charge tuition and not to admit Negroes]. . . .

In Rice's case, more than 88% of the school's $5.9 millions worth of

research contracts are government supported. . . . Whether or not Congress adopts a strong civil rights law, it is clear that federal agencies are under pressure to put their money, where possible, in integrated colleges. . . .

In the light of such statistics, Rice trustees could see no future for their university, regardless of its recognized scientific stature in Texas, unless a court would allow them to bypass the two conditions of the University's charter. . . .

Particularly, they [the trustees] said, continued exclusion of Negroes would cripple Rice's ability to attract a top-grade faculty as well as carry forward its research effort.

The Price We Pay...

In Capital Investment

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
February 27, 1964

Millsaps College reaffirmed its segregation policy in a statement in the current edition of the Methodist Advocate. . . .

"This is evidenced by the fact that the board has determined privately to finance the building of badly needed additional dormitory space on the campus," said the statement, "rather than by the acceptance of a one-million dollar loan from the housing and home finance agency."

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 18, 1963

Annapolis (AP)—Gov. Tawes said today Cambridge must settle its racial problems if it is to have any chance as a site for a proposed Eastern Shore branch of the University of Maryland.

"With the continuance of conditions that exist in Cambridge, I would have no great desire to agree to establishment of a (university) branch there," he told a news conference. "It would be unwise." . . .

He noted that the bill authorizing $100,000 for planning a university branch or branches does not become effective until next June.

BATON ROUGE *STATE TIMES*
June 12, 1963

Jackson, Miss. (AP)—The State Building Commission is studying a recommendation by the State College Board that $3 million in state bonds be issued to finance dormitory construction at six institutions of higher learning.

The recommendation made by the board falls under a new program designed to circumvent racial discrimination rulings imposed by federal agencies.

In the past the state has borrowed federal money to finance such construction.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
June 9, 1963

The university's [of Mississippi] plight has been underscored in another area. In recent years, the university has financed new dormitory building costing $8,000,000 with funds from the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency.

When President John Kennedy last November signed an Executive Order forbidding discrimination in Federally assisted housing, the Mississippi Legislature ordered an end to future agreements between the agency and the university.

University officials say they will now have to seek state bond issues for dormitory construction. Because the lending rates will not be as favorable as the Federal rate has been, an increase in room rent is expected.

ROANOKE *TIMES*
June 19, 1963

Richmond (AP)—The Virginia Public School Authority accepted Tuesday a long interest bid of 2.9346 per cent for its initial issue of $15 million in bonds to aid local school construction. . . .

Dave Ellenwood, a Moody's Investors Service representative serving as authority adviser, said the low bid was "not quite as favorable as hoped for" but still "a very fair value."

Ellenwood said recent news of racial disturbances "from the southern part of the country had tended to upset some buyers in the market for southern bonds."

NEW YORK *TIMES*
June 20, 1963

. . . Several municipal bond dealers, particularly those in the secondary market, have said that they are "not going out of our way to stock bonds issued by communities that are in the headlines."

The Price We Pay...

Through School Closing and Boycotts

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
April 14, 1963

. . . New president of the statewide organization of civic and professional leadership is Jack Reed, merchant of Tupelo who during the midst of Negro James Meredith-Ole Miss desegregation crisis said Mississippi would suffer economic catastrophe if schools were closed in the face of desegregation efforts. . . .

ATLANTA *DAILY WORLD*
February 19, 1964

The House Tuesday authorized Laurens County [Georgia] to sell its controversial Brewton School, near Dublin, which white residents refused to use because it was too close to a small Negro neighborhood.

Since its erection at a cost of $300,000 in 1957 the complex of buildings has been wrecked by vandals and despoiled by weather.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 4, 1963

. . . Tuskegee High School was closed last Friday on orders from the State Board of Education, of which Governor George Wallace is ex-officio chairman.

School authorities in Tuskegee said it was costing about $450 a month for each pupil to keep Tuskegee High School open; compared with a statewide average of less than $300 a pupil per year.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
February 11, 1964

Montgomery—. . . Speaking at a press conference, the governor [George C. Wallace] said his office will offer "all it can to help" enroll white Macon County students in schools of surrounding counties.

"The governor's office will spend whatever money we have to help," he said, adding that money will come from the mansion fund and other funds.

Wallace asked financial aid to the private Macon Academy at Tuskegee from the people of Alabama. The school was opened after Tuskegee High was desegregated last fall.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
February 23, 1964

(AP) . . . Some 432 pupils walked out of high school at Tuskegee, Notasulga and Shorter, refusing to attend class with Negroes. That will leave a big dent in the county's school budget because the state's money is allocated according to the student population.

. . . in September, the county [Macon] will receive something like $75,000 less than it did this school year. Actually, the cutback will be somewhat greater when the loss in transportation money is figured. . . .

The loss of the state funds won't necessarily mean the Macon County Board must close any schools. It could cut out some of the services countywide instead.

Or it could make up the difference from local sources of revenue. But in a small rural county like Macon, that's difficult.

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
Editorial, February 7, 1964

If Macon County chooses to take the private school route, it would probably be too much to hope that the county officialdom would call on Little Rock for some expert testimony on the miserable, costly experience that would lie ahead.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 5, 1964

Tuskegee (AP)—Three barns were burned on the farm of Macon County School board member Don Mercer Davis Tuesday night, and authorities said it was a case of obvious arson. . . .

The burnings follow cross burnings at the homes of three of the school board Sunday night.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 6, 1964

Tuskegee (AP)—The water filter plant at nearby Notasulga burned Wednesday night and Mayor James Rhea said it has caused an acute water shortage. He asked that all schools in the town be closed.

Among the schools to be closed is the high school where federal court has ordered six Negro students admitted.

No cause of the fire was determined, but Rhea said, "it looks suspicious."

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
April 19, 1964

Notasulga, Ala. (AP)—Fire destroyed the recently desegregated Macon County High School early Saturday and investigators said there were indications that it may have been started by an arsonist. . . .

There was no immediate estimate of the damage.*

*[*According to the* Alabama Educational Directory, *1962-63, there are 10 school plants in Macon County. According to the* Annual Report, *1962, of the Alabama Department of Education, the total assessed valuation of school warrants for Macon County properties was $12,956,890. If the Macon County High School plant alone (without consideration of interior equipment such as books and laboratory supplies) were estimated at one-tenth of the total value of the county's plants, and this would seem a valid estimate since four of the ten schools are elementary schools, then its assessed valuation could be well over $1,250,000*].

The Price We Pay...

Through Tuition Grants

Several southern states have attempted through various schemes to avoid or mitigate desegregation of schools by providing grants from state funds to students for tuition at private schools. To illustrate, Virginia in 1959 legislated to provide such scholarships of up to $250 (elementary school child) and $275 (high school child) per student.

Following are some of the results of this and similar state actions in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Alabama, as well as some estimates of the costs in the four states most seriously affected.

In Virginia . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
November 13, 1963

Roanoke (AP)—Roanoke School Superintendent E. W. Rushton attacked the tuition grant program last night in some of the strongest terms yet from an educator.

The cost rise is "alarming" . . . said Rushton. . . .

He said money has been laid out for the grants year after year while

spending has been cut for teachers' salaries, school plant maintenance and operation. . . .

For every child who gets a grant, the city loses more money—an average of $100 in the State support allocated on the basis of children in average daily attendance. . . .

School board Business Manager A. F. Fisher estimated today that the total cost of the program to date thus exceeds $225,000, or about the cost of a new eight-room elementary school. . . .

Virginia taxpayers spent $2,252,995 for 9489 grants in 1962-63.

ROANOKE *TIMES*
Editorial, January 22, 1964

. . . For the biennium of 1964-66, the sum of $1,200,000 is set aside for paying the state's share of grants . . .

In South Carolina . . .

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 22, 1964

In South Carolina the legislature included a provision in this year's general appropriations bill for $250,000 that will finance private education for pupils in Charleston who are dissatisfied with integrated schools.

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
January 11, 1964

Columbia (AP)—. . . But if federal court orders on integration of schools begin ranging more widely than just in the Charleston area, $250,000 would be only a drop in the bucket.

In Louisiana . . .
the bill of . . .

PAR ANALYSIS
No. 113, October, 1963
Public Affairs Research
Council of Louisiana, Inc.

In the current school term, 10,136 children have been approved to receive grants that will total $3.6 million.

consists of . . .

The $360 grant paid by the state to a child attending a private school is considerably more than the average amount of state money spent on each child attending public elementary and secondary schools in fiscal 1962-63.

and is paid by . . .

In the second extra session of 1961, the legislature transferred $2.5 million from the public welfare fund to a new fund, the education expense grant fund, in order to carry out the grant-in-aid program. It further provided that $200,000 per month was to be paid into the new fund out of the first money collected from the state's sales tax. . . . The 1962 legislature then transferred $4 million out of the fund to assist in meeting

the state's deficit. . . . The $200,000 sales tax dedication was continued; however, in the 1963 fiscal session of the legislature this sum was raised to $300,000 per month by Act 27.

In Alabama . . .

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 5,1964

The State Board of Education Tuesday authorized financial aid to parents of Tuskegee High School students to enable them to attend private segregated schools. . . .

State School Superintendent Auston Meadows said . . . it would be sometime before he could determine how much money would go to the parents for each child. The law specifies that the amount cannot exceed what was previously spent in providing a public education for the student.

ANNUAL REPORT
1962 State Alabama Board of Education

	COUNTIES	
CURRENT EXPENSES PER PUPIL IN A.D.A. (AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE)	WHITE	NEGRO
	$198.68	$177.76

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 19, 1964

(AP)—For almost 20 years, Alabama has provided out-of-state aid for college students seeking instruction not available to them in this state.

Many Negroes have taken advantage of the program to get specialized instruction when they were barred from Alabama's white colleges and universities.

Under the program started in 1945, Alabama pays the difference in tuition plus transportation and up to $110 a month for living expenses.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
September 3, 1963

Fort Rucker, Ala.—When school bells ring this morning, some 1,200 white and Negro children will file into a spanking new $1,038,000 school house built on the base here by Uncle Sam this summer for the sake of integration.

Meanwhile, a few hundred yards away from the camp gates, a segregated public school, also costing $1 million and financed with Federal funds, will remain two-thirds empty. Most of its white students have been transferred to the Army school, in company with a handful of Negro military dependents that previously attended a local all-colored school. At most, it's estimated only 30 Negro pupils at Fort Rucker will be enrolled in the new integrated school on post.

Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1963

The varied costs of maintaining segregated schools are large and growing larger; the heaviest burden rests on Negro children, but the drain on the monetary resources of the entire community is increasingly severe. . . .

Handicapped by lower income and a higher educational load than the

rest of the United States, Arkansas, in common with the rest of the South, has gained little in relation to national education standards. In 1961, Arkansas spent $57.48 per capita on its public schools, $3.29 below Mississippi, and last in the Nation.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
July 9, 1963

Atlanta School Board Member Mrs. Ray Mitchell has accused the city of "spending millions of dollars unnecessarily to keep schools segregated when segregation, by law, may be past history at any time." . . .

". . . Empty seats" at predominantly white schools could help further to relieve crowded conditions in Negro schools, she continued.

Mrs. Mitchell also argued unsuccessfully against a board plan to build an entirely new school to lighten the load at crowded Howard High. She said she could "not go along" with an expenditure of about $2 million on a new building when existing space in other schools is already available.

While on the Other Hand . . .

CHARLESTON (W. VA.) *GAZETTE*
April 18, 1964

. . . West Virginia has made a good beginning in school desegregation. . . .

Segregation simply costs too much—both in taxes and in the psycological damage it does primarily to Negroes, but also to whites who are forced to grow up learning to fear or hate human beings they don't even know.

Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1963

The cost of interdistrict transportation of Negro children to servicing schools clearly exceeds what the cost of educating such children in desegrated resident districts would be. . . . State-wide per pupil cost averages from $149 to $225 per year. In a segregated district in western Arkansas, $4,500 is spent annually for sending 14 Negro high school students to another district, a per pupil average of $321. In one district, 15 students in both elementary and secondary schools had been sent to another district at an annual cost of $6,000, or $400 per pupil. This latter district has desegregated, and it is a source of some public pride that the savings are being put into a public school music department that the district long lacked.

WASHINGTON *POST*
November 25, 1963

. . . Applauding the School Board's decision [to close the all-Negro high school] County Board Chairman Thomas W. Richards said yesterday:

"The Board is pleased that, for the first time, all Negro senior high school children in Arlington will have an equal educational opportunity and that this will be accomplished at a great savings to the taxpayer."

LOUISVILLE *COURIER-JOURNAL*
September 22, 1963

Paris, Ky.—. . . For six months before the high school [Bourbon County] integrated in 1961, a biracial committee prepared an acceptable climate of public opinion. . . .

Not the least effective argument was the hard fact that maintaining two systems was a needless waste, costing $33,000 a year.

The Price We Pay...

In Culture, Entertainment and Sports

Art . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Bruce Galphin column, May 16, 1964

The Museum of Modern Art has barred its circulating exhibitions of paintings, sculpture and photographs from display before segregated groups.

One fourth of the exhibitions . . . visit the South.

This rule, which applies also to rentals from the museum's extensive library of motion pictures, was instituted recently in the hope that other museums would follow suit.

Opera and Theater . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1962

A few years ago, when soprano Leontyne Price was first creating such a sensation at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, one of the Met executives was asked when Atlantans could see and hear her.

"When she can ride in an unsegregated taxi from the airport, and stay in an unsegregated hotel and eat in an unsegregated restaurant," he replied. . . . [Miss Price sang with the Metropolitan during its 1964 season in Atlanta.]

How much Americans have cheated themselves in the past by denying themselves the Leontyne Prices. How much poorer we have been for cutting off the potential contributions of so many millions of people. How sad and curious it will seem to those who read the history of our days that we even set up elaborate barriers of custom and law to deny ourselves these gifts.

. . . The museum is the third major cultural organization to act against segregation. Last year the Metropolitan Opera decided that it would no longer play before segregated audiences during its spring tours and this year the Actors Equity Association ruled that its members should not be required to perform in segregated theaters.

Night Clubs . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
June 11, 1963

New York (AP)—The American Guild of Variety Artists voted in convention Monday for an immediate national boycott of entertainment centers that racially segregate either customers or employees. . . .

The resolution continued:

"AGVA will advocate the non-appearance of AGVA members in any hotels, clubs or place of entertainment where such a policy of segregation exists."

Baseball . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
October 20, 1963

. . . The Boston Red Sox and the Pittsburgh Pirates have been asked by the Florida National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to reconsider plans to locate baseball farm clubs at Ocala and Palatka. The NAACP said both cities lack integrated facilities.

Football . . .

HOUSTON *POST*
August 20, 1963

Four Negro stars of the Oakland Raiders [professional football] say they won't play Friday night in Mobile, Ala. against the New York Jets if seating in the stadium is segregated.

Prizefight . . .

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
February 25, 1964

Both Loew's State and the Saenger theaters announced Monday that they are cancelling the telecast of the Sonny Liston-Cassius Clay heavyweight fight Tuesday night.

Earlier Monday, Liston said he would not stand for piping a telecast of his title defense, in Miami Beach, into any theater that had racially segregated seating.

Playright . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
April 4, 1963

Irish playwright Brendan Behan has cancelled a scheduled visit here Friday for a performance of one of his plays because of a news item he said he read in New York about police mistreatment of Negro comedian Dick Gregory in Mississippi.

Frank Wittow, director of the Academy Theater here, said . . . he [Behan] refused to come South.

"We were looking forward to seeing and working with Behan," Mr. Wittow said. "Unfortunately, we are all identified with the crude actions in Mississippi. This is a case of everybody suffering."

Literary Festival . . .

MEMPHIS *COMMERCIAL APPEAL*
April 9, 1964

Many months ago, the Southern Literary Festival, an association of 27 colleges and universities from South Carolina to Texas, made contracts with Prof. Walter Allen of Vassar College, Prof. John Gassner of Yale University, and Stephen Spender, English poet, to speak for festival ses-

sions at Mississippi State College for Women at Columbus, April 23-25.

Three weeks before the festival date, all three wrote to Dr. George T. Buckley, president of the association, cancelling their contracts, all for the same reason, that Mississippi State College for Women does not admit Negroes."

State Parks . . .

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
April 23, 1964

Annual maintenance costs for Edisto Beach State Park, padlocked for eight years to avoid racial integration, constitute "a waste of money," the chairman of the State Forestry Commission said last night. . . .

Edisto Beach Park will be the only one of 26 state parks to remain closed next month. The other 25 are re-opening on a restricted racially integrated basis under terms of a new state parks act passed last week by the General Assembly. . . .

However, its mothball status is costing taxpayers $6,525 a year to pay a caretaker-superintendent and to paint and repair park cabins that will never be occupied. . . .

A state estimate is that it would require an outlay of $35,000 to get the park back into sufficiently good shape to reopen for visitors.

Auditorium . . .

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
September, 1962

A proposed large bond issue failed in Atlanta, and Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., said the segregation issue was one of the reasons for the failure. A bond issue for new schools was barely defeated, but bonds for a cultural center lost by a big margin. Allen said the segregation issue had been "falsely injected" into the cultural center debate.

Music . . .

REDBOOK
"Little Rock—Five Years Later"
Gerald Walker
November 1962

. . . When Duke Ellington was to appear there [Little Rock, Ark., city auditorium] last year, seating was announced to be on a segregated basis, whereupon the band leader cancelled his booking.

TIME
March 20, 1964

. . . Conductors George Szell, Leonard Bernstein and Erich Leinsdorf all announced that they would not appear before segregated audiences, and they were joined by such performers as Rise Stevens, Leon Fleisher, Jaime Laredo and Julius Katchen. Artur Rubenstein declared that such a stand is "a right and natural step."

Segregation remains the general rule for concert audiences in Mississippi and Alabama; elsewhere it is accomplished more discreetly. . . . Sol Hurok, with his huge stable of artists, has had a similar policy [refusal to appear before segregated audiences] for a decade. At week's end the new musical boycott of the Deep South was endorsed by Vladimir Horowitz.

Blackout in Mississippi . . .

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
January 30, 1964

Jackson (UPI)—[James] Webb, administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, was to have given the principal address at a banquet honoring members of the Mississippi Legislature.

But a few hours before the event, Webb sent word he did not endorse segregation, and would not appear.

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
January 23, 1964

Television's Cartwright family of the "Bonanza" series exhibited a solid front Tuesday when Lorne Green and Michael Landon joined their co-star Dan Blocker in cancelling a scheduled appearance in Jackson because they refused to appear before a segregated audience.

BIRMINGHAM NEWS
January 26, 1964

Jackson (AP)—Jazz trumpeter Al Hirt and his band failed to play Saturday night after he was asked by an integration group not to appear at the segregated coliseum.

COMMONWEALTH
(Greenwood, Miss.)
February 20, 1964

Jackson, Miss. (AP)—Another performer has passed up an appearance here following a protest by a civil rights group.

Concert pianist Gary Graffman will not appear for a Community Concert series at the Jackson Auditorium on February 27 because of segregated arrangements.

NEW YORK TIMES
April 10, 1964

A campaign to desegregate concerts in the South received significant backing yesterday when a major concert management organization indicated that it would no longer offer its artists to perform in Jackson, Miss., at least until racial tensions there are eased. . . .

Kurt Weinhold, president of Columbia Artists Management, Inc., said . . . he had not suggested any replacement for Birgit Nilsson, the soprano, who last week called off a concert on the advice of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Price We Pay...

In Tourism and Conventions

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
September 8, 1962

New Orleans' loss of conventions is hurting business much more in the French Quarter than are District Attorney Jim Garrison's vice raids, a veteran Bourbon Street night club operator believes.

Hyp Guinle, owner of the Famous Door Lounge, said Friday that state laws requiring segregation in hotels are costing night spots the convention trade which is their lifeblood. . . .

"Seymour Weiss tells me he's had five cancellations from conventions this year because he couldn't take one or two colored delegates," said Guinle.

PROVIDENCE (R. I.) *JOURNAL*
May 24, 1963

Bluefield, W. Va. (AP)—The West Virginia Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claimed a victory yesterday when Negro hotels turned away Negroes and forced an American Legion convention out of Bluefield. . . .

The NAACP has been "working hard to get Negroes not to cooperate with the segregated housing plans of the Legion convention," he [Rev. C. Anderson Davis, president of the W. Va. NAACP] said.

The controversy began last month when the West Virginian Hotel, to be convention headquarters, said it would not accept reservations from Negro legionnaires.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1963

Detroit (UPI)—The American Federation of Teachers has turned down a suggestion that its convention in 1963 be held at Bal Harbour, Fla.

Some of the delegates expressed concern over possible racial segregation.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
May 24, 1963

Miami Beach (AP) . . . Miami Beach has been named the site of the American Legion's September 6-12 national convention, shifted from New Orleans because of racial problems.

National Commander James Powers . . . said not enough integrated lodgings could be found in New Orleans.

An estimated 50,000 persons will attend the sessions.

Tabulations by Larry Mansfield, Manager, City of Miami Convention Bureau, June, 1963

Assuming that the Miami Beach meeting draws 35,000 delegates for a four-day stay and each one spends $30.00 per day (a national average delegate's expenditure), this will amount to . . . $4,200,000.

From testimony of Undersecretary of Commerce, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. before the Senate Committee on Commerce, July 23, 1963

The business community generally has begun to recognize that the Negro's rising disposable income represents a large and growing portion of the nation's buying power. However, this is far less true in the area of public accommodations.

The table [based on a study published several years ago by the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania] shows . . . that Negroes in both the North and South spend much less than whites of the same income class on "Automobile operations" (40 to 60 per cent). This statistic certainly suggests that Negroes are doing considerably less traveling by automobile than white people in the same income group. Since Negroes spent close to the same amount, on the average, for the purchase of automobiles as did whites on the same income level, I believe the absence of suitable facilities along our important North-South highway routes must be the discouraging factor.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
June 26, 1963

Tourist travel through Birmingham to points in the South and Southwest "is off at least 25%, maybe more," says Bancroft Timmons, director of the Alabama Automobile Association. "We're getting requests for routings around Birmingham every day. People coming from New York to the Southwest are driving 100 miles out of their way through Arkansas to miss Alabama."

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
September 16, 1963

Toronto (AP)—Canadians should boycott the southern United States as a holiday area in protest of racial segregation, Alan Borovoy, executive secretary of the Ontario Labor Committee for Human Rights, said Sunday.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
April 27, 1964

Pittsburgh—The Methodist Church's General Conference was told Sunday that the body would meet in Dallas, Tex., in 1968. Atlanta had been a major contender for the meeting until it was eliminated several weeks ago because of segregation in several restaurants and lunch counters as well as inadequate auditorium facilities. . . .

Had Atlanta been selected, the conference would have brought some 14,000 persons to the city for a two-week period.

While on the Other Hand . . .

WALL STREET JOURNAL
July 15, 1963

. . . In Dallas, integration of hotels and restaurants has "opened up an entirely new area of convention prospects," according to Ray Bennison, convention manager of the Chamber of Commerce. "This year we've probably added $8 million to $10 million of future bookings because we're integrated," Mr. Bennison says.

DALLAS *MORNING NEWS*
February 12, 1964

Hank Brown, state president of Texas AFL-CIO told the state executive board Tuesday that unions recently caused the integration of the last segregated hotel in Brownsville.

Brown said that while examining Brownsville as a possible site for the

union's convention August 10-21, he discovered that a hotel near the convention center was segregated.

When civic leaders faced the prospect of losing $250,000 in convention trade, he said, "the situation was straightened out." Executive board members voted Monday to hold the convention in Brownsville.

WINSTON-SALEM (N. C.) *JOURNAL*, editorial February 24, 1964

. . . A week or so ago, the National Lutheran Council decided to meet in Charlotte after the New York *Times* reported that eight hotels and motels in that city had been desegregated. Earlier, the council members had discounted Charlotte as a meeting site. The executive director of the council said that "we would prefer (as a matter of principle) not to be in a place where the hotel space was segregated." Thus Charlotte gets a convention that will bring 70 people there for three days.

Last Friday, the North Carolina Association of Broadcasters said that it had cancelled plans to hold its June convention at a motor hotel in Wrightsville Beach because the management refused to provide accommodations for representatives of a member radio station owned by Negroes. Instead, the association will meet at a New Bern hotel.

There will surely be other such instances as more and more organizations desegregate their membership and as the consciences of Americans become increasingly aroused to the need for racial justice. And in time the realities of business may overcome the fears of those who still feel that discrimination pays off.

The Price We Pay...

On a National Scale

For Segregated Housing

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
July 1, 1963

Washington . . . He [Emerson P. Schmidt, chief economist for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce] noted that while there has been no absolute drop in the volume of federally-financed house construction since the anti-discrimination order was issued in November, there has been a drop in the proportion it represents of all new house construction.

THE MORTGAGE BANKER
February, 1964

Not only is the impulse to new home ownership an inevitable expression of the middle class Negro's aspirations and accomplishments, its realization would have a salutary effect on the economy at large.

Recently the Housing and Home Finance agency prepared a series of estimates of the extent to which new construction would be augmented if non-white families were permitted and inclined to participate in the housing market in a manner identical to that of the white families. The calculation for 17 metropolitan areas in the United States indicated that potential demand accumulated among non-white families with incomes between $7,000 and $10,000 a year amounted to 45,000 units, and that demand in all 212 metropolitan areas may be as high as 200,000 units.

This figure represents approximately one-eighth of the total annual volume of new construction and one-sixth of the annual number of new one-family units. Were the backlog to be made up during the remaining portion of the decade of the 1960's, the demand for new construction would be increased by 2 to 3 per cent a year. This could be a welcome addition during a period in which net household formation is expected to taper off.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Eugene Patterson column,
December 14, 1963

. . . If backward attitudes prevail, Atlanta can become a predominantly Negro city by 1975.

And since the existing housing squeeze will increasingly drive well-off Negroes as well as whites to homes outside the city limits, in order to make way for city slums to house the poorest Negroes and whites, then the city's tax base will erode and progress will wither.

Then city business will falter, and with it job opportunities, so that the poverty of the city's poor will begin to feed on itself and perpetuate the cycle of decay.

What the city faces, therefore, is not a racial debate but an economic

crisis. Poor whites, trapped in city slums, will be hurt along with poor Negroes. And the well-off whites, along with the well-off Negroes who withdraw into suburbs will find the source of their prosperity—a strong central city—evaporating.

The Price We Pay...

For Federal Troops in Racial Disorders

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
October 3, 1963

Washington (AP)—The call-up of the Alabama National Guard in that state's public school integration crisis last month has cost at least $422,000 so far, the Army said Wednesday.

This figure covers pay and allowances from September 10 to 30.

It does not include operations costs.

NASHVILLE *BANNER*
March 29, 1963

Washington—The Defense Department estimates it has spent at least $4,100,000 maintaining troops at Oxford, Miss., to protect James Meredith. . . .

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara supplied the figure to a House Appropriations subcommittee, for the period ending January 31, at the request of three Southern members. . . .

McNamara pointed out that Defense Department figures were in addition to the cost incurred by the Justice Department.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
April 5, 1963

Washington (AP)—. . . The Justice Department has told Congress its expenses to enforce court orders permitting Negro James H. Meredith to attend the University of Mississippi will run about $559,000 through June 30.

KNOXVILLE *NEWS-SENTINEL*
January 30, 1963

. . . Federal costs in the operation has exceeded $4,500,000 and it is costing an additional $4,500 a day for the 300 troops still stationed at Oxford, Miss. . . .

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
February 20, 1963

Washington (AP)—The damage that heavy military aircraft inflicted last fall on the University of Mississippi airport will be repaired by the government, two Mississippi House members said today. . . .

"The damage to the runway alone is estimated to be in excess of $200,000. Additional extensive repairs must be made to restore other airport property to its original condition."

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 11, 1963

For the fourth time in recent years†, the National Guard of a Southern state was called into Federal service during a desegregation dispute yesterday . . .

. . . The 320 Alabama Guardsmen mobilized by Governor George C.

Wallace early yesterday to bar Negro children from entering school in three Alabama cities, withdrew on Department of the Army orders after President Kennedy federalized the entire 17,000-man Alabama Guard. They returned to their armories.

They [Guardsmen] will draw an average of $13.50 a day in Army pay while mustered into Federal service even though not actually on duty —at a cost to the U. S. Government of about $320,000 a day.

†[*Little Rock—1957; Ole Miss—1962; Tuscaloosa—1963; and Birmingham, Tuskegee and Huntsville—September, 1963*].

NEW YORK *TIMES*
May 13, 1964

Washington—The Controller General of the United States has turned down a University of Mississippi claim for $104,545 in damages that followed the admission of James H. Meredith. . .

The university argued that the Federal troops were its tenants. Therefore, it said, the Army should pay the fair rental value of the property it occupied and restore the premises to their original condition.

Controller General Ames Campbell, in refusing the claim altogether, noted that the troops hardly had been invited by the university.

The Price We Pay...

In Gross National Product

From a statement on the "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination in Employment," presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, by the Council of Economic Advisers September, 1962

. . . If non-whites had the same labor force participation and employment rates as the whites and if they were distributed geographically and occupationally (and thus in terms of wage and salary income) as whites with the same educational attainments—if, in other words, non-whites were able to make the same contribution to production, given their present educational attainment, GNP could be increased by about 1.8 per cent. . . .

Furthermore, the 1.8 per cent estimate relates only to wage and salary income and does not attempt the difficult measurement of the change in the labor component of entrepreneurial income. Gains will occur in the labor productivity of the self-employed adding further to the 1.8 per cent increase in GNP.

The above considerations suggest that the gain in Gross National Product might well be as much as 2.5 per cent (about $13 billion at today's level of GNP). . . .

. . . The shift to full utilization of the present capabilities of the non-white population (and the resultant GNP increase of about 2.5 per cent) would assist significantly in meeting our economic growth objectives in the coming years. . . .

If non-whites had the same educational levels as whites, and if the

economy fully utilized their education, GNP today might be perhaps 3.2 per cent higher (inclusive of the 2.5 per cent estimate reported above). This amounts to about $17 billion at today's levels of GNP.

Speech by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D. Minn.) in Pittsburgh March 7, 1964

. . . This [$13 to $17 billion dollars a year cited above in GNP] is more than one-fourth of the money we spend for national defense. It is three times as much as we spend on our space program.

And this loss in income, of course, does not take into account what we pay in higher crime rates, poor health, urban decay, mounting welfare costs and the countless other costs that grow out of discrimination.

When all of these are added, the cost of discrimination becomes astronomical.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS* Editorial, September 22, 1963

. . . Where there are many Negroes and if Negro income levels are substantially lower than whites—and they are—then the states or the region with so large a number of Negroes suffer by not having all its people able to buy goods or services matching the national level. The more Negroes can buy, the more jobs will be created.

HOUSTON *POST* February 23, 1964

American society robs itself when it refuses equal job and educational opportunities to people because of their race, creed or religion.

That's the feeling of Hobart Taylor, Jr., of Washington, D. C., the executive vice-chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

. . . Taylor prefers to approach the issue of desegregation on economic grounds.

The Gross National Product of the United States, for example, would be increased . . . if job discrimination were ended, he said. The Gross National Product now stands at $600 billion.

"Our economic system needs to be arranged so that everyone strives to his fullest," he said "If he doesn't, the country is that much poorer."

The economic evil about discrimination, he said, is that it makes many feel they cannot rise above a certain level, so they tend to give less than their best.

Taylor said one of the most harmful fallacies in the nation is that there are only a certain number of jobs available for the work force.

The truth is, he says, that as more people are given the opportunity to produce, the more wealth and jobs there are created.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* (from New York *Times* Co. dispatch), July 1, 1963

Washington—The Chief economist for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce fears that "unresolved race relations issues" may hurt some kinds of businesses particularly, and business generally in certain sections of the country. . . .

Entire areas of the country where there is widespread public unrest might also see some temporary drop in business, Schmidt [Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt] indicated.

The Price We Pay...

In Foreign Relations

Letter from W. M. Chase, General Sales Manager, Chase Machinery Company ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* "Pulse of the Public" column May 20, 1963

Buffalo, N. Y.—I have just returned from a selling trip through the greater and lesser Antilles where for years we have been selling machinery and equipment to these off-shore areas in the Caribbean and the Atlantic.

Both the whites and the blacks now refuse to buy anything American from us even though, personally, I have made many friends for the past many years.

Russia, Japan, Canada and England have their salesmen in these prosperous islands and invariably they talk about how the whites treat the colored people in the United States.

Last year the U. S. Department of Commerce reported exports to these same islands amounted to $180 million but the steamship companies so far this year are noticing that shipments are few.

NEW YORK *HERALD TRIBUNE* June 20, 1963

Washington—Twenty-two ambassadors from African nations got together here yesterday to tell the world what it already knew—that Africa thinks even less of Senator Allen J. Ellender than he thinks of it.

A Louisiana Democrat and ardent segregationist, Senator Ellender likes to go around telling anybody who will listen that Negroes are incapable of self-government. He said it again on television Sunday.

The statement brought the usual reaction. On Monday, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, speaking for an Administration that is up to its neck in racial problems, said the Senator did not speak for the government or for a majority of Americans.

The Africans had heard this before, and were not impressed. They gathered in the Liberian Embassy and issued a communique that said, in part:

"The language used by the Senator was needlessly offensive to our countries with which the United States government has friendly relations . . .

"It is difficult to ignore Sen. Ellender's remarks or to dismiss them as the fully privileged announcement of a private citizen in view of his position as a senior member of Congress and of the Senate Appropriations Committee . . .

"It is a grave disservice to the cause of world peace and understanding for a person occupying a prominent place in the public life of a great nation to provoke a return of the archaic debates on whether ethnic differences can be held to justly a claim of superiority by one race over another. That theory has been proved baseless and its revival is likely to be a source of incalculable mischief."

Last December, while on a taxpayer-financed junket to Africa, Senator Ellender also said Negroes were unable to rule themselves. The remarks received wide publicity all over the continent and caused the State Department considerable embarrassment.

One result was that four countries on the Senator's itinerary refused permission for him to visit.

In March, Senator Ellender held a press conference here in which he said he had no apologies for his views. He called Africans "thinskinned" and appeared still nettled that he had been refused travel rights in four of the nations. He added.

"The Negro in Africa is no different from the Negro in America. The minute you say whites are a little ahead of the Negro it's like shaking a red handkerchief before a fighting bull."

The official policy of the United States, of course, has been to support independence for new African states. It is aiding these countries to the tune of $500 million a year.

WASHINGTON POST
August 26, 1963

When Negro and white demonstrators for equal rights converge on Washington this week, an American dilemma will be unveiled in dramatic terms. The vast majority of white Americans (78 per cent) feel that unsolved racial problems here at home cannot be defended in the court of world opinion.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
Ralph McGill column,
May 23, 1963

Air mail brought cuttings from newspapers in the new African countries showing treatment of the Birmingham riots and bombings within four days after the first brutalities. These mailings—to our State Department, to members of many delegations in the United Nations, and to individuals—have continued. They include photographs.

The result of the madness at Birmingham, and the following statements by Governor Wallace, Bull Conner, and others in political leadership in Alabama and Mississippi, have quite literally paralyzed the foreign relations of this country's representatives in Africa and seriously damaged them elsewhere. . . .

One paper mocks us asking if there is any real difference between the late Adolf Hitler's racist attitudes and those of America's extremists? Again, we are vulnerable.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
May 28, 1963

Washington (UPI)—Secretary of State Dean Rusk Monday called on Americans to solve racial problems which he said are causing "deep injury" to U. S. foreign policy abroad.

Rusk said that because of remaining U. S. racial barriers, U. S. diplomats must conduct American foreign policy like someone running in a foot race "with one of our legs in a cast." . . .

Rusk said the United States "is now confronted with one of the gravest issues that we have had since 1865 . . . and this issue deeply affects the conduct of our foreign relations."

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
Ralph McGill column,
June 9, 1963

A Baptist missionary in Nigeria mailed in three cuttings from papers in that country. . . . One was an editorial from "The Times" of Lagos, perhaps the most influential publication in that country.

At the bottom of this cutting the missionary had written, "As a Christian this one was to me, the most tragic article of all. Why, why, don't our people at home know what they are doing to us . . .?"

From address by then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Carl T. Rowan, before the Catholic Interracial Council of Washington, D. C., June 24, 1961, reprinted in *INTERRACIAL REVIEW* October, 1961

. . . Of the nearly 100 diplomatic missions now accredited to Washington, more than half have representatives of Asian or African background. So incidents of discrimination at airports and restaurants and other public places have become a matter of real concern on the part not only of Secretary of State Rusk but of normally intelligent Americans who are concerned about the kind of world in which their children are going to live.

Letter from Mrs. Betty Hakem in ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* "Pulse of the Public" column November 1, 1963

Atlanta—It happened on Oct. 27, when my husband and I along with another Hindu couple from India went to a downtown restaurant to have our lunch. As soon as we went in we heard the most welcoming words from our American hostess, "Sorry, we cannot serve you." . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
(From North American Newspaper Alliance dispatch)
July 25, 1963

Paris—Racial tensions in the United States are beginning to produce international repercussions of an unprecedented kind, especially in Western Europe.

As seen from here, the United States for the first time since World War II faces an internal crisis sufficiently serious to deflect its energies from its international responsibilities. . . .

. . . They [Europeans] do not discount the possibilities of the domestic crisis having a sharply debilitating effect on U. S. foreign policy. The comparison increasingly made here is with the Soviet Union's running agricultural crisis and the restrictive influence it undoubtedly has exerted over the years on Russian initiative abroad.

WASHINGTON *POST*
May 25, 1963

Paris—France's new television program, "Seven Days of the World," opened tonight with a 10-minute sequence on the racial conflict in Birmingham, Alabama, which was a model of expert impartial reporting.

If the South...

. . . Per capita incomes in the South did increase from 47 to 64 percent of the non-South's during 1929-48 and have fluctuated at around 68 percent in more recent years. If there is any ground for discouragement, it lies in the fact that the South's per capita income made relatively little further gain on the rest of the nation during 1948-54 and that more recently

the intensification of race conflict has raised a serious threat to still further regional economic progress. . . .

If the South could at last take such a fresh, honest, and hard-headed look at the race problem, the gains which would accrue to the region would extend far beyond matters of race. For race has so shackled the Southern mind that it has been incapable of accepting social responsibility for the general welfare or of organizing common efforts for common benefit in other important directions as well.

William H. Nicholls, *Southern Tradition & Regional Progress,* Chapel Hill, 1960

THE PRICE WE PAY

Prepared by Barbara Patterson
and other staff members of the
Southern Regional Council, and
The Anti-Defamation League

THE PRICE WE PAY

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INTRODUCTION

THE PRICE WE PAY

This publication samples the costs -- chiefly money -- incurred by the South's resistance against equal opportunity. Nearly all the documentation has come from the press, largely the southern press. Some other printed sources have been used.

If all expenditures and loss could be added up, the sum would be shocking. The shock is even greater if, in reading each item, one keeps in mind the many and drastic needs in the South for wise use of its public monies and resources to improve society and the lot of its individuals.

Not all of the waste here documented has a price tag. Can the people of Mississippi, for example, afford the cost of the human spirit that comes from being cut off from a culture's highest artistic achievements? Is there enough money in the world to cover the cost to the American nation in international good will lost by unacceptable race relations?

There are probably those who would try to use the figures here to blame not themselves for being so easily parted from their money, but to blame those Americans who, by demanding constitutional rights for all, have in a sense necessitated the expenditures.

Any such rationale founders on elementary arithmetic: the estimated cost of implementing the Civil Rights bill of 1964 for fife years -- $100 million -- is only .6 per cent of the Gross National Product increase -- $17 billion -- which could be realized for one year with full and free use of our human resources. There were southern Congressmen who reported with indignation that the 1963 March on Washington cost the District of Columbia government an estimated $805,000 - $1,022,300. Can this cost be called a responsibility of the marchers? A fair judgment will see it as a cost forced on the national government by reactionary elements of the South and by a dilatory Congress.

And so with the other wastes of money and resources documented here -- they come from discrimination, not its victims.

Will southern states, which can least afford it, which so need to develop the potential of their people to the highest degrees of human dignity, continue in the ways documented here to waste the substance of their people?

THE PRICE WE PAY

IN THE ECONOMY OF COMMUNITIES

In Failure to Attract Industry and Investment

In recent years, its failure to attract any significant amount of new industry and its reliance on the limping steele industry -- U. S. Steel Corp.'s Tennessee Coal & Iron Division is the area's biggest employer -- have combined to slow Birmingham's economy. In 1957, the metropolitan areahhad its highest employment, 246,000. Today, the total is estimated at 228,000.

Some Birmingham citizens say that in recent years large numbers of their best educated young men and women have been deserting the city to find opportunity elsewhere. It hasn't all been due to the lack of economic opportunity, says one young citizen. "We lost ourselves a generation; they just don't want to put up with all this racial strife."

...Wall Street Journal
May 15, 1963

Humans, resources, technology, management and education are the five major areas necessary for development if Mississippi is to make economic progress, C. E. Kirk told the noon Lions Club [of Greenville, Miss.] at its weekly meeting Wednesday.

Kirk, who is plant manager for the Ludlow Manufacturing Co., in Indianola, spoke as a guest of the local Lions Club on the subject, "Blueprint for Mississippi's Economic Progress."

Kirk as also a representative for the Mississippi Economic Council and brought along charts and statistics which were gathered largely through the council.

"Where we are losing out," he said, "is in the new, highly skilled industries like the chemicals, electronics and pharmaceutical companies."

"The problem is many of our working age people (20-40) are leaving and those who stay don't have enough education to attract the newer breed of industries into the state," Kirk said.

As a resutl, Mississippi's per capita income doubled from 1939 to 1945, but it stayed the same in relation to the nation's average.+

...Delta Democrat-Times
(Greenville, Miss.)
January 30, 1964

+[MISSISSIPPI HAS THE LOWEST PER CAPITA INCOME OF ALL 50 STATES: $1,229. THE NATIONAL AVERAGE IS $2,263.

...Survey of Current Business,
August 1962
U. S. Department of Commerce]

A report circulated by S. D. Wolfe, temporary chairman of the Lafayette County Rural Development Committee, says Oxford (Miss.) has lost two new industries because of the crisis.

...Jackson Daily News
January 27, 1963

However, while the state's overall business advance continued, economists in other Southeastern states remained convinced that Mississippi would suffer in later years because of the racial outbreaks.

They cited Little Rock, Ark., as evidence, noting that the industry stopped locating there for two years after the racial troubles in 1957.

A leading economist said he expected the number of new industries in Mississippi "to start declining by the middle of 1963, and to continue shrinking for a long time to come until and unless, the state shows that it is willing to rejoin the Union."

...New York Times,
April 15, 1963.

Downtown demonstrations last spring by Negroes seeking a change to integrated facilities in restaurants had an adverse effect in attracting new industry, Chamber of Commerce officials told the Greensboro Human Relations Committee yesterday.

...Greensboro Daily News
September 6, 1963

Industrial development people admit that the turmoil is frightening away prospective new industry. Sidney M. Smyer, a prominent real estate man who has been active in business groups talking with Negroes, says: "This situation is going to have definite effects on locating further business here /Birmingham/. People aren't going to come where there is trouble -- it's hard enough to get them when you have a favorable climate." W. Cooper Green, executive vice-president of Alabama Power Co., sums it up: "Violence hurts -- labor violence, criminal violence, racial violence. You have to live it down."

...Business Week
September 28, 1963

Birmingham (AP) -- At a Chamber of Commerce meeting, Chairman Caldwell Marks of an industry-hunting committee, disclosed receipt of insulting letters from prospective industries and cancellation of plans for firms to locate here.

...Atlanta Constitution
May 24, 1963

Governor George Wallace's war against "the central government" could be far more costly to the people of Alabama if the federal government ever decides to fight back.

Moreover, the Defense Department is now cutting down on the number of military and naval bases and installations over the country. And, when all other considerations are close to even, defense advisers may decide that it would be wise to close an installation in a state that persists in fighting the federal government rather than a similar installation in another state that is more cooperative.

Representative Kenneth Roberts got some figures together recently showing that in the fiscal year than ended last June 30, the Defense Department alone spent in Alabama more than $700 million in payrolls, upkeep, contracts, and the like.

...Birmingham News
Washington correspondent
James Free, February 2, 1964

...The severe economic damage caused by racial unrest has forced the city's business community into action ....Birmingham is endowed with a rich supply of raw materials and with ample resources of labor. But the flow of new industries into the area was halted by the onset of racial violence....As one businessman put it: "We have become the world's headquarters for racial violence, and nothing worse could happen to a city."

...The Financial Times (London)
September 23, 1963

It frequently costs 50 per cent more to build a terminal with segregated facilities [said] Vance Greenslit, president of Southeastern Greyhound Lines.

...Wall Street Journal
December 17, 1957

City Council [New York] President Paul R. Screvane proposed today that the city refuse to invest any of its $3,400,000,000 pension funds in the securities of companies practicing racial discrimination....

Because the amount that may be invested in any one corporation's bonds is small, the pension funds own bonds in dozens of different corporations, which are scattered all over the country.

...New York Times
June 30, 1963

The United Presbyterian Church urged its agencies yesterday to use their financial influence upon businesses with which they deal to eliminate racial discrimination....

The statement [of the Church] urged the agency boards to "analyze investment opportunities and financial policies that would directly witness to the concern of the United Presbyterian Church for an integrated society."

If church funds are invested in concerns that discriminate, efforts should be made to have those practices changed, the statement suggested.

...New York Times
December 18, 1963

An investigation of the racial policies of corporation, in which the overseas mission board of the United Church of Christ has invested funds was ordered by board directors at a meeting yesterday. ...

The board has investment holdings of about $18,000,000.

...St. Louis Post Dispatch
June 20, 1963

AND THEN, ON THE OTHER HAND, ...HUNTSVILLE HEARD OPPORTUNITY KNOCKING, OPENED DOOR

...For Huntsville -- and the nation -- the space age began with the arrival of about 200 former German missilemen and their families, led by Wernher von Braun. ...

With their arrival, Huntsville began turning its back on the South of magnolias and lace.

At the end of World War II, Huntsville was known chiefly as the largest cotton market east of Memphis. It had 3,800 homes and 12 small industries including three big cotton mills.

Two of the cotton mills are now closed and Huntsville today has over 25,000 homes and about 40 industries. The median family income is $6,600 -- highest in Alabama. ...

Like most of the businessmen interviewed in Huntsville, Cummings [Milton Cummings, native businessman and president of Brown Engineering Company, Inc.] is irritated over the image of Alabama as an area of racial strife. It has hurt his effort to recruit scientists and engineers.

"We have found, " he said, "a number of engineers who simply don't want to expose their children to this race thing." ...

Mrs. Patrick W. Richardson, mother of two small boys and the wife of one of Huntsville's leading attorneys, says:

"I guess you could say Huntsville was a hungry town. I can remember the Huntsville Times carrying a story on page one in 1938 saying where the breadlines would form for that day -- 1938 was when the depression was supposed to be over."...

"We like Huntsville," she said. "We've always lived here, but we wanted something better. If Huntsville stagnated, we would have stagnated and I guess my husband's law practice would have been a matter of writing two or three wills a week. We wanted something more than that."

...Chattanooga Times
(by the Associated Press),
September 29, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

IN THE CONSUMER MARKET

William Capitman, president of the Center for Research in Marketing, Inc., at Peekskill, N. Y., said Negro purchasing behavior represents both the greatest danger and the greatest potential in the American marketplace.

He said Negroes, with an annual income of $20 billion, have a sales potential as great as the entire population of Canada.

At the moment, Capitman said, 30 to 40 per cent of the Negro population is engaged in unorganized economic boycotts, refusing to buy from producers or sellers considered to be unfriendly to Negroes.

Eighty-nine per cent of 1,164 Negroes interviewed in the third survey told the Negro interviewers they would take part in any boycott called by their leaders. Capitman called this one of the most significant phenomena in marketing history....

...Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
(by the Herald Tribune
News Service),
September 26, 1963

....IN BIRMINGHAM

In Birmingham, retailers have averaged a $750,000 weekly loss, some because Negro trade boycotted stores, some because whites did not venture downtown for fear of possible violence.

...Time, June 7, 1963

(AP) -...Federal Reserve Board figures show that a retail sales in Birmingham dropped sharply in May - a time of sit-ins, mass demonstrations and occasional violence in that racially troubled city.

For the week which ended May 25, retail sales were off 11 per cent compared to the corresponding week of 1962. For the preceding three weeks the figures were also minus: 17, 19 and 16 per cent.

...Washington Post
June 5, 1963

Long-suffering downtown merchants have watched their sales run some 20% under last year's, and lag behind those of most other Southern cities.

"People put off shopping trips," says one store owner. "It goes deeper than just downtown Birmingham. It affects every phase of business, social and civic life in this community."

Adds another merchant: "A solution must be found immediately or Birmingham will be killed as a prosperous city."

...Business Week
September 28, 1963

A restaurant owner comments: "We're hurt and hurt bad because our business community refused to exercise leadership when it could have saved the situation."

The restaurant owner says his business has fallen 25% since the latest outbreak of racial strife began April 3.

...Wall Street Journal
May 16, 1963

(AP) p-...An executive of a big department store said... "It is difficult to appraise the business conditions. But business is off drastically since last week. We don't know specifically whether to attribute this to the boycotting or to the general atmosphere of the city."

...Washington Post
May 16, 1963

....AND ELSEWHERE

The basic story in this city now isn't on the street where Negroes demonstrate...

It involves the dollars and cents that pump the life blood into the heart of Charleston through its long business artery, King Street.

"Since this started in early June, business along the street is off anywhere from 20 to 50 per cent depending on whom you talk to," one prominent retail merchant confided.

"Some of them are literally worried sick," the News and Courier /Charleston newspaper/ said at one point in an editorial July 18.

...The State (Columbia, S. C.)
July 21, 1963

Canton, Miss. - The Negroes opened a boycott against 19 white merchants last January that now threatens some of them with financial ruin. The objectives are "more courteous treatment" for Negro customers, and ... pressure by the white merchants on county officials to accept Negro voter applicants.

...New York Times,
March 2, 1964

The boycott of the game /Prairie View A & M College versus Bishop College of Dallas/ and other homecoming activities had been called by leaders of Students for efforts to desegregate nearby Hempstead...

A businessman in the community of Prairie View waved his hand in his empty store and said:

"There was no business. You can see the effect this has had on us."

...Houston Post
November 10, 1963

Jacksonville, Florida -- Newsboys sold only half as many papers as usual in the downtown shopping area. Parking lots, ordinarily overflowing, were checkered with vacancies. Clerks and elevator operators reported that customers who normally crowd the stores in the week before school opens were staying home.

Last night was the first since Saturday to be undisturbed by home-made fire bombs, shootings or beatings...

The Governor blamed the people and elected officials of Jacksonville for the breakdown of law and order.

...New York Times
September 2, 1960

All of Georgia's larger counties showed gains in retail and other taxable sales during the first quarter of 1963 except Dougherty, where racial demonstrations and Negro boycotts have hit the county seat, Albany.

...Atlanta Journal
June 6, 1963

Jackson, Miss. -- To what extent business downtown was hurt by the five weeks of picketing, boycotts and marches and sit-ins has been carefully concealed by spokesman for Capitol St., the main business section.

But the chain stores, which were the targets of pickets and sit-ins, one trade association spokesman admitted, found business off as much as 40 to 60 per cent during the peak of the demonstrations.

...New Orleans Times-Picayune
July 7, 1963

Jackson, Miss. -- The two white-owned food markets in colored neighborhoods, which refused to hire colored employees and to cease selling products of companies that also discriminate, have already gone out of business.

...Baltimore Afro-American
March 7, 1964

AND THEN, ON THE OTHER HAND....

Baltimore (AP) - An owner of Gwynn Oak Amusement Park - scene of mass racial demonstrations and arrests earlier this summer -- has called the park's new policy of racial integration an economic success.

He said the park has more reservations for next season than it had in the late summer of any other year.

...Washington Post
September 14, 1963

...Among those restaurants, hotels, theatres and other places of public accommodation in the South that have begun serving or hiring Negroes, only a few report suffering any lasting consequences. A sizable number, in fact, declare that business has been better than ever.

Mr. Rather /Dallas hotel man/ says a recent check of the city's 35 largest hostelries failed to turn up a single instance of lost business because of desegregation.

...Wall Street Journal
July 15, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Police and Jail Costs

This section and a later chapter, Legal Costs, document public outlays which in part result from demonstrations and other actions instigated by Negroes. The complaint is sometimes heard that Negroes are, therefore, guilty of great waste of taxpayers' money. The true cause is the denial of rights. Any community, any state, which wants to end this waste need only take the necessary steps to provide equal protection and rights for all citizens.

....IN MISSISSIPPI

UPI - ...When a few minor hitches are cleared away, the Mississippi Legislature will soon adopt a new law empowering the governor to send patrol forces into any community where he deems there is an emergency.

The legislation ... will cost $4 million the first two years, add 200 men to the patrol force and provide them with a police academy ....

...Atlanta Journal
April 16, 1964

....IN SAVANNAH

Savannah has been rebuffed in its effort to collect from the state $18,000 which it spent for quarters and food for state troopers during racial disorders.

...Atlanta Constitution
February 11, 1964

....IN ALBANY

Mayor Jimmy Davis estimated Monday the 2-months stay of a group of pacifists cost Albany taxpayers about $5,000 in jail expenses.

...Atlanta Constitution
March 3, 1964

....IN MEMPHIS

Protests and demonstrations by Negroes against staggered hours at five Negro schools have cost the Memphis Police Department more than $9,000 in overtime pay since September 4.

...Memphis Commercial Appeal
September 18, 1963

....IN GUILFORD COUNTY, N. C.

...Clarence Smith, purchasing agent for Guildord County, estimated taxpayers were supporting the jailed Negro demonstrators at a minimum of $1,200 a day "just for food."

...Raleigh News and Observer
May 21, 1963

....IN DANVILLE

Danville (AP) - The cost of policing civil rights demonstrations in this Southside city which has been the scene of sporadic racial unrest since May 31 has been placed at more than $60,000.

Danville Mayor Julian R. Stinson announced over the week end that overtime pay for policemen and other deputized law enforcement officers in June, July and August came to $48,199.

He said other expenses incurred included approximately $6,515 for such items as night sticks, tear gas, office supplies and court costs.

...Richmond News Leader
September 9, 1963

....IN CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge (AP) - Thirty-seven days of militia law here has cost Maryland at least $176,000. That's only the estimate of keeping National Guard troops billetted here.

The other costs -- State Police expenditures and the economic toll to the community -- have not been accounted for, and may be unaccountable.

The bill for the first 25 days of militia rule, from June 14 to July 8, was nearly $100,000. According to the comptroller, pay for the Guard totaled $83,199.82, the food bill was about $14,700 and the cost for gasoline was $1,858.89.

...Baltimore Sun
June 24, 1963

....ALSO IN CAMBRIDGE

...for the subsequent nine months, July 1964 through March 1964

Keeping the Guard in Cambridge for nearly nine months has cost the taxpayers close to $70,000 and hasn't solved anything; it has cut Guard enlistments; it has led to legislators being besieged with complaints about the financial pinch felt by families of Guardsmen who had had to be away from their jobs.

...Washington Post
March 9, 1964

.... IN WILLIAMSTON, N. C.

...The Martin County Commissioners in a brief meeting approved a bill of $1,095 for extra a police protection during July.

Extra law enforcement officers were necessary recently to prevent violence as a result of nightly demonstrations by Negroes.

...Greensboro Daily News
August 9, 1963

....IN JACKSON

He [Mayor Allen Thompson] said the city spent an extra $138,429.75 in overtime and equipment combatting the demonstrations from late May through August.

...Jackson Daily News
October 31, 1963

....IN CHARLESTON

Costs of locking up racial demonstrators during July and August jabbed three Charleston County budgets out of kilter, according to a report issued this week by County Manager E. D. Martin.

The Prison Farm Barracks, County Jail and the Prison Farm all had to spend more than half of their six-months allotted funds in three months' time because of the demonstrations.

...Charleston News and Courier
October 17, 1963

....IN HIGH POINT

High Point -- City Hall is showing some concern over the mounting costs of Negro demonstrations here.

A $9,000,000 budget, closely trimmed in order to keep the same tax rate of $1.20 per $100 valuation, cannot stand too much additional and unbudgeted expense, it was pointed out by city officials.

Protest activities have cost $7,132.52 in overtime pay for policemen alone. Also to be considered is the wear and tear on the Police Department...

...Greensboro Daily News
August 30, 1963

....STATEWIDE IN NORTH CAROLINA

The State Highway Patrol has spent more than 11,000 man-hours dealing with racial demonstrations so far this year. The extra activity has cut sharply into traffic law enforcement.

Figures compiled Friday by patrol headquarters show traffic violations charged during the first six months of 1963 were down 18,558 compared with the same six-months period last year.

...Raleigh News and Observer
August 17, 1963

....AND MISSISSIPPI

Jackson (UPI) -- Public Safety Commissioner T. B. Birdsong told United Press International Tuesday the morale of highway patrolmen, most of whom were on duty at the scene of the riot /at the University of Mississippi/, was hurt by the crisis.

He pointed out that the state's highway death toll "rose very sharply" after the September 30 riot which marked the entry of Negro James Meredith to the university.

Since then, there have been 327 traffic deaths in Mississippi, compared to 252 during the same period a year earlier.

...Delta Democrat-Times
(Greenville, Miss.)
March 27, 1963

....AND IN BIRMINGHAM

the state paid....

State Budget Officer J. V. Jordan said tabulation three weeks ago showed that "upwards of $90,000" had been spent up to that time in keeping hundreds of state troopers in Birmingham to keep a watch on racial disorders there.

Jordan said a later tabulation ... would b boost that figure by a substantial amount.

State Conservation Director Claude D. Kelley said it cost his department $25,000 to send about 100 conservation officers, deputized as state troopers, to Birmingham.

ABC officials reported they had been forced to spend an extra $17,350 for sending specially-deputized liquor enforcement agents to Birmingham.

State fiscal officials said the total expense could run well over $200,000.

...Birmingham News,
June 20, 1963

the city paid....

The cost of the five weeks of demonstrations was considerable. It is estimated that overtime pay to policemen, repair of damage to police vehicles and the feeding of more than 1,500 prisioners will total about $50,000.

Whatever the cost, most Birmingham citizens hope it is the final payment.

...New York Times
July 22, 1963

the county paid....

The county [Jefferson] may have spent as much as $10,000 more.

...New York Times
July 22, 1963

and the people paid ....

Losses from fires during the weekend rioting were placed at $41,775 by Deputy Fire Marshall William E. Berry. And vandalism will boost the destruction toll much higher.

...Birmingham News
May 14, 1963

and the people paid....(Cont'd)

Governor Wallace is pushing through an emergency appropriation of $250,000 to cover expenses of troopers.

Governor Wallace called for a doubling of the cost of driver's licenses in Alabama to finance an Alabama Highway Patrol to cope with racial disturbances.

...Birmingham News
May 15, 1963

....AND IN JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson has been steadily strengthening its police force in recent months and has laid in an added supply of gas masks, shotguns and helmets. The city also recently purchased a $15,000 tank-like vehicle designed especially for riot control.

...Washington Post
February 27, 1964

....Mayor Allen Thompson has asked state lawmakers for $1,000,000 with which to build a compound for "agitators and others who do not go along with the Mississippi way of life."

...Baltimore Afro-American
March 7, 1964

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Other Resources Depleted

Mississippi's Sovereignty Commission has been the clearing house for $26,000 in contributions to a lobby in Washington opposing the civil rights bill.

According to Erle Johnston, director of the commission, much money has gone through his hands in the last nine months to the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, Inc. ...

In Washington, meanwhile, John C. Satterfield, secretary of the Coordinating Committee, said the group had spent $200,000 to $250,000 since its incorporation there last July. ...

Financing was worked out at a meeting here late last summer. Allotments were established for the Southern states and the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission was designated to channel contributions to the Washington office.

The Sovereignty Commission was created by the Legislature in 1956. It was given authority to accept contributions from private or out-of-state sources.

To help prime the pump for the Coordinating Committee in the beginning, the Sovereignty Commission contributed $10,000 from its $250,000 biennial state appropriation.

It also agreed to pay the bill for the services of Mr. Satterfield as the committee's legal adviser . ... He charges $25 an hour, up to $2000 a month.

...New York Times
March 19, 1964

...According to figures filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives, the commission /Mississippi Sovereignty Commission/ gave Synon's Committee /John J. Synon, director of the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, salaried at $519.23 a week/ $20,000 in the quarter-year ending September 30, 1963 and $100,000 in the quarter ending December 31.

...Miami Herald
January 29, 1964

Most of Mississippi's financial support for the anti-civil rights group ... has been from "private contributions" to the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission .... This is what the director of the commission says. But even he admits that $20,000 of the state's grant to the Washington lobby was drawn from tax funds.

...St. Petersburg Times
editorial
February 8, 1964

...While the State Sovereignty Commission has invested only $20,000 so far in CCFAF, /Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms/ it has sunk over $160,000 of state funds since June 1960 in the White Citizens Council's television and radio series.

Oddly, the Citizens Council does not submit any statement or invoice as a matter of record in order to receive its $2000 payment from the state.

The state auditor's office said last week that all other invoices made by the state must have a statement showing what was received in return.

...New Orleans Times-Picayune
February 9, 1964

A drive to enlist the support of various Alabama organizations in fighting the civil rights bill now pending in the Senate was launched here Monday by the State Sovereignty Commission.

Howell /Eli Howell, executive director of the Commission/ said the nationwide campaign would be directed by the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms ... The Sovereignty Commission had earlier appropriated $10,000 to this group.

...Montgomery Advertiser
March 3, 1964

...Official state commissions in Florida and Alabama also have contributed a total of $13,000 to the CCFAF /Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms/ The Plaquemines Parish (La.) Council, headed by political boss Leander Perez, who built a stockade in the swamps' for arrested racial demonstrators, has appropriated $5000 in taxpayers' money to the CCFAF.

...Washington Post
April 19, 1964

...the sense of impatience that other states must feel for states such as Mississippi, which is, at once, the most abjectly mendicant of all the 50 states and the most aggressively unyielding in its segregationist sentiments....

Why -- it could be asked -- should other states help pay [via federal tax dollars] for services that Mississippi says it is unable to afford on its own when Mississippi can afford to kick away $120,000 on lobbying and propaganda against a single piece of federal legislation within a single six month period?

...Arkansas Gazette, editorial
February 8, 1964

...it was once reported here that the expense incurred by the National Guard crew which flies the C-47 on the Wallace tours was paid by the Federal government. No state official bothered to correct me, they apparently preferred that I remain ignorantly incorrect. Just discovered is the fact that the expenses of the Guardsmen are paid by you, the taxpayers of Alabama. An allocation was approved a couple of days back for $1,356.48 from the General Fund for the active duty pay earned by the three-member crew on the mid-west tour, plus some expenses.

...Bob Ingram column in
Montgomery Advertiser
March 1, 1964

The StateSovereignty Commission adopted as its first objective Thursday a massive campaign aimed at defeat of the civil rights bill pending in Congress.

As one gesture, the Commission agreed to pick up the check, not to exceed $1,000, for airplane gasoline for the Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The Jaycees, who have distributed thousands of copies of the civil rights bill in Alabama and other states, also have arranged for the use of an airplane, the Commission was told, for conferences in other parts of the country to spread opposition to the bill.

...Montgomery Advertiser
March 6, 1964

The Louisiana Legislature held five "Extraordinary Sessions" during 1960 and 1961 to deal with legislation designed to maintain segregation. Appropriations for these extra sessions amounted to $934,000.

...from tabulation by
William C. Havard, Chairman
Department of Government
Louisiana State University

...one cost that is seldom counted is the time which trained responsible leaders must take from their professional duties to "work on desegregation." Every time the Steering Committee of the Summit Leadership Conference meets there are businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors who are not doing what businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors are supposed to be doing. The same is true of the Atlanta Coordinating Committee.

If these same people were all free to work on the problems that come with twentieth century growth, instead of working on the problem of making the color of your skin no more important than the color of your hair, we might at least catch up with, even get one step ahead of automation, expressways, art centers, and school curricula.

...Eliza Paschall's column in
The Atlanta Inquirer
March 7, 1964

City Council yesterday voted five to one to borrow $40,000 for the construction of a Negro community center on Hernando Street and $10,000 for remodeling of the present community center on Robertshaw.

He [Park Commissioner] said the Negro facility is needed since there is at present nowhere for Negroes to attend Park Commission activities.

...Delta Democrat-Times
(Greenville, Miss)
March 4, 1964

Emergency expenses resulting from the racial demonstrations of the last several weeks will cause a curtailment of some county services, the County Commission [Jefferson County, Alabama] said Monday.

...Birmingham News
May 14, 1963

The extra costs, including overtime pay for police and other personnel used during the demonstrations last spring, totaled $45-46,000, money that might have gone into additional city equipment or services, Boutwell [Mayor Albert Boutwell of Birmingham] said.

...Birmingham News
September 13, 1963

Greenville, South Carolina, is having its problems. Faced with a suit to integrate its municipal swimming pool, the city council voted last October to convert it into a "marineland." "Integrated pools operate at a loss," Alderman W. I. Bouton ... explained in proposing the switch. The economy-minded council apparently had no alternative but to import six sea lions from California. Since then, however, it's been just one thing after another ... The trouble began as soon as the sea lions were flown in by jet from Santa Barbara. They not only needed a series of vitamin and antibiotic inoculations on arrival but fifty pounds of fish a day as well.

Yet the "animal groceries" budget had already been exceeded by $378 at the point and the $1,500 ration allowance that was provided "obviously left no margin," one alderman found, "for feeding camels and yaks." (There was no question that camels and yaks deserved treatment equal to sea lions') ... It was discovered that the pool had sprung a leak .... The costs, however, turned out to be manageable, and for several days the local papers carried dolorous pictures of the woebegone seals dryly sitting it out on the shower-room benches while the pool was drained and the repairs made. In mid-January a $1,200 concrete island with five spiral decks was lowered into the pool, and there is talk of a stainless-steel slide to come. But this gives no assurance yet that the sea lions will learn to be as happy as kids, black or white, in a swimming pool. At the end of January, one sea lion was found dead of unknown causes at the side of the pool, and another died at the veterinarian's.

...The Reporter
February 27, 1964

....IN ELECTIONS

With the ratification of the anti-poll tax amendment by South Dakota the poll tax, as pertains to federal elections in this state, has just about two years to go before it becomes obsolete. Between now and that time, we hope that our legislators in Montgomery will eliminate the poll tax from state law. Otherwise, it will cost the state a tremendous amount of money for holding separate elections when federal and state candidates are placed on the same ballot.

...Birmingham News, editorial
January 25, 1964

THE PRICE WE PAY

In Employment

Racial discrimination in employment was singled out Wednesday as one of a complex set of forces which, together, are costing the American people more than $30 billion a year in personal income, most of it in the Southeast.

Ironically, it was not in Washington or at a civil rights forum that this estimate of economic loss was cited.

An Atlanta economist presented the calculation in a rather more academic setting in Minneapolis...

Dr. Joseph Airov, associate professor of economics at Emory University, was referring to the regional differences in per capita income in which the Southeast ranks hindmost among the eight major regions of the United States.

...Jim Montgomery column
Atlanta Constitution
August 29, 1963

The unemployment rate for nonwhites as a whole is today over twice as high as for whites — in May, 10.3 per cent compared with 5.0 per cent. Among married men with family responsibilities, the difference is even wider, 8 per cent compared with 3 per cent.

...Statement of Under
Secretary of Labor
John F. Henning, before
Senate Subcommittee on
Employment and Manpower,
July 24, 1963

New Orleans — Several witnesses at a civil rights hearing here testified today that industry in the South was penalizing itself when it discriminated against Negroes.

Because of this discrimination, they said, the brighter and better-educated young Negroes migrate to the North and never return. This often leaves unfilled jobs for which they could qualify and discourages establishment of new industry for lack of skilled workers, they added.

About 750 of the brighter boys of New Orleans go to school at St. Augustine's. Father Messina [Rev. Joseph Messina, counselor at the school] said 60 per cent of the school's

graduates go North to complete their education and only 10 per cent of them return. These are largely in the educational field.

Mr. Kerns /J. Harvey Kerns, executive director of the Urban League of Greater New Orleans/ charged that although the Southern Bell Telephone Company had been advertising in New Orleans for months for telephone operators and other specialized workers, it had turned down all Negro applicants.

Representatives of the Boeing Company and of Kaiser Aluminum, both of which have national policies of equal opportunity in employment, said they had found difficulty finding skilled Negro help here.

...New York Times
July 10, 1963

One of the most shocking and challenging problems to the state of Tennessee is the continuing and costly loss of its young people.

In a survey conducted by a reporter for this newspaper, it was found that the state is losing an estimated 20,000 young persons a year, wasting an estimated $200 million invested in them because of inability to provide jobs for them.

...Neither Black Nor White,
Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely.
Rinehart & Company, Inc.
1957, p. 124: quoting Nashville
Tennessean of April, 1957.

In brief, we conclude that the City of New Orleans is sustaining an annual economic loss of over 4-8 million dollars as the result of the migration of its college-educated Negroes.

...A Study of the Economic Loss
to New Orleans Caused by
Migration of the College-
Educated Negroes, by
T. Earl Sullenger, Ph.D.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Richmond (AP) -- The Federal Government has under consideration a vocational education program for school-less Prince Edward /Virginia/ County Negro children and is awaiting results of a survey to determine what other programs might be needed. ...

The survey, being conducted by a Michigan State University research team under a $75,000 Federal grant, will provide basic information ... to determine what other educational programs might be needed in the County.

Prince Edward closed its public schools in 1959 to avoid court-ordered desegregation. Since then white children have attended private, segregated schools. About 500 of the County's 1600 Negro school-age children have been attending classes outside the County but the remainder have had no formal education in the past four school years.

.w. Washington Post
June 5, 1963

Commissioner /of Education Francis/ Keppel ... wanted /the House Subcommittee on Education/ to approve $5 million for the next fiscal year for grants to the states to carry out, under state approval, programs in reading and writing for those who cannot read or write English or have less than an eighth grade education ...

Of the white population 25 years and older 6.7 per cent have completed less than five years of school. The percentage for the Negro population is 23.5. This is one measure of separate but unequal as it has prevailed in many parts of the country.

In Mississippi and Georgia nearly 40 per cent of the Negro population has had less than five years of school. For Texas, the figure is 23.6. In Missouri, it is 17.2. Illinois is 13.8 and New York 11.8. . .

... Marquis Childs' column
Washington Post
May 28, 1963

In Georgia, the median income to support each individual white person is $2,470, each Negro $927. White unemployment is 3.7 per cent, Negro 6 per cent. Weltner /Representative Charles L. Weltner, D. Ga./ estimated that if even the employed Negroes in Georgia earned at the white median rate they would add a half billion dollars a year to the state economy -- instead of leading it with relief costs.

...Atlanta Constitution
February 20, 1964
(Reprinting an article which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal.)

Such an atmosphere is a serious problem for companies that need to hire executives and highly trained workers. Rust Engineering Co., for example, employs some 400 people mostly graduate engineers, in Birmingham. George M. Rust executive vice-president, says flatly that his company can't attract the trained engineers it needs. He pins the blame directly on the racial troubles.

"Periodically we run help-wanted ads in newspapers around the country," Rust explains. "We generally get 10 to 15 responses to each ad. About the time of the demonstrations last May we ran 10 ads from which we got just two answers." He goes on: "One highly skilled man we needed badly put us off because he wanted to see how the racial situation developed. Finally he decided not to come."

...Business Week
September 28, 1963

The elimination of discrimination /in employment/ would have an impact on the distribution of income among whites. Wage and salary incomes of whites in the lower paid occupations (with higher proportions of non-whites) would tend to rise while the opposite would be true in the higher income occupations. Thus the low income white population would also benefit and a more equal income distribution among whites would result.

...from a statement on the "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination" presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, September 1962, by the Council of Economic Advisers

THE PRICE WE PAY
IN LEGAL COSTS

Savannah, Ga. (UPI) - About 250 Negroes awaiting trial in connection with recent sit-in demonstrations here asked for separate jury trials Wednesday.

Solicitor General Andrew J. Ryan, Jr., estimated that, if the Negroes went ahead with their plan, it would take ayyear and a half to complete the 250 trials. According to Georgia law, any person accused of either a misdemeanor or a felony has the right to demand a jury trial.

.....Atlanta Daily World, Spetember 21, 1963

...The 1st grand jury impaneled at the fall term of the superior courts of the several counties shall fix the compensation of jurors and court baliffs for the next succeeding year, such compensation not to exceed $3 per diem...

.....Section 59-120, Georgia Code

390 weekdays (in 18 months) X $12 per day ($1 per juror per day minimum)

=

$4,680

Greensboro (AP) - Solicitor L. Herbin, Jr., said Friday that if all 183 defendants charged with obstructing a street here without a permit June 6 pleaded not guilty he would plan a single trial for them in Superior Court Monday.

A single trial, he estimated would save guilford County and the state more than $25,000. He based the figure on an estimated cost of $30 a minute for a court operation.

"If we were to try these cases individually, it would take about half a year..."

.....Charlotte Observer, Aug. 24, 1963

Thus the long legal battle against school integration, the costs of which haven't yet been fullt determined, and the continuing Prince Edward County court battle, all costly to the State, are draining off tax dollars which could and should be used for education and public works construction.

.....Norfolk Journal and Guide, November 30, 1963

The Powhatan county school board has been ordered [by Federal District Judge John D. Butzner, Jr.] to pay $2,100 in fees to the two Negro attorneys who successfully opposed the county's segregated school policy.

.....Richmond News Leader, October 29, 1963

The Little Rock School District, for example, had desegregation litigation from 1956 through 1962 resulting in at least 23 reported decisions by courts of record. During that period, legal fees paid by the district totaled $95,796, of which an estimated 75 per cent is attributable to the legal position of the school board in opposition to desegregation.

.....A Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1963

A single trial in a district court - with normal attendant motions, discovery procedures, and so forth - with one appeal to the circuit court and an application for certiorari to the Supreme Court, costs from $15,000 to $18,000. I refer to a letter from Gordon Tiffany, staff director, Commission on Civil Rights, dated January 29, 1960, and published at 106 Congressional Record 3663-3364.

.....remarks of Senator Paul H. Douglas in the Congressional Record, April 3, 1964, p. 6597.

During the past several years, the city of Jackson has been subjected to various court actions, in addition to pursuing a steady course of prosecuting racial demonstrators and others charged with public breach of civic ordinances.

This activity has grown to such proportions that it over shadows most of the city's ordinary run of business, has caused the expenditure of a formidable [amount] of money.

.....Jackson Daily News, February 9, 1964

Washington (AP) - The Supreme Court rejected today a request by L. B. Sullivan, a city commissioner of Montgomery, Ala., for apportionment of costs in the case in which the court overturned a $500,000 libel judgment he won against the New York Times...

Mr. Sullivan, in a motion filed with the Supreme Court, asked for "apportionment of printing costs and fees," that is, a division of the costs between him and the Times.

The Court routinely assesses such amounts against the loser, and a brief court order today rejected Mr. Sullivan's motion without comment.

The Office of the Supreme Court estimated the costs at about $13,000.

.....New York Times, April 77, 1964

THE PRICE WE PAY

IN EDUCATION

IN LOSS OF AND INABILITY TO ATTRACT FACULTY, STUDENTS AND RESEARCH

"The racial situation has kept some people from joining our faculty, even though we offer them a greater opportunity than anyone else," says Dr. S. Richardson Hill, dean of the University of Alabama Medical Center here /Birmingham/. "One doctor had already decided this was the best place for him. But after he talked it over with his family he decided against it."

.....Wall Street Journal, September, 19, 1963.

Oxford (AP) - The University of Mississippi - which ends its most difficult year Sunday with graduation of James H. Meredith - is loring more than 20 per cent of its faculty.....

An Associated Press survey shows that 54 faculty members listed in the 1962-63 university catalog will not return for the fall term which begins next month.....

He /university chancellor Dr. J. D. Williams/ said the normal turnover among his teachers in past years has been 10 per cent.....

Before Meredith enrolled...most of the faculty turnover had been instructors and assistant professors - the lowest grades.

But there are 11 faculty members with rank of full professor and 17 associate professors leaving.

Among those are two department chairmen, Dr. Samuel F. Clark of chemistry and Dr. William H. Willis of classics ...

Dr. Clark in an interview, said:

"My decision to leave ole Miss, an institution for which I have felt and still feel a deep affection, stemmed from the serious loss of academic freedom to faculty and students of the university and to the breakdown of moral and professional responsibility on the part of the university's administrative officers."

Both Dr. Clark and Dr. Willis have been department heads since 1947.....

The entire three-man philosophy department is leaving. Seven of the 12 full-time chemistry teachers will not return.

The art department loses three of its five professors; classics two of four; physics three of seven; mathematics four of 10.

.....Jackson Daily News, August 16, 1963.

..... in Little Rock, although racial unrest was sparked by school desegregation, protests over segregated public accomodations further inflamed the environment. Under these conditions, recruitment of technical people became extremely difficult. According to the provost for medical affairs of the University of Arkansas ... the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. "So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community."

.....from testimony by Undersecretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., July 23, 1963

Said Dr. Willis Tate (testifying), president of Southern Methodist University in Dallas: "One of the first questions asked by a talented professor who is invited to teach at a Southern University is: 'Is your university fully integrated?' This question today has become very important to an educator, more so than it has ever been. It has become important to an educator, more so than it has ever been. It has become part of his moral code, the fiber of his integrity."

.....Business Week, February 29, 1964

Oxford, Miss. -- Although two Negro students were registered quietly at the University of Mississippi this week, the aftermath of last fall's rioting still plagues the school

the number of new students who applied by June 1 for the fall term total 884, 30 per cent below last year's total of 1,264, according to the figures compiled by the registrar's office.

The biggest decrease has been in the number of out-of state students...

.....New York Times, June 9, 1963

Oxford Mississippi. (AP) - our dormitories at the university of Mississippi are being closed for lack of students, university authorities announced yesterday.

.....Nashville Tennessean, September 27, 1963.

The crisis is, Dr. /William/ Willard (vice president of the Medical Center, University of Kentucky) finds, clearly delineated. There is a sharp decline in the number and quality of applicants to medical schools. Dr. Willard names no institutions. But the schools described in Group One, where research and experiments are conducted, are, the report says, "not handicapped by sponsorship which restricts admission of students by race, creed or color as in some Group Two schools." The marginal schools, and those most burdened, are, therefore, in the South ...

In 1960-61 the ten schools in Group One averaged $11.3 million (in expenditures) per school. Group Two averaged $1.7 million. Federal grants for research naturally -- and properly -- went largely to the Group One institutions.

.....Ralph McGill column, Atlanta Constitution July 27, 1963.

A Houston Jury in a state civil court last week O.K.'d a move by the trustees of Rice University to break away from two stipulations of the institutions' founder /NOT TO CHARGE TUITION AND NOT ADMIT NEGROES/.

In Rice's case, more than 88% of the schools' $5.9 million worth of research contracts are government supported..... Whether or not Congress adopts a strong civil rights law, it is clear that federal agencies are under pressure to put their money, where possible, in integrated colleges...

In the light of such statistics, Rice trustees could see no future for their university, regardless of its recognized scientific stature in Texas, unless a court would allow them to bypass the two conditions of the University's charter.

Particularly, they (the trustees) said, continued exclusion of Negroes would cripple Rice's ability to attract a top-grade faculty as well as carry forward its research effort.

THE PRICE WE PAY

IN CAPITAL INVESTMENT

Millsaps College reaffirmed its segregation policy in a statement in the current edition of the Methodist Advocate.

"This is evidenced by the fact that the board has determined to privately finance the building of badly needed additional dormitory space on the campus," said the statement, from the housing and home finance agency."

.....Jackson Daily News, February 27, 1964

Annapolis, Sept. 17 (AP) - Gov. Tawes said today Cambridge must settle its racial problems if it is to have any chance as a site for a proposed Eastern Shore branch of the University of Maryland.....

"With the continuance of conditions that exist in Cambridge, I would have no great desire to agree to establishment of a (university) branch there," he told a news conference. "It would be unwise."

...He noted that the bill authorizing $100,000 for planning a university branch or branches does not become effective until June.

.....Washington Post, September 18, 1963

Jackson, Miss. (AP) - The State Building Commission is studying a recommendation by the State College Board that $3 million in state bonds be issued to finance dormitory contruction at six institutions of higher learning.

The recommendation made by the board falls under a new program designed ti circumvent racial discrimination rulings imposed by federal agencies.

In the past the state has borrowed federal money to finance such construction.

.....Baton Rouge State Times, June 12, 1963

The university's (of Mississippi) plight has been underscored in another area. In recent years, the university has financed new dormitories costing $8,000,000 with funds from the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency.

When President Kennedy last November signed an Executive Order forbidding discrimination in Federally assisted housing, the Mississippi Legislature ordered an end to future agreements

between the agency and the university.

University officials say they will now have to seek state bond issues for dormitory construction. Because the lending rates will not be as favorable as the Federal rate has been, an increase in room rent is expected.

.....New York Times, June 9, 1963

Richmond (AP) - The Virginia Public School Authority accepted Tuesday a long interest bid of 2.9346 per cent for its initial issue of $15 million in bonds to aid local school construction.

Dave Ellenwood, a Moody's Investors Service representative serving as authority adviser, said the low bid was "not quite as favorable as hoped for" but still "a very fair value."

Ellenwood said recent news of racial disturbances "from the southern part of the country had tended to upset some buyers in the market for southern bonds."

.....Roanoke Times, June 19, 1963

Several municipal bond dealers, particularly those in the secondary market, have said that they are "not going out of our way to stock bonds issued by communities that are in the headlines."

.....New York Times, June 20, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

THROUGH SCHOOL CLOSING AND BOYCOTTS

New president of the statewide organization of civic and professional leadership Mississippi Economic Council is Jack Reed, merchant of Tupelo who during the midst of Negro James Meredith-Ole Miss desegregation crisis said Mississippi would suffer economic catastrophe if school were closed in the face of desegregation effort.

.....Atlanta Journal Constitution, April 14, 1963

The House Tuesday authorized Lauren County [Georgia] to sell its controversial Brewton School, near Dublin, which white residents refused to use because it was too close to a small Negro neighborhood.

Since its erection at a cost of $300,000 in 1957 the complex of buildings has been wrecked by vandals and despoiled by weather.

...Tuskegee High School was closed last Friday on orders from the State Board of Education, of which Governor George Wallace is ex-officio chairman.

School authorities in Tuskegee said it was costing about $450 a month for each pupil to keep Tuskegee High School open; compared with a statewide average of less than $300 a pupil per year.

.....Montgomery Advertiser, April 14, 1963

Speaking at a press conference, the governor (George Wallace) said his office will offer "all it can to help" enroll white Macon County students in schools of surrounding counties.

"The governor's office will spend whatever money we have to help," he said, adding that money will come from the mansion fund and other funds.

Wallace asked financial aid to the private Macon Academy at Tuskegee from the people of Alabama. The school was opened after Tuskegee High was desegregated last fall.

.....Birmingham News, February 11, 1964

Some 432 pupils walked out of high schools at Tuskegee, Notasulga and Shorter, refusing to attend class with Negroes. That will leave a big dent in the county's school budget because the state's money is allocated according to the student population.

...in September, the county (Macon) will receive something like $74,000 less than it did this school year. Actually, the cutback will be somewhat greater when the loss in transportation money is figured.

The loss of the state fund won't necessarily mean the Macon County Board must close any schools. It could cut out some of the services countywide instead.

Or it would make up the difference from local sources of revenue. But in a small rural county like Macon, that's difficult.

.....Arkansas Gazette, editorial, February 1964.

If Macon County chooses to take the private school route, it would probably be too much to hope that the county officialdom would call Little Rock for some expert testimony on the miserable costly experience that would lie ahead.

.....Arkansas Gazette, editorial, February 7, 1964

Tuskegee (AP) - Three barns were burned on the farm of Macon County school board member Don Mercer Davis Tuesday night, and authorities said it was a case of obvious arson.....

The burnings follow cross burnings at the homes of three of the school board Sunday night.

.....Montgomery Advertiser, February 5, 1964

Tuskegee (AP) --The water filter plant at nearby Notasulga burned Wednesday night and Mayor James Rhea said it has caused an acute water shortage. He asked that all schools in the town be closed.

Among the schools to be closed is the high school where federal court has ordered six Negro students admitted.

No cause of the fire was determined, but Rhea said, "it looks suspicious."

.....Montgomery Advertiser, February 6, 1964

Notasulga, Ala. (AP) - Fire destroyed the recently desegregated Macon County High School early Saturday and investigators said there were indications that it may have been started by an arsonist.....

There was no immediate estimate of the damage.*

.....Atlanta Journal-Constitution, April 19, 1964

//According to the Alabama Educational Directory, 1962-63, there are 10 school plants in Macon County. According to the Annual Report, 1962, of the Alabama Department of Education, the total assessed valuation of school warrants for Macon County properties was $12,956,890. If the Macon County High School plant alone (without consideration of interior equipment such as boo books and laboratory supplies) were estimated at one one-tenth of the total value of the county's plants, and this would seem a valid estimate since four of the ten schools are elementary schools, then its assessed valuation could be well over $1,250,000/

THE PRICE WE PAY

...THROUGH TUITION GRANTS

Several southern states have attempted through various schemes to avoid or mitigate desegregation of schools by providing grants from state funds to students for tuition at private schools. To illustrate, Virginia in 1959 legislated to provide such scholarships of up to $250 (elementary school child) and $275 (high school child) per student.

Following are some of the results of this and similar state actions in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Alabama, as well as some estimates of the costs in the states most seriously affected.

In Virginia.....

Roanoke, Va. November 12 (AP) - Roanoke School Superintendent E. W. Rushton Attacked the tuition grant program last night in some of the strongest terms yet from an educator.

The cost rise is "alarming" ... said Rushton.

He said money has been laid out for the grants year after year while spending has been cut for teachers salaries, school plant operation and maintenance.

For every child who gets a grant, the city loses more money - an average of $100 in the State support allocated on the basis of children in average daily attendance.

School board Business Manager A. F. Fisher estimated today that the total cost of the program to date thus exceeds $225,000, or about the cost of a new eight-room elementary school.

Virginia taxpayers spent $2,252,995 for 9489 grants in 1962-63.

.....Washington Post, November 13, 1963.

For the biennium of 1964-66, the sum of $1,200,00 is set aside for paying the state's share of grants ...

.....Roanoke Times editorial, January 22, 1964

In South Carolina.....

In South Carolina the legislature included a provision in this year's general appropriations bill for $250,000 that will

finance private education for pupils in Charleston who are dissatisfied with integrated schools.

.....Montgomery Advertiser, March 22, 1964

But if federal court orders on integration of schools begin ranging more widely than just in the Charleston area, $250,000 would be only a drop in the bucket.

.....Charleston News and Courier editorial, January 11, 1964

In Louisiana.....
the
bill
of.....

In the current school term, 10,136 children have been approved to receive grants that will total $3.6 million.

consists
of....

The $360 grant paid by the state to a child attending a private school is considerably more than the average amount of state money spent on each child attending public elementary and secondary schools in fiscal 1962-63.

and
is
paid
by.....

In the second extra session of 1961, the legislature transferred $2.5 million from the public welfare fund to a new fund, the education expense grant fund, in order to carry out the grant-in-aid program. It further provided that $200,000 per month was to be paid into the new fund out of the first money collected from the state's sales tax.....The 1962 legislature then transferred $4 million out of the fund to assist in meeting the state's deficit .... The $200,000 sales tax dedication was continued; however, in the 1963 fiscal session of the legislature this sum was raised to $300,000 per month by Act 27.

.....PAR Analysis, Nov[illegible]October, 1963, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc.

In Alabama.....

The State Board of Education Tuesday authorized financial aid to parents of Tuskegee High School students to enable them to attend private segregated schools.....

State School Supt. Auston Meadows said after the meeting

it would be sometime before he could determine how much money would go to the parents for each child. The law specifies that the amount cannot exceed what was previously spent in providing a public education for the student.

.....Montgomery Advertiser, February 5, 1964

CURRENT EXPENSES PER PUPIL IN A.D.A. (AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE)	COUNTIES WHITE	COUNTIES NEGRO
	$198.68	$177.76

.....Annual Report, 1962 State Alabama Board of Education

(AP) - For Almost 20 years, Alabama has provided out-of-state aid for college students seeking instruction not available to them in this state.

Many Negroes have taken advantage of the program to get specialized instruction when they were barred from Alabama's white colleges and universities.

Under the program started in 1945, Alabama pays the difference in tuition plus transportation and up to $110 a month for living expenses.

.....Montgomery Advertiser, February 19, 1964.

Fort Rucker, Ala. - When school bells ring this morning, some 1,200 white and Negro children will file into a spanking new $1,038,000 school house built on the base here by Uncle Sam this summer for the sake of integration.

Meanwhile, a few hundred yards away from the camp gates, a segregated public school, also costing $1 million and financed with Federal funds, will remain two-thirds empty. Most of its white students have transferred to the army school, in company with a handful of Negro military dependents that previously attended a local all-colored school. At most, it's estimated only 30 Negro pupils at Fort Rucker will be enrolled in the new integrated school on post.

.....Wall Street Journal, September 3, 1963

The varied costs of maintaining segregated schools are large and growing larger; the heaviest burden rests on Negro children, but the drain on the monetary resources of the entire community is increasingly severe....

Handicapped by lower income and a higher educational load than the rest of the United States, Arkansas, in common with the rest of the South, has gained little in relation to national education standards. In 1961, Arkansas spent $57.48 per capita on its public schools, $3.29 below Mississippi, and last in the Nation.

.....Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1963.

Atlanta School Board Member Mrs. Ray Mitchell has accused the city of "spending millions of dollars unnecessarily to keep schools segregated when segregation, by law, may be past history at any time."

"...Empty seats" at predominantly white schools could help further to relieve crowded conditions in Negro schools, she continued.

Mrs. Mitchell also argued unsuccessfully against a board plan to build an entirely new school to lighten the load at crowded Negro Howard High. She said she could "not go along" with an expenditure of about $2 million on a new building when existing space in other schools is already available.

.....Atlanta Journal, July 9, 1963

WHILE ON THE OTHER HAND.....

The cost of interdistrict transportation of Negro children to servicing schools clearly exceeds what the cost of educating such children in desegregated resident districts would be.

...state-wide per pupil cost averages from $149 to $225 per year. In a segregated district in western Arkansas, $6900 is spent annually for sending 14 Negro high school students to another district, a per pupil average of $321.64. In one district, 15 students in both elementary and secondary schools had been sent to another district at an annual cost of $6000, or $400 per pupil.

This latter district has desegregated, and it is a source of some public pride that the savings are being put into a public school music department that the district long lacked.

.....Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1963.

Applauding the School Board's decision [to close the all-Negro high school] Chairman Thomas M. Richards said yesterday:

"The Board is pleased that, for the first time, all Negro senior high school children in Arlington will have an equal educational opportunity and that this will be accomplished at a great savings to the taxpayer."

.....Washington Post, Nov. 25, 1963

For six months before the high school integrated in 1961, a biracial committee prepared an acceptable climate of public opinion.

Not the least effective argument was the hard fact that maintaining two systems was a needless waste costing $33,000 a year.

.....report on Paris, Ky., in Louisville Courier-Journal, September 22, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

IN CULTURE, ENTERTAINMENT AND SPORTS

....ART

The Museum of Modern Art has barred its circulating exhibitions of paintings, sculpture and photographs from display before segregated groups.

One fourth of the exhibitions ... visit the South. This rule, which applies also to rentals from the museum's extensive library of motion pictures, was instituted recently in the hope that other museums would follow suit.

....OPERA & THEATER

The museum is the third major cultural organization to act against segregation. Last year the Metropolitan Opera decided that it would no longer play before segregated audiences during its spring tours and this year the Actors Equity Association ruled that its members should not be required to perform in segregated theaters.

...New York Times
August 22, 1962

New York (AP) -- The American Guild of Variety Artists voted in convention Monday for an immediate national boycott of entertainment centers that racially segregate either customers or employees.

The resolution continued:

....NIGHT CLUBS

"AGVA will advocate the non-appearence of AGVA members in any hotels, club or place of entertainment where such a policy of segregation exists."

...Atlanta Constitution
June 11, 1963

....BASEBALL

The Boston Red Sox and the Pittsburgh Pirates have been asked by the Florida National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to reconsider plans to locate baseball farm clubs at Ocala and Palatka. The NAACP said both cities lack integrated facilities.

...Atlanta Journal-Constitution
October 20, 1963

....FOOTBALL

Four Negro stars of the Oakland Raiders /professional football/ say they won't play Friday night in Mobile, Ala, against the New York Jets if seating in the stadium is segregated.

...Houston Post
August 20, 1968

....PRIZEFIGHT

Both Loes's State and the Saenger theaters announced Monday that they are cancelling the telecast of the Sonny Liston-Cassius Clay heavyweight fight Tuesday night.

Earlier Monday, Liston said he would not stand for piping a telecast of his title defense, in Miami Beach, into any theater that had racially segregated seating.

...New Orleans Times-Picayune
February 25, 1964

....PLAYRIGHT

Irish playright Brendan Behan has cancelled a scheduled visit here Friday for a performance of one of his plays because of a news item he said he read in New York about police mistreatment of Negro comedian Dick Gregory in Mississippi.

Frank Wittow, director of the Academy Theater here, said ... he /Behan/ refused to come South.

"We were looking forward to seeing and working with Behan," Mr. Wittow said. "Unfortunately, we are all identified with the crude actions in Mississippi. This is a case of everybody suffering."

...Atlanta Journal
April 4, 1963

....AUDITORIUM

A proposed large bond issue failed in Atlanta, and Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., said the segregation issue was one of the reasons for the failure. A bond issue for new schools was barely defeated, but bonds for a cultural center lost by a big margin. Allen said the segregation issue had been "falsely injected" into the cultural center debate.

...Southern School News
September, 1962

....MUSIC

...when Duke Ellington was to appear there [Little Rock, Ark., city auditorium] last year, seating was announced to be on a segregated basis, whereupon the band leader cancelled his booking.

...Redbook, "Little Rock -- Five Years Later," by Gerald Walker, November 1962

Conductors George Szell, Leonard Bernstein and Erich Leinsdorf all announced that they would not appear before segregated audiences, and they were joined by such performers as Rise Stevens, Leon Fleisher, Jaime Laredo and Julius Katchen. Arthur Rubenstein declared that such a stand is "a right and natural step."

Segregation remains the general rule for concert audiences in Mississippi and Alabama; elsewhere it is accomplished more discretely .... Sol Hurok, with his hughe stable of artists, has had a similar policy [refusal to appear before segregated audiences] for a decade. At week's end the new musical boycott of the Deep South was endorsed by Vladimir Horowitz.

...Time, March 20, 1964

....BLACKOUT IN MISSISSIPPI

(UP)--...[James] Webb, administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, was to have given the principal address at a banquet honoring members of the Mississippi Legislature.

But a few hours before the event, Webb sent word he did not endorse segregation, and would not appear.

...Delta Democrat-Times (Greenville, Miss.) January 29, 1964

Television's Cartwright family of the "Bonanza" series exhibited a solid front Tuesday when Lorne Green and Michael Landon joined their co-star Dan Blocker in cancelling a scheduled appearance in Jackson because they refused to appear before a segregated audience.

...Jackson Daily News January 23, 1964

Jackson (AP) -- Jazz trumpeter Al Hirt and his band failed to play Saturday night after he was asked by an integration group not to appear at the segregated coliseum.

...Birmingham News
January 26, 1964

Jackson, Miss. (AP) -- Another performer has passed up an appearance here following a protest by a civil rights group.

Concert pianist Gary Graffman will not appear for a Community Concert series at the Jackson Auditorium on February 27 because of segregated arrangements.

...Greenwood (Miss.)
Commonwealth
February 20, 1964

THE PRICE WE PAY .....

In Tourism and Conventions

New Orleans' loss of conventions is hurting business much more in the French Quarter than are District Attorney Jim Garrison's vice raids, and veteran Burbon Street night club operator believes.

Ryp Guinle, owner of the Famous Door Lounge, said Friday that state laws requiring segregation in hotels are costing night spots the convention trade which is their lifeblood.

"Seymour Weiss tells me he's had five cancellations from conventions this year because he couldn't take one or two colored delegates," said Guinle.

...New Orleans Times-Picayune
September 8, 1962

Bluefield, W. Va., (AP) -- The West Virginia Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claimed a victory yesterday when Negro hotels turned away Negroes and forced an American Legion convention out of Bluefield.

The NAACP has been "working hard to get Negroes not to cooperate with the segregated housing plans of the Legion convention," he /Rev. C. Anderson Davis, president of the W. Va. NAACP/ said.

The controversy began last month when the West Virginian Hotel, to be convention headquarters, said it would not accept reservations from Negro legionnaires.

...Providence (R. I.) Journal
May 24, 1963

Detroit (UPI) -- The American Federation of Teachers has turned down a suggestion that its convention in 1963 be held at Bal Harbor, Florida.

Some of the delegates expressed concern over possible racial segregation.

...New York Times
August 22, 1963

Miami Beach (AP) -- Miami Beach has been named the site of the American Legion's September 6-12 national convention, shifted from New Orleans because of racial problems.

National commander James Powers ... said not enough integrated lodgings could be found in New Orleans.

An estimated 50,000 persons will attend the sessions.

...Atlanta Journal
May 24, 1963

Assuming that the Miami Beach meeting draws 35,000 delegates for a four-day stay and each one spends $30.00 per day (a national average delegate's expenditure), this will amount to ... $4,200,000.

...Tabulations by Larry Mansfield
Manager, City of Miami Convention
Bureau, June, 1963

The business community generally has begun to recognize that the Negro's rising disposable income represents a large and growing portion of the nation's buying power. However, this is far less true in the area of public accommodation.

The table [based on a study published several years ago by the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania], shows that Negroes in both the North and South spend much less than whites of the same income class on "Automobile operations" (40 to 60 per cent). This statistic certainly suggests that Negroes are doing considerably less traveling by automobile than white people in the same income group. Since Negroes spent close to the same amount, on the average, for the purchase of automobiles as did whites, on the same income level, I believe the absence of suitable facilities along our important North-South highway routes must be the discouraging factor.

...from testimony of Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. before the Senate Committee on Commerce, July 23, 1963

Tourist travel through Birmihgham to points in the South and Southwest "is off at least 25%, maybe more," says Bancroft Timmons, director of the Alabama Automobile Association. "We're getting requests for routings around Birmingham everyday. People coming from New York to the Southwest are driving 100 miles out of their way through Arkansas to miss Alabama."

...Wall Street Journal
June 26, 1963

Toronto (AP) — Canadians should boycott the southern United States as a holiday area in protest of racial segregation, Alan Borovoy, executive secretary of the Ontario Labor Committee for Human Rights, said Sunday.

...New Orleans Times-Picayune
September 16, 1963

.... WHILE ON THE OTHER HAND

In Dallas, integration of hotels and restaurants has "opened up an entirely new area of convention prospects," according to Ray Bennison, convention manager of the Chamber of Commerce. "This year we've probably added $8 million to $10 million of future bookings because we're integrated," Mr. Bennison says.

...Wall Street Journal
July 15, 1963

Hank Brown, state president of Texas AFL-CIO told the state executive board Tuesday that unions recently caused the integration of the last segregated hotel in Brownsville.

Brown said that while examining Brownsville as a possible site for the union's convention August 10-22, he discovered that a hotelhhear the convention center was segregated.

While civic leaders faced the prospect of losing $250,000 in convention trade, he said, "the situation was straightened out." Executive board members voted Monday to hold the convention in Brownsville.

...Dallas Morning News
February 12, 1964

...A week or so ago, the National Lutheran Council decided to meet in Charlotte after the New York Times reported that eight hotels and motels in that city had been desegregated. Earlier, the council members had discounted Charlotte as a meeting site. The executive director of the council said that "we would prefer (as a matter of principle) not to be in a place where the hotel space was segregated." Thus Charlotte gets a convention that will bring 70 people there for three days.

Last Friday, the North Carolina Association of Broadcasters said that it had cancelled plans to hold its June convention at a motor hotel in Wrightsville Beach because the management refused to provide accommodations for representatives of a member radio station owned by Negroes. Instead, the association will meet at a New Bern hotel.

There will surely be other such instances as more and more organizations desegregate gheir membership and as the consciences of Americans become increasingly aroused to the need for racial justice. And in time the realities of business may overcome the fears of those who still feel that discrimination pays off.

...Winston-Salem (N. C.) Journal, editorial
February 24, 1964

THE PRICE WE PAY

On a National Scale - - - For Segregated Housing

He [Emerson P. Schmidt, chief economist for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce] noted that while there has been no absolute drop in the volume of federally-financed house construction since the anti-discrimination order was issued in November, there has been a drop in the proportion it represents of all new house construction.

...Atlanta Constitution
July 1, 1963

Not only is the impulse to new home ownership an inevitable expression of the middle class Negro's aspirations and accomplishments, its realization would have a salutary effect on the economy at large.

Recently the Housing and Home Finance agency prepared a series of estimates of the extent to which new construction would be augmented if non-white families were permitted and inclined to participate in the housing market in a manner identical to that of the white families. The calculation for 17 metropolitan areas in the United States indicated that potentila demand accumulated among non-white families with incomes between $7,000 and $10,000 a year amounted to 45,000 units, and that demand in all 212 metropolitan areas may be as high as 200,000 units.

This figure represents approximately one-eighth of the total annual volume of new construction and one-sixth of the annual number of new one-family units. Were the backlog to be made up during the remaining portionsof the decades of the 1960's, the demand for new construction would be increased by 2 to 3 per cent a year. This could be a welcome addition during a period in which met household formation is expected to taper off.

...The Mortgage Banker
February, 1964

...If backward attitudes prevail, Atlanta can become a predominantly Negro city by 1975.

And since the existing housing squeeze will increasingly drive well-off Negroes as well as whites to homes outside the city limits, in order to make way for city slums to house the poorest Negroes and whites, then the city's tax base will erode and progress will wither.

Then city business will falter, and with it job opportunities, so that the poverty of the city's poor will begin to feed on itself and perpetuate the cycle of decay.

What the city faces, therefore, is not a racial debate but an economic crisis. Poor whites, trapped in city slums, will be hurt along with ppor Negroes. And the well-off whites, along with the well-off Negroes who withdraw into suburbs will find the source of their prosperity -- a strong central city -- evaporating.

...Eugene Patterson's column
Atlanta Constitution
December 14, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

For Federal Troops in Racial Disorders

Washington (AP) -- The call-up of the Alabama National Guard in that state's public school integration crisis last month has cost at least $422,000 so far, the Army said Wednesday.

This figure covers pay and allowances from September 10 to 30.

It does not include operations costs ...

...Atlanta Constitution
October 3, 1963

The Defense Department estimates it has spent at least $4,100,000 maintaining troops at Oxford, Miss., to protect James Meredith...

Secretary Robert McNamara supplied the figure to a House Appropriations subcommittee, for the period ending January 31, at the request of three Southern members ...

McNamara pointed out that Defense Department figures were in addition to the cost incurred by the Justice Department.

...Nashville Banner,
March 29, 1963

The Justice Department has told Congress its expenses to enforce court orders permitting Negro James H. Meredith to attend the University of Mississippi will run about $559,000 through June 30.

...Jackson Daily News
April 5, 1963

Federal costs in the operation have exceeded $4,500,000 and it is costing an additional $4500 a day for the 300 troops still stationed at Oxford, Miss. ...

...Knoxville News-Sentinel
January 30, 1963

Washington (AP) -- The damage that heavy military aircraft inflicted last fall on the University of Mississippi airport will be repaired by the government, two Mississippi House members said today.

"The damage to the runway alone is estimated to be in excess of $200,000. Additional extensive repairs must be made to restore other airport property to its original condition."

...Arkansas Gazette
February 20, 1963

For the fourth time in recent years+, the National Guard of a Southern state was called into Federal service during a desegregation dispute yesterday ...

...The 320 Alabama Guardsmen mobilized by Governor George C. Wallace early yesterday to bar Negro children from entering school in three Alabama cities, withdrew on Department of the Army orders after President Kennedy Federalized the entire 17,000-man Alabama Guard. They returned to their armories.

They [Guardsmen] will draw an average of $13.50 a day in Army pay while mustered into Federal service even though not actually on duty -- at a cost to the U. S. Government of about $320,000 a day.

...Washington Post
September 11, 1963

L [+Little Rock -- 1957; Ole Miss -- 1962; Tuscaloosa -- 1963; and BIRMINGHAM, Tuskegee and Huntsville -- September, 1963]

THE PRICE WE PAY

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

If non-whites had the same labor force participation and employment rates as the whites and if they were distributed geographically and occupationally (and thus in terms of wage and salary income) as whites with the same educational attainments -- if, in other words, gán-whites were able to make the same contribution to production, given their present educational attainment, GNP would be increased by about 1.8 per cent.

Furthermore, the 1.8 per cent estimate relates only to wage and salary income and does not attempt the difficult measurement of the change in the labor component of entrepreneurial income. Gains will occur in the labor productivity of the self-employed adding further to the 1.8 per cent increase in GNP.

The above considerations suggest that the gain in Gross National Product might well be as much as 2.5 per cent (about $13 billion at today's level of GNP).

...The shift to full utilization of the present capabilities of the non-white population (and the resultant GNP increase of about 2.5 per cent) would assist significantly in meeting our economic growth objectives in the coming years.

If non-whites had the same educational levels as whites, and if the economy fully utilized their education, GNP today might be perhaps 3 per cent higher (inclusive of the 2.5 per cent estimate reported above). This amounts to about $17 billion at today's levels of GNP.

...from a statement on the "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination in Employment," presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, by the Council of Economic Advisers September 1962

This /$13 to $17 billion dollars a year cited above in GNP/ is more than one-fourth of the money we spend for national defense. It is three times as much as we spend on our space program.

And this loss in income, of course, does not take into account what we pay in higher crime rates, poor health, urban decay, mounting welfare costs and the countless other costs that grow out of discrimination.

When all of these are added, the cost of discrimination becomes astronomical.

...Speech by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D. Minn.) in Pittsburgh, March 7, 1964

Where there are many Negroes and if Negro income levels are substantially lower than whites -- and they are -- then the states or the region with so large a number of Negroes suffer by not having all its people able to buy goods or services matching the national level. The more Negroes can buy, the more jobs will be created.

...Birmingham News, editorial
September 22, 1963

American society robs itself when it refuses equal job and educational opportunities to people because of their race, creed or religion.

That's the feeling of Hobart Taylor, Jr., of Washington D. C., the executive vice-chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

...Taylor prefers to approach the issue of desegregation on economic grounds.

The Gross National Product of the United States, for example, would be increased if job discrimination were ended, he said. ... The Gross National Product now stands at $600 billion.

"Our economic system needs to be arranged so that everyone strives to his fullest," he said. "If he doesn't, the country is that much poorer."

The economic evil about discrimination, he said, is that it makes many feel they cannot rise above a certain level, so they tend to give less than their best.

Taylor said one of the most harmful fallacies in the nation is that there are only a certain number of jobs available for the work force.

The truth is, he says, that as more people are given the opportunity to produce, the more wealth and jobs there are created.

...Houston Post
February 23, 1964

Washington -- The Chief economist for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce fears that "unresolved race relations issues" may hurt some kinds of businesses particularly, and business generally in certain sections of the country.

Entire areas of the country where there is widespread public unrest might also see some temporary drop in business, Schmidt /Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt/ indicated.

...Atlanta Constitution
(from New York Times Co. dispatch),
July 1, 1963

THE PRICE WE PAY

IN FOREIGN RELATIONS

....SALES MANAGER CITES COSTLY EFFECTS OF RACIAL TROUBLES ON SELLING ABROAD

Buffalo, New York -- I have just returned from a selling trip through the greater and lesser Antilles where for years we have abeen selling machinery and equipment to these off-shore areas in the Caribbean and the Atlantic.

Both the whites and the blacks now refuse to buy anything American from us even though, personally, I have made many friends for the past many years.

Russia, Japan, Canada and England have their salesmen in these prosperous islands and invariably they talk about how the whites treat the colored people in the United States.

Last year the U. S. Department of Commerce reported exports to these same islands amounted to $180 million but the steamship companies so far this year are noticing that shipments are few.

...Letter from W. M. Chase,
General Sales Manager,
Chase Machinery Company
Atlanta Constitution "Pulse of the Public" column,
May 20, 1963

....ELLENDER'S BOOMERANG

Washington -- Twenty-two ambassadors from African nations got together here yesterday to tell the world what it already knew -- that Africa thinks even less of Senator Allen J. Ellender than he thinks of it.

A Louisiana Democrateand ardent segregationist, Senator Ellender likes to go around telling anybody who will listen that Negroes are incapable of self-government. He siad it again on television Sunday.

The statement brought the usual reaction. On Monday, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, speaking for an Administration that is up to its neck in racial problems, said the Senator did not speak for the government or for a majority of Americans.

The Africans had heard this before, and were not impressed. They gathered in the Liberian Embassy and issued a communique that said, in part:

> "The language used by the Senator was needlessly offensive to our countries with which the United States government has friendly relations ...
>
> "It is difficult to ignore Senator Ellendar's remarks or to dismiss them as the fully privileged announcement of a private citizen in view of his position as a senior member of Congress and of the Senate Appropriations Committee...
>
> "It is a grave disservice to the cause of world peace and understanding for a person occupying a prominent place in the public life of a great nation to provoke a return of the archiac debates on whether ethnic differences can be held to justly a claim of superiority by one race over another. That theory has been proved baseless and its revival is likely to be a source of incalculable mischief."

Last December, while on a taxpayer-financed junket to Africa, Senator Ellender also said Negroes were unable

to rule themselves. The remarks received wide publicity all over the continent and caused the State Department considerable embarrassment.

One result was that four countries on the Senator's itinerary refused permission for him to visit.

In March, Senator Ellender held a press conference here in which he said he had no apologies for his views. He called Africans "thinskinned" and appeared still nettled that he had been refused travel rights in four of the nations. He added:

> "The Negro in Africa is no different from the Negro in America. The minute you say whites are a little ahead of the Negro, it's like shaking a red handkerchief before a fighting bull."

The official policy of the United States, of course, has been to support independence for new African states. It is aiding these countries to the tune of $500 million a year.

...New York Herald Tribune
June 20, 1963

When Negro and white demonstrators for equal rights converge on Washington this week, an American dilemma will be unveiled in dramatic terms. The vast majority of white Americans (78 per cent) feel that unsolved racial problems here at home cannot be defended in the court of world opinion.

...Washington Post
August 26, 1963

Air mail brought cuttings from newspapers in the new African countries showing treatment of the Birmingham riots and bombings within four days after the first brutalities. These mailings -- to our State Department, to members of many delegations in the United Nations, and to individuals -- have continued. They include photographs.

The result of the madness at Birmingham, and the following statements by Governor Wallace, Bull Connor, and others in political leadership in Alabama and Mississippi,

have quite literally peralyzed the foreign relations of this country's representatives in Africa and seriously damaged them elsewhere.

One paper mocks us asking if there is any real difference between the late Adolf Hitler's racist attitudes and those of America's extremists? Again, we are vulnerable.

...Ralph McGill's column
Atlanta Constitution

Washington (UPI) -- Secretary of State Dean Rusk Monday called on Americans to solve racial problems which he said are causing "deep injury" to U. S. foreign policy abroad.

Rusk said that because of remaining U. S. racial barriers, U. S. diplomats must conduct American foreign policy like someone running in a foot race "with one of our legs in a cast."

Rusk said the United States "is now confronted with one of the gravest issues that we have had since 1865 ... and this issue deeply affects the conduct of our foreign relations."

...Atlanta Constitution
May 24, 1963

...Of the nearly 100 diplomatic missions now accredited to Washington, more than half have representatives of Asian or African background. So incidents of discrimination at airports and restaurants and other public places have become a matter of real concern on the part not only of Secretary of State Rusk but of normally intelligent Americans who are concerned about the kind of world in which their children are going to live.

...From address by then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Carl T. Rowan, before the Catholic Interracial Council of Washington, D. C., June 24, 1961. reprinted in Interracial Review, October, 1961.

Atlanta -- It happened on October 27, when my husband and I along with another Hindu couple from India went to a downtown restaurant to have our lunch. As soon as we went in we heard the most welcoming words from our American hostess, "Sorry, we cannot serve you."

...Letter from Mrs. Betty Hakem
in Atlanta Constitution
"Pulse of the Public" column
November 1, 1963.

Paris -- Racial tensions in the United States are beginning to produce international repercussions of an unprecendented kind, especially in Western Europe.

As seen from here, the United States for the first time since World War II faces an internal crisis sufficiently serious to deflect its energies from its international responsibilities.

...They [Europeans] do not discount the possibilities of the domestic crisis having a sharply devilitating effect on U. S. foreign policy. The comparison increasingly made here is with the Soviet Union's running agricultural crisis and the restrictive influence it undoubtedly has exerted over the years on Russian initiative abroad.

...Atlanta Journal
(From North American Newspaper
Alliance dispatch). July 25, 1963

Paris -- France's new television program, "Seven Daysoof the World," opened tonight with a 10-minute sequence on the racial conflict in Birmingham, Alabama, whichm was a model of expert impartial reporting.

...Washington Post
May 25, 1963

A Baptist missionary in Nigeria mailed in three cuttings from newspapers in that country. One was an

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editorial from "The Times" of Lagos, perhaps the most influential publication in that country.

At the bottom of this cutting the missionary had written, "As a Christian this was to me, the most tragic article of all. Why, why, don't our people at home know what they are doing to us...?"

...Ralph McGill's column
Atlanta Journal-Constitution
June 9, 1963

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50 copies

Sam Berry
September 16, 1965

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PROGRAMMING FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

Whether it is because they are denied the franchise or are too apathetic and/or uneducated to use it properly, voteless people are hopeless people. This means that outlawing discrimination against qualified potential voters is not enough. Getting them registered is not enough, The primary objective should be that they use their vote and use it wisely. Achievement of this goal requires knowledge that might best be gained in civic education programs.

To get answers to questions on how effective civic education programs might be developed, ~~the Director of Research of~~ the Southern Regional Council was asked to study the problem. In ~~his~~ a search for information on how through civic education we might develop grass roots leadership, communication, and community organization, we sent questionnaires (see attached) to key people in various walks of life throughout the South.

The questionnaires were followed up by visits with ~~some of~~ the following persons: ~~Among those visited were:~~ Louis Martin of the Democratic National Committee; Wiley A. Branton, Executive Director of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity; former Florida Gov. LeRoy Collins, Undersecretary of Commerce and former Director of the U.S. Community Relations Service; M. Carl Holman, Information and Liaison Officer, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights;

~~all of Washington, D. C.,~~ Donald Baldwin, Executive Editor, St. Petersburg Times & Evening Independent; ~~Florida,~~ John Wheeler, President of the Southern Regional Council, ~~Atlanta,~~ and of the Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham; ~~N. C.,~~ Donald Matthews and James Prothro, both political scientists at the University of North Carolina; ~~Chapel Hill, N. C.,~~ Don Slaiman, Director, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO; Jesse Turner, Vice-President, Tri-City Bank, Memphis; ~~Tennessee, and Certified Public Accountant,~~ A. D. Willis, Memphis, ~~Tennessee,~~ political figures; Aaron Henry, Clarksdale, Miss., civil rights leader; Norman Francis, Xavier University Dean, New Orleans; ~~Ind.~~ Ernest N. Morial, Assistant U. S. Attorney, New Orleans; Jesse Hill, President, Atlanta Negro Voter's League; Dr. A. D. Beittel, Director of the Mississippi Program American Friends Service Committee; ~~Inc.,~~ Richard Myles, Director of the South Carolina Voter Education Project; Tom Allen and Athea Simmons, directors of the NAACP's Mississippi Summer Project. Lawrence Guyot, Chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

Guyot

The following seems to include most of the specific problems to which a program of civic education should be directed.

1. Schism among competing Negro factions.

2. Insufficient time for discussion among poverty-stricken individuals who go to work early in the morning and return late, only to be faced with unending home chores and family problems.

3. A general slanting of news in the ~~general~~ media in support of the status quo in southern politics.

4. Widespread illiteracy which limits newspaper reading (Negro oriented radio programming has big audiences on the Delta in Mississippi and elsewhere.)

5. A lack of political tradition among Negro voters and a feeling of hopelessness that breeds apathy and the thinking that one vote does not count.

6. Economic insecurity: loss of jobs for registering and voting.

7. Ignorance about the inner workings of politics.

8. The practice of selling votes for such things as barbeque sandwiches or watermelon, or the issuance of endorsements to undeserving politicians by ministers in return for contributions to their churches or by opportunitists who barter their influence for personal favors.

9. Social disintegration, including the isolation and acutal distance of share-cropping families in rural communities.

10. Limited access and lack of control of ~~such~~ community institutions such as the school; e.g., many communities refused to permit Headstart programs to use regular school buildings during the summer because Negroes would be among pupils and teachers.

11. Few well-organized community groups (e.g., Rotarians or Exchange Club), and decentralized, non-cooperating churches which are unable to reach into the white community.

12. Token leadership, which too often is determined by the power structure. Such leaders in the Negro community often are school principals who are controlled by the school superintendent, but sometimes such leaders are other individuals who are keyed to individual advancement rather than community or group advancement. Some of these leaders are muted by being appointed to powerless boards.

13. Poor leadership attitude. An example of the kind of leadership attitude a civic education program would be expected to eradicate is that implied in a statement by a North Carolina Negro, quoted in the unpublished doctoral thesis of William Keech of the University of North Carolina:

> I told him frankly that I am a political worker and that I didn't know him, and I did not know what he would do when he got elected, if he got elected, and I said: "I don't care what you do if you pay me my price. I'll support you and say you are a fine fellow and do all I can to help you get elected." That's the way I work. I don't see no difference between these crackers. They're all crackers and when they get elected they are still going to be crackers. Any of them who have the price can get my support. They ain't going to do but so much for you anyway. I am in this thing for the money, and I don't give a damn what a candidate does after he gets elected. I'll work for him if he hasn't got a chance.

In addition to changing such leadership attitudes, a civic education program should emphasize among the general electorate, leaders and followers, the sanctity of the voting booth and the responsibility to vote one's convictions based upon knowledge of the issues.

SUGGESTED PROGRAMMING

What is needed is a ~~gigantic five-year~~ long-range program of at least five year duration that begins with an all-out effort in several areas. There isn't time for small pilot studies. By the time such studies are completed, conditions will have changed, making the findings obsolete. Voting rights guarantees were included in a strong ~~rights~~ act passed 100 years ago, but terrorism, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, and undercutting state laws permitted a reversal of the trend before ~~disfranchise~~ Negroes emerging from slavery could become a political force. To prevent a repeat of this, programs to safeguard newly-won voting rights should be launched as soon as possible. Whatever is done should be re-evaluated annually and should be flexible so changes may be made as needed.

Meanwhile, some non-partisan, non-profit organization such as the Southern Regional Council should be engaged immediately to make continuing evaluations and periodic reviews of poverty programs to see how civic education may be included in the content of literacy and adult education programs. Efforts should be made also to write civic education content into training programs now being launched by Southern Regional Council under sponsorship of private foundations and the AFL-CIO.

Numerous & frequent workshops for him + those like him should be organized.

~~As stated above,~~ people interviewed were unanimous in their belief that there is urgent need for political education among new voters, and not solely programs limited to registering new voters. This is untried territory. We don't know what will work. Consequently, the specific programs we suggest below should be entered with the understanding that they should be flexible enough to be re-directed to meet varying needs and new conditions. ~~It is particularly true that some coordinating or administering organization such as The Southern Regional Council should be empowered to review and make grants for support of local innovations.~~ Based on our interviews as well as our own study & experience, here in a ~~Below in the~~ order of ~~our preference~~ priority are specific program suggestions:

tentative

~~II.~~ Leadership Training.

To gain the ability to communicate effectively, (communication is paramount among tools for civic education) there is need for special training for both leaders and followers. The latter is a task that will require vast outlays of public funds, but private funds and agencies might be catalysts for getting ~~the~~ needed programs in motion. Leadership training is the proper field for private funds.

second

A. Training of Active Workers ~~Leaders may be trained on several different levels.~~

1. ~~Training of~~ Indigenous leaders. # ~~This~~ might include the garbage man whom other garbage men look up to. ~~He~~ might be a natural leader despite ~~of~~ his illiteracy. There At workshops ~~in congressional districts, an organization like~~ leaders

There is the biggest & most critical program we propose

organized on the basis of political units as far down the scale as funds permit (but at the very least down to the Congressional district)

I. The first & we think most ~~[illegible]~~ needed proposal is also the least costly. An appropriate agency should have staff to link up civic education with:

a. The federal poverty program

b. On-going programs of private organization (e.g. the labor education work of Southern Regional Council & Southern Poverty Education Project)

Such staff should both try to get civic education incorporated in poverty projects ~~[illegible]~~ and should assist local Negro groups prepare sound proposals to OEO that will ~~include~~ embrace civic education.

& private programs

~~the Southern Regional Council could provide~~ instruction could be provided practical ~~experiences that~~ which would teach him how to organize for getting out the vote, which community agency provides what services, etc. He also would get an opportunity to rub shoulders with top-rung leaders; e.g., the bank president in Durham, or the insurance executive in Atlanta, or the educator or lawyer in New Orleans. Such workshops

2. Pre-assignment training for interns and professionals. Traveling interns* ~~like those of NAIRO~~ and professional civil rights workers* will be needed to help develop community organization and to help find and develop indigenous leaders. Prior to their assignment, they should attend a training institute supervised by the agency administering the civic education. The interns might be assigned to work under the direction of local or state Councils on Human Relations, or local Urban Leagues, ~~or any other~~ inter-racial organizations, ~~that may exist~~.

relatively [illegible] direct [illegible] workshop. In all cases workshop staff should be [illegible] qualified [illegible] experience. ~~#~~ [illegible]

should be planned [illegible] by an appropriate agency, in some cases directly [illegible] agency, in other cases, a non-partisan group qualified by [illegible] local [illegible] and following [illegible]

the organizing would include the selection of a part-time consultant [illegible] local [illegible]

footnote

*We leave undiscussed here the procedure for selecting interns + civil rights staffers. Some machinery would have to be created; we need first to decide whether this road will be taken before we design the vehicle.

[illegible] program [illegible] education [illegible] program [illegible] successful.

seminar would be for the purpose of keeping informed on the latest & hopefully best thought on current social & economic issues. Discussion leaders should be carefully selected for their pre-eminence & their ability to refrain from speech making.

Duties of interns, in addition to developing and working with local leadership, would include,

(a) going into bakcward or under-educated rural areas to help develop poverty programs; and

(b) helping obtain aid available through other government and private projects.

3. Annual Seminar for top leaders. Selected ~~Negro~~ leaders from other sections of the nation should join top southern Negro leaders in an annual seminar or seminars. These ~~that also would involve big-name white liberals, not necessarily as speech-makers, but as regular participants.~~ Because ~~the~~ these seminars

(a) Among consultants would be persons who might shed light on what social science ~~psychology~~ and computers have to offer in the training of leaders and development of programs.

(b) Out of the seminar might emerge associations that will lead to

might serve the incidental purpose of providing critical & evaluating other programs. They should be approached by the Peace Corps & organized responsible for them.

better non-partisan organization. Certainly there would be useful exchanges of information.

(c) This might also be helpful to those Negroes who are not yet ready to accept or trust whites. Hopefully, it would help them to develop projects of action rather than reaction. Participants would learn what button to press to make the political machine go.

(d) The sophisticated in-depth study at seminars would further prepare these leaders for participation in roving information sessions they might periodically undertake in cooperation with interns and professionals within their own districts.

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B. School Related Programs

1. Selected high school seniors who show promise as leaders should be invited to one or two week summer institutes where they would participate in intensive study of political science as related to Negro goals. These should be centrally located at a Negro or well-desegregated college or university, + under the direction of that institution.

2. Fellowships for a full year or summer of study might be awarded scholars ~~in~~ of the civil rights struggle. They ~~may~~ might be screened partly on what they plan to study and write reports on. They would develop expert knowledge in their study area and would impart this knowledge through a published report and through their use as resource persons in some future training sessions. Studies could include investigation of subtle ways employment commissions in specific states legally evade civil service regulations to pass over non-white job applicants, and the logging of hidden political controls in the community or state power structure.
3. Colleges should be encouraged to include in liberal arts programs some special emphasis on Negro history and Negro contribution to American life. While this might be limited to chapel assemblies or core lectures, more time would be desirable. An organization such as SRC might help provide ~~a~~ basic

outlines of study for inclusion in humanities or history courses or as an independent course. The colleges could help instill in white students a greater respect and understanding of what Negroes have contributed to America's greatness, in Negroes a greater sense of race pride, and in all students greater civic responsibility.

III Publications and Research.

insert one

A. In addition to the publication of studies by fellows (see above), the organization chosen to administer the civic education program might publish guidelines on such subjects as initiating local civic education programs, clinics for home-buyers, and poverty and literacy programs, on which civic education may ride piggy-back.

B. Reports also might serve as a clearing house for related projects from which there is something to learn about techniques and successes of others. Some of these might be,

1. the Citizenship Education Program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Board of Homeland Ministries of the American Missionary Association;
2. the pilot leadership program that the National Urban League has instituted in two southern cities (Miami and New Orleans); ~~and~~

* Printed + audio visual materials obviously will be needed for all of the training program in I above. Materials are, however, (a) expensive and (b) time consuming in preparation. Materials do now exist. Not the best, perhaps, not specially tailored, but they exist. We, therefore, place ~~them after~~ ~~it~~ the preparation of new ones after the training program in order of priority, though perhaps they should go ahead of ~~II~~ B2 and ~~II~~ B3 above.

, local NAACP's, + other membership groups

3. the South Carolina Voter Education Project.

C. Guidelines on civic education programming should be published and made available to state + local Councils on Human Relations to help them turn their talk into action.

1. ~~Their~~ Action might include voter clinics in which they teach the mechanics of voting. In Tennessee, for example, where leaders say they lose 10% of the Negro vote each election because of improperly marked ballots, ~~Councils on Human Relations~~ such groups might make booklets with pictures and text geared to the fourth grade reading level explaining how the ballot is disqualified ~~if the elector votes, but fails to vote in all categories listed on the ballot.~~ for various technical reasons.

2. Included may be booklets on how Parent-Teacher Associations may start Saturday and after-school enrichment classes similar to Continuing Academic-Cultural Enrichment Program in St. Petersburg, ~~Fla.~~

III. Adult Education

Quality forums which use outside speakers who are experts on such subjects as breast feeding, planned parenthood, business loans, household budgeting, and other subjects that interest local

people ought to be supported by some ~~regional~~ sponsoring organization. (In all the suggestions in the section, opportunities for → over

A. Such forums might be the rallying point for getting people together.

1. Once the people are accustomed to meeting, ~~say,~~ on a Sunday afternoon, a Thursday night, say) to learn something rather than simply to protest something, a variety of things might be accomplished.

2. They could be taught such things as:

   (a) how to combat certain diseases;

   (b) where to go for certain free community services;

   (c) how to use a voting machine or mark ballots;

   (d) how to own a home with earnings as low as $60 a week;

   (e) how to fill out money orders and/or pay a gas or light bill without going downtown.

B. Citizenship

Sundays might be developed with the cooperation of ministers.

1. Schools of religion might be encouraged

keying in with poverty project or ~~th~~ programs

~~to~~ local membership groups are apparent, see I above.)

to help prepare suggested sermonettes which would be made available to ministers about four times a year for quarterly observance of Citizen ship Sundays.

2. This might be a 5th Sunday afternoon event for all the churches of a given community.

ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM

Among the nearly 3½ million unregistered Negroes of voting age in the South are numerous illiterates. There are 3.4 million white and Negro illiterates in the eleven southern states and the majority of them are non-white. This report assumes that such people, lacking basic communication skills, will need special help if they are effectively to move into the main political stream of American life.

Negro Southerners, under the early impetus of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the help of federal examiners and civil rights workers, were registering during August by the hundreds, but this has dwindled (see attached news clipping). Belief that continuing voter registration efforts such as the Voter Education Project administered by the Southern Regional Council during 1963-4 are passé, now that it is illegal to bar eligible Negroes from registering, is inconsistent with lessons of history.

Since conviction of crime is considered reason enough to invalidate an elector, some law enforcement officers may begin

wholesale arrests on trumped-up charges, thus destroying the political potential of new voters before it is consolidated. Examples of subtle and hidden efforts to halt the expanding electorate are plentiful. In New Orleans, there is a voter slow-down, which forces some prospective voters to return to the Court House ~~for two days~~ before finally getting their names on the books. The Attorney General has been reluctant to send federal examiners into some foot-dragging counties. In North Carolina, some voter registration offices will be open only three days prior to the November election. Continuing demonstrations in Plymouth, N. C. were designed to get the offices open for a longer period, but have resulted only in violence.

While the more serious obstacles blocking voter registration continue to be violence, terrorism, and economic pressures, in some places (e.g., St. Petersburg) ~~that~~ apathy and inability to get downtown during the regular 9 a.m. to 5.p. m. office hours are the main barriers. From communities where fear, harrassment and reprisals for registering are factors, we have received reports about farmers being denied loans with which to harvest their crops (as in middle South Carolina) and threats of violence (as in Mississippi and elsewhere). This report, however, centers on what is needed after registration rather than on the problems of getting people registered. It is addressed to the needs for ~~the~~ organization, negotiation, and multi-level communication that are part and parcel of civic education. Continuing registration will be a product of the civic training.

THE PAY-OFFS

Through organization, leaders would be able to get out the vote with some predictable certainty. They also would be able to register

new persons as they become eleigible. Through negotiation, they would be able to parlay political, social, economic gains from voting. Voting is not an end itself. Nor is it the reality of political influence; it is merely the symbol. Consequently, a racist politician elected on a backlash vote designed to get rid of a liberal politician, who happens to be corrupt, might interpret his election as a mandate for racism. Proper interpretation through communication would help guard against this and would serve as a tool to develop organization and increase knowledge about political and civic affairs. Developing leaders, in a sense, means developing interpreters -- persons who are able to get their message through in understandable language and action at the grass roots level as well as among the upper and middle-income economic groups.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE SOUTH*

THE FACT OF NEED

Mose of the poor of the United States live in the South than in any other region - almost half, according to 1960 U. S. census data.

The proportion of families trapped by poverty is larger in the South than in other regions. Almost one of every four is poor, according to U. S. census data.

Within the South, the proportion of Negro households in poverty is more than twice that of white households. A total of 17.9% of 12 million white families is poor, as opposed to 58.3% of 2.3 million Negro families, according to the Social Security Administration.

Ninety-seven of the 100 poorest counties in the United States are in the South.

These facts are the unanimous conclusions of analysts of American poverty who use differing economic categories and differing statistical sources. Whether the poverty line is defined as $3000 or $4000 per year as a dependent

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*The "South" here referred to is the 11 former confederate states and Kentucky. Statistics, unless otherwise indicated, are from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

variable of family size, age, and farm residence, the conclusions are the same. The South has more poverty overall, a higher rate of its occurrence, and the highest rate among its black people. (See also Tables 8 and 9.)

THE PLACE OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Public assistance in the form of cash payments and aid has been a principal way to alleviate that poverty which consists primarily of monetary deprivation. It has been criticized as too limited, and as destructive of the family when administered in such a way that payments to aid children of impoverished families cannot be made when an employable male is in the house. Men out of work are forced to leave home so that the family will qualify for aid, according to the critics. It is not possible in the present study to resolve such controversy. The goal is to provide more information about the distribution of funds in the South under existing programs. The purpose is to describe what *is* being done in order to enlighten discussion of what *ought* to be done.

Three important clarifications should be made at this point. First, although public assistance is commonly called "welfare," it should not be confused with the total spectrum of social welfare programs. The funds for public assistance discussed here are separate from funds spent under programs

such as the Old Age Survivors and Disability Insurance of Social Security, unemployment compensation, job-retraining, and the war on poverty. Public assistance consists primarily of cash aid to the indigent aged who are largely uncovered by Social Security insurance, to families with dependent children which have little or no income, to the blind and the permanently and totally disabled, and to acute cases of need discovered by welfare workers (called general assistance in attached tables.) These General assistance programs receive no federal funds and thus vary widely depending on the available resources and the commitments of the states.

Public assistance has also included cash aid to the aged for drug and hospital costs. The statistics in this study cover only the program for such aid that existed before adoption of the broader Medicare program.

Public assistance is what some disparagingly refer to as "the dole." Its beneficiaries are overwhelmingly the aged, dependent children, and the physically handicapped. The beneficiaries, contrary to popular myth, are not adult males who prefer to "loaf."

Typical of confusion was a headline in a large southern newspaper which said "22 Million on Dole." If the reader went beyond the headline, he discovered the "dole" referred

to was largely from social security insurance funds for which the recipients had been directly taxed on every paycheck they received. Only eight million of the twenty-two million were receiving a "dole," and most of them were either over 65 or under 18, or blind, or otherwise disabled, or sick. Public assistance is what goes to this distressed 8 million people. Since there are 1.5 million impoverished aged and at least 15 million impoverished children in this country, it hardly appears that public assistance with its 8 million recipients is going to more people than the degree of need requires. Indeed, it goes to far fewer than the number in need.

Moreover, from these facts it should be clear that public assistance reaches primarily those who are outside the labor force and thus cannot be aided by minimum wage laws and unemployment compensation. At the present time public assistance, however limited, is the only way being used to meet the problem of "monetary deprivation," a rather inane technical term which seeks to make a distinction between those poor whose only problem in satisfactorily adjusting to modern life is lack of money and those who need help beyond the simple getting of money.

The second clarification required is related to this issue of monetary deprivation. While not all poverty is

covered by the concept, much of it is. The Wall Street Journal in September, 1966, reported that "the Johnson Administration is becoming increasingly intrigued with a far-reaching new goal: Ending poverty via a Government guarantee of a minimum income for every American family." But, the article goes on to point out, the Viet Nam war and existent domestic spending along with fear of Congressional and public resistance preclude the possibility of a direct approach to the goal, such schemes as the guaranteed annual income or negative income tax (no tax for those below a specified level and payments to bring them up to that level). Instead, there would be a gradual approach, an effort to "patch up and fatten up" existing programs, including Social Security, public-assistance coverage and payments, rent and other supplements, and public employment. If the public assistance programs are as poorly conceived and administered as their critics charge, then the new effort may mean merely the waste of more money. A study of how present funds are distributed among the states and how the states allocate proportions to such needs as the indigent aged and dependent children should--regardless of the merits of the present programs--indicate the degree of patching and fattening that would need to be done.

The third clarification required here concerns the possible charge that to stress cash payments ignores the

"syndrone of poverty" approach. Poverty is more than a lack of money. It is a complex of social and personal deficiencies, rooted in the absence of opportunities for human development. This fact is more widely appreciated than ever before. Yet there is a danger of ignoring the economic component. While it is clearly true that for many of the poor, cash payments alone will not mean getting out of syndrone of poverty, it is equally true that better schools, health service, consumer education, housing and so forth will not alleviate an inability to get enough money to live on in the short run.

While cash payments alone will not suffice to end poverty for many of the poor, they will be sufficient to end poverty among those for whom deprivation is primarily or solely monetary. S. M. Miller argues persuasively that the majority of the poor are "stable", i.e. free from family or social pathologies and employed at steady but very low pay, low skill jobs.** Many of these stable poor in the South and in the nation need nothing more than direct cash aid for their children or their own old age - plus job retraining for themselves and good education for their children. The boost from this support should be enough to break the monetary deprivation cycle permanently for about half the American poor, according to Miller. For

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**S. M. Miller, "The American Lower Classes: A Typological Approach", New Perspective on Poverty ed. A. Shosta and W. Gomberg (Englewood Cliffs, J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965) p.27.

them, the end of monetary deprivation would also mean the end of the poverty syndrome. For others, the broader attack on all social and cultural deficiencies would have to continue.

The cost of a start on cash subsidies would vary with how much was attempted. The Wall Street Journal report cited previously said that government officials thought it would cost from 6 billion to 7 billion dollars per year "to move the more than 30 million 'poor' people just halfway from their present incomes to the minimum desired levels - $3,000 for a family of four." Leon Keyserling's report for the Conference on Economic Progress, Poverty or Progress, estimates that 12.7 billion dollars a year would mean $1,427 more a year for each of the 8.9 million families with incomes below $3,000 in 1963.

Whatever method is ultimately used, there is considerable movement toward greater use of direct cash subsidy to end the poverty of monetary deprivation. Thus, it becomes extremely important to understand how cash subsidy is now used.

WHAT IS SPENT IN THE SOUTH FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

What follows is primarily an examination of the status quo in public assistance. It tries to discover precisely what the South is doing in the face of the degree of poverty

noted earlier. It also examines the proportion of federal resources received by the South.

Of all expenditures for public assistance payments in the United States in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965, 21.8% occurred in the South (Table I.) This reflects the South's having 25.9% of the United States population in 1960. But it does not reflect that almost half of the nation's poverty is in the South and that the incidence of poverty within the region is higher than in other regions, as noted earlier. It should be noted that states administer the allotment of federal funds. The size of the federal grant varies with the ability or desire to match from state resources or to operate state programs - hence the disparity among the states.

Among individual states, Texas and Louisiana spend significantly more than all the others. The size of the Texas expenditure can be attributed to the large population of the state. It is less impressive when considered on a per inhabitant basis (Table 3) or a rate per 1,000 basis (Table 4.)

The large Louisiana expenditure is even more striking when either the size of the state, the number of recipients, the rate per 1,000 population, the average payment per recipient or all of these is considered (Tables 2-4.) Prima facie, this state's program cannot be judged to be adequate

simply because it was large relative to national as well as southern standards. That conclusion would require more investigation. The adequacy of the program becomes questionable when the specific programs to which the state allots its resources are considered. (Table 2.) Nevertheless, the case of Louisiana is atypical of the South in the public assistance field. The roots can be traced to the atypical southern politics of the regime of Huey Long in which desirable social welfare programs served the political welfare of Mr. Long to the chagrin of both some liberals, as well as the conservative business elite. The avialability of petroleum resources as a means to finance such programs must also be noted.

At the other end of the scale stand Virginia and South Carolina. (Tables 2-4.) They were low by all the standards by which Louisiana was high. Total expenditures, degree of coverage, payment per recipient, and number covered were generally near or at the bottom of the region and the nation. Two notable exceptions occurred in Virginia and thereby differentiated it from South Carolina. First, Virginia spent more than twice as much overall for aid to dependent children than did South Carolina. It paid more per recipient to more families although its rate of coverage per 1000 was almost the same. (Table 4.) Second, while Virginia assisted those aged covered with higher payments, the degree of coverage per 1000 over age 65 was one-fourth that of South Carolina. (Table 4.)

The other states fall in irregular patterns between the extremes of Louisiana and South Carolina. Alabama and Mississippi attract special comment because of their positions in total spending and their ways of distributing funds. Mississippi's per inhabitant effort was relatively high, although total spending ranked near the bottom-just ahead of Virginia and South Carolina.(Tables 2 and 3.) Mississippi is unique, however, in that its amount of coverage per 1,000 children under 18 was highest in the South. Its coverage per 1,000 over 65 ranked third, just below Louisiana and Alabama. At the same time, the size of the average payments to the aged and to dependent children was the lowest in the region. Mississippi spread its resources to give a little to many. Alabama acted similarly in aiding dependent children, but aided the aged with high payments and a degree of coverage per 1,000 over 65 second only to Louisiana. The scope of assistance to the aged in Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi suggests the political utility of aid to the voting aged.

HOW THE SOUTH ALLOCATES PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RESOURCES

The contrast between aid to the aged and aid to dependent children is not limited to Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi. It is a regional pattern which is more pronounced in these states (Table 1.)

The percentage distribution by program reveals that both in the South and in the nation these two programs account for the great bulk of public assistance expenditures (Table 1.) With this, the similarity ends. Whereas in the nation as a whole, assistance to the aged used 38.6% of all the funds and aid to dependent children used 32.6%, in the South the respective percentages were 65.1 and 18.2. The only southern states which approximated the national proportional distribution of 38.6% and 32.6% were North Carolina and Virginia (Table 2), but their rate of coverage per 1,000 population under age 18 was very limited (Table 4.) The proportion given to the aged was above the regional average in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, and Arkansas. The proportion given to dependent children was below the regional average in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina (Table 2.)

The relative proportions allotted to the aged and to dependent children are a point of controversy. Most critics attack the national proportions as severely discriminatory against the needs of children and barely sufficient for the aged poor (Table 4.) If the national proportions can be called inequitable, those in the South can be called iniquitous. An analysis by Burton Weisbrod indicates the degree of need among children. In this country, there are 15 million poor

over age 65, according to Mollie Orshansky of the Social Security Administration.*** In June, 1965, the number of recipients of public assistance to the aged was 2.1 million nationwide, and the number of children aided was only 3.3 million.**** It can be concluded that public assistance does not begin to cover the vast 15 million children who are poor. The proportion of children and aged people for the South is comparable, and the imbalance in favoring the aged is greater.

Children covered received average monthly payments of only $33.83 in the nation as a whole. For the South, dependent children received no higher than $25.55 in Kentucky and as low as $9.13 in Mississippi (Table 4.) A study by the Georgia Council on Human Relations in cooperation with the Columbia University School of Social Work suggests that racial discrimination makes the burden on Negro children even more onerous than it is on white children.

In short, the present system of aid to dependent children does not begin to deal with the scope of poverty in the nation or region. While most, if not all, the aged poor are being aided, they may not be receiving sufficiently large payments. Most of the 15 million children who are poor go

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***Burton Weisbrod, "The Economics of Poverty." (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 11.

****Division of Research, Bureau of Family Services, Dept. Of Health, Education & Welfare: Statistics for June, 1965.

largely unhelped by public assistance. A bare 3.3 million of them are aided as "dependent." (And these "lucky" ones of course deserve more systematic and substantial aid if the developmental roots of poverty are to be severed.)

The respective proportions of assistance to children and the aged are not the only ones deserving comment, although they are the largest programs. Equally symptomatic of problems in the region's public assistance policies are the low allocations for medical assistance to the aged and general assistance (Table 1.) The South accounted for only 4.1% of the total national expenditures for medical aid to the aged under public assistance programs.***** It spent only 4.9% of the total national funds for general assistance, i.e. individual cases of special need determined by case-workers in many instances. Whereas in the nation as a whole, medical assistance to the aged received 9.9% of all public assistance funds, and general assistance received 7.2%, in the South medical aid accounted for only 1.8% of all public assistance funds spent in the region and general assistance accounted for only 1.6%.

The implications here are twofold. First, southern states have not fully avialed themselves of avaiäable federal resources for medical aid probably because of non-discrimination conditions for full participation and because state

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*****It should be noted that this analysis is based on the most recently available data, i.e. the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965. Thus, it does not consider the effect of Medicare which began July 1, 1966.

funds are also required. Propaganda against "socialized medicine" should also be considered. Mississippi, Georgia, and Texas had no programs at all. Others were very limited (Table 2.) Second, since there are no federal funds for general assistance to special cases, most southern states have made little effort to fulfill their own responsibility. Only Louisiana made a significant effort relative to its size. Florida did relatively well also. Texas spent less than Louisiana for a population three times as large. Louisiana and Texas have important revenue sources in their extensive petroleum deposits. The other states either do not have or have not allocated adequate or even minimal resources for general assistance (Table 2.)

SOURCES OF FUNDS

The discussion of resources for general assistance raises the question of source of funds. In general, the South is much more dependent on federal funds than is the nation as a whole (Table 5.) Further, local governments give proportions of aid in the South much smaller than in the nation except on general assistance. On this program, southern local governments compensate for deficiency of state government efforts. Also worthy of note is the extent to which federal funds subsidize the southern preference for aid to the aged over aid to dependent children. Consequently, in the nation, 45.9% of all federal public assistance funds go for old age assistance (Table 6.) Also payments in the South

accounted for 43.3% of all federal old-age assistance funds, as opposed to the South's accounting for only 30% of all federal public assistance funds. Of all public assistance funds, federal, state and local combined, payments in the South accounted for only 21.8% (Table 1.) Finally, when state funds alone are considered, southern states spend considerably less than both their population and their degree of poverty require (Table 7.)

CONCLUSION

1. As a whole and in almost all the individual states, public assistance expenditures in the South have been below the national average in terms of total funds, amounts per inhabitant, average payment per recipient, and coverage per 1,000 population in the given category for special assistance. Louisiana is an exception to this regional pattern.

2. Expenditure of federal public assistance funds in the South has not been commensurate with the degree of need indicated by comparative statistics on poverty in the region and nation. It appears to be more commensurate with population.

3. The per recipient payments under aid to dependent children has been woefully inadequate in the region and the nation. The number of children aided is far below the number of children in poverty in the region

and below even the inadequate rate in the nation.

4. Southern states have given a larger proportion of assistance to the aged than has the nation as a whole; they have given a smaller proportion to aid dependent children despite the fact that there are more children who are poor than aged poor. Payments to the aged are larger than payments to children in the region and nation.

5. Southern states avoided pre-medicare programs of aged-medical aid.

6. Southern states except Louisiana and Florida, compared with the nation, have made little effort to aid cases of special need under general assistance programs.

7. Southern states have depended much more on federal funds for public assistance programs than the nation as a whole. At the same time, they have not applied for all the federal funds that were available to be spent for needs among their poor.

JP/km

11/8/66

TABLE 1

AGGREGATE EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June, 1965
(Federal, State, and Local)

PROGRAM	50 STATES AND D. C.	SOUTH	SOUTH'S % OF TOTAL
Total:	$5,285,321	$1,150,927	21.8
Special Types of Public Assistance	4,903,394	1,132,354	23.0
Old-age Assistance	2,042,572	748,886	36.7
Medical Assistance to Aged	523,694	20,979	4.1
Aid to Blind	98,898	25,527	25.8
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	513,346	127,161	24.8
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	1,724,883	209,801	12.2
General Assistance (Cases)	381,927	18,573	4.9
PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM:			
Total:	100.0%	100.0%	
Special Types of Public Assistance	92.8	98.4	
Old-age Assistance	38.6	65.1	
Medical Assistance to Aged	9.9	1.8	
Aid to Blind	1.9	2.2	
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	9.8	11.1	
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	32.6	18.2	
General Assistance	7.2	1.6	

TABLE 2

TOTAL WELFARE EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS IN SOUTH BY STATE (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965
(Federal, State, and Local)

PROGRAM	ALL SOUTHERN STATES	TEXAS	LA.	ALA.	GA.	FLA.	N. CAR.	KEN.	TENN.	ARK.
Total:	$1,150,925	$227,590	$184,633	$112,910	$103,731	$100,803	$91,345	$82,866	$62,982	$61,990
% of South	100%	19.8%	16.1%	9.8%	9.0%	8.8%	7.9%	7.2%	5.5%	5.4%
Special Types of Public Assistance	1,133,354	224,216	179,440	112,899	102,849	97,856	89,418	82,289	62,427	61,579
Old Age	748,886	193,450	133,255	91,178	62,759	58,108	31,610	42,650	29,566	45,139
Medical Assistance to Aged	20,979	--	1,078	892	--	2,881	2,020	3,791	3,445	1,977
Aid to Blind	25,527	3,956	2,713	1,488	2,280	2,106	4,069	2,098	1,382	1,649
Aid to Permanently & Totally Disabled	127,161	6,656	13,555	8,302	19,242	14,511	19,236	9,527	8,345	6,838
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	209,801	20,153	28,839	11,039	18,568	20,250	32,482	24,224	19,690	5,977
General Assistance	18,573	3,374	5,193	11	882	2,946	1,927	576	556	411

TABLE 2 CONTINUED --

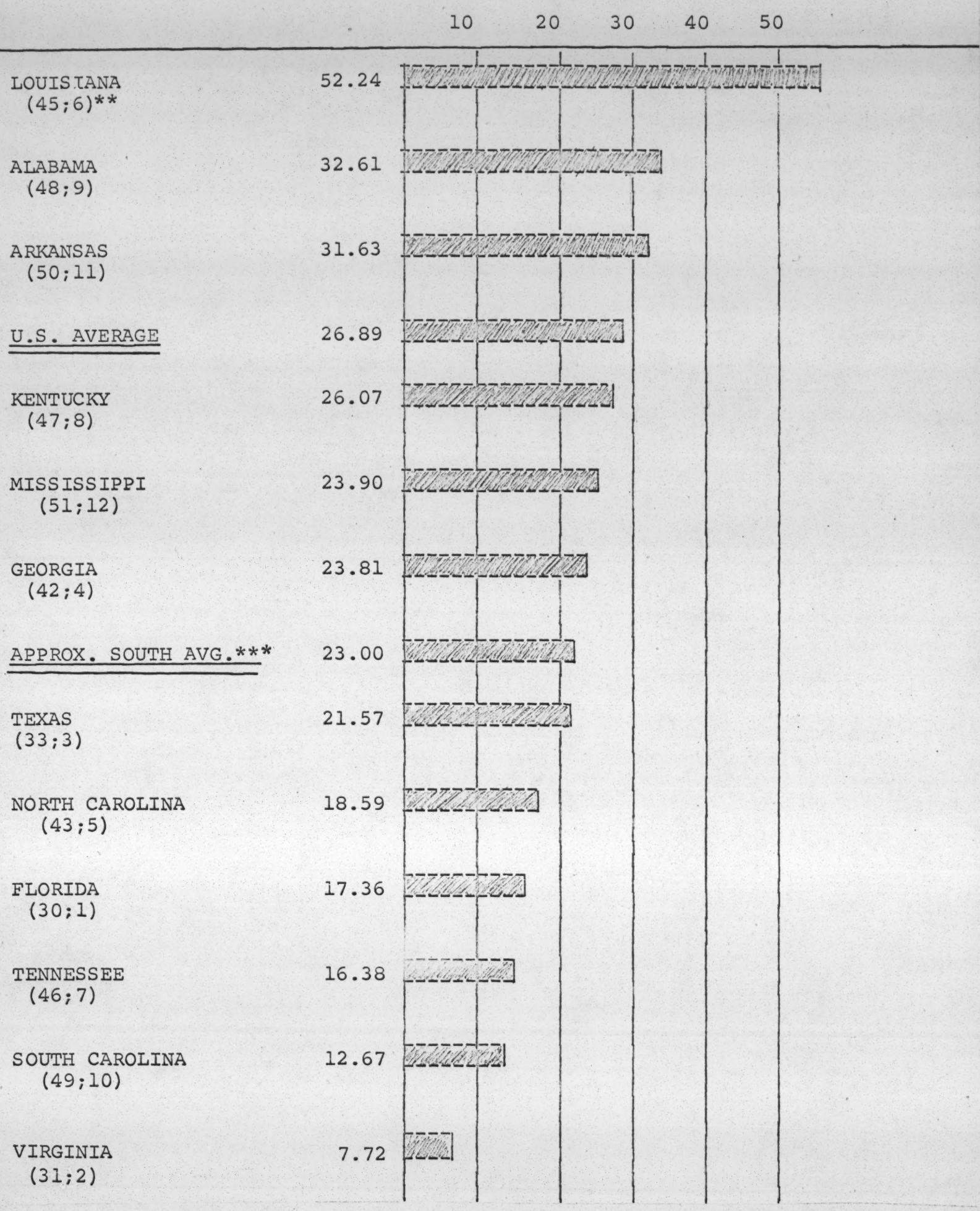
Program	MISS.	VA.	S.CAR.
Total:	$55,477	$34,399	$32,200
% of South	4.8%	3.0%	2.8%
Special Types of Public Assistance	55,245	32,579	31,555
Old Age	34,641	10,198	16,332
Medical Assistance to Aged	--	2,319	2,576
Aid to Blind	1,446	958	1,382
Aid to Permanently & Totally Disabled	9,580	5,624	5,745
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	9,579	13,480	5,520
General Assistance	232	1,820	645

PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM:

Program	All So. States	TEXAS	LA.	ALA.	GA.	FLA.	N. CAR.	KEN.	TENN.	ARK.	MISS.	VA.	S. CAR.
Total:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Special Types of Public Assistance	94.4	98.5	97.2	99.9	99.1	97.1	97.9	99.3	99.1	99.3	99.6	94.7	98.0
Old Age	65.1	85.0	72.2	80.7	60.5	57.6	34.6	51.5	46.9	72.8	62.4	29.6	50.7
Medical Aid for the Aged	1.8	--	.6	.8	--	2.9	2.2	4.6	5.5	3.2	--	6.7	8.0
Aid for the Blind	2.2	1.7	1.5	1.3	2.2	2.1	4.4	2.5	2.2	2.7	2.6	2.8	4.3
Aid for the Permanently Disabled	11.1	2.9	7.3	7.3	18.5	14.4	21.1	11.5	13.2	11.0	17.3	16.4	17.8
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	18.2	8.9	15.6	9.8	17.9	20.1	35.6	29.2	31.3	9.6	17.3	39.2	17.2
General Assistance	1.6	1.5	2.8	.1	.9	2.9	2.1	.7	.9	.7	.4	5.3	2.0

TABLE 3

AMOUNT EXPENDED PER INHABITANT* FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS
Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965



*Based on Bureau of Census population estimates as of July 1, 1965.

**Per capita income rank in nation and South respectively indicated by numbers in parentheses.

***Based on 1960 Census figures and allowing for increase through 1965.

TABLE 4

AVERAGE MONTHLY PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENT PER RECIPIENT
(June, 1965)

OLD AGE ASSISTANCE	Average Payments	Number of Recipients*	Persons Aided Per 1000 Over Age 65
LOUISIANA	$84.93	130,799	497
U.S. AVERAGE	80.36	-	117
TEXAS	70.14	229,050	272
VIRGINIA	67.24	1,016	41
ALABAMA	67.13	105,000**	394
FLORIDA	65.09	74,595	105
KENTUCKY	64.01	59,403	192
ARKANSAS	63.86	-- ***	287
N. CAROLINA	62.96	42,318	121
TENNESSEE	59.22	44,738	134
GEORGIA	58.47	92,938	288
S. CAROLINA	54.36	24,626	150
MISSISSIPPI	41.17	73,196	363

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN	Average Payments	Number of Recipients*	Children Aided Per 1000 Under Age 18
U.S. AVERAGE	$33.83	--	46
KENTUCKY	25.55	60,430	51
N. CAROLINA	25.44	82,712	46
VIRGINIA	25.27	35,974	22
LOUISIANA	23.08	81,501	56
TENNESSEE	22.46	62,005	43
GEORGIA	22.14	59,851	34
TEXAS	18.71	71,737	18
ARKANSAS	16.88	23,396	33
S. CAROLINA	15.97	21,967	23
FLORIDA	15.68	87,410	43
ALABAMA	11.81	56,087	44
MISSISSIPPI	9.13	66,808	71

Note: *Number of recipients for December, 1965
**Estimated
***Not available

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE BY SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR TOTAL PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS

For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965

	TOTAL	FEDERAL		STATE		LOCAL	
		U.S.	SOUTH	U.S.	SOUTH	U.S.	SOUTH
	100%*						
Total:		54.6	75.4	33.7	21.9	11.7	2.7
Special Types of Public Assistance		58.8	76.5	32.2	21.6	9.0	1.9
Old Age Assistance		64.8	71.9	31.0	22.4	4.2	5.7
Medical Assistance to Aged		51.8	73.1	30.6	23.3	17.6	3.6
Aid to Blind		47.4	72.9	46.0	24.1	6.6	3.0
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled		56.0	74.4	34.5	22.3	9.5	3.3
Aid to Families With Dependent Children		55.5	79.0	32.7	17.9	11.9	3.1
General Assistance		--	--	53.4	37.2	46.6	62.8

*Reading across each line, percentages for U. S. and South each equal 100%.

TABLE 6

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965

PROGRAM	50 STATES AND D. C.	SOUTH	SOUTH'S % OF TOTAL
Total Federal Funds:	$2,885,320	$867,325	30%
Special Types of Public Assistance			
Old Age Assistance	1,323,352	573,125	43.3%
Medical Assistance to Aged	271,288	15,331*	5.7%
Aid to Blind	46,872	18,598	39.7%
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	287,338	94,552	32.9%
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	956,470	165,719	17.3%
PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM:			
Special Types of Public Assistance	100%	100%	
Old Age Assistance	45.9%	66.1%	
Medical Assistance to Aged	9.4%	1.8%*	
Aid to Blind	1.6%	2.1%	
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	10.0%	10.9%	
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	33.1%	19.1%	

*No program: Georgia, Mississippi, Texas.

TABLE 7

EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS FROM STATE FUNDS (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June, 1965

PROGRAM	50 STATES AND D. C.	SOUTH	SOUTH'S % OF TOTAL
Total From State Funds:	$1,782,992	$251,941	14.1%
Special Types of Public Assistance	1,578,963	244,931	15.5%
Old Age Assistance	632,653	168,106	26.6%
Medical Assistance for the Aged	159,994	4,885	3.1%
Aid to the Blind	45,539	6,158	13.5%
Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled	177,295	28,314	16.0%
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	563,483	37,468	6.6%
General Assistance	204,028	6,910	3.4%
PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM:			
Total State Funds:	100%	100%	
Special Types of Public Assistance	88.6%	97.3%	
Old Age Assistance	35.5%	66.8%	
Medical Assistance for the Aged	9.0%	1.9%	
Aid to the Blind	2.6%	2.4%	
Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled	9.9%	11.3%	
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	31.6%	14.9%	
General Assistance	11.4%	2.7%	

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME BELOW $3,000
(1960 Census)

	PERCENTAGE	WHITE	NEGRO
UNITED STATES	21.4	18.6	47.9
SOUTH			
ALABAMA	39.1	29.6	67.8
ARKANSAS	47.7	41.0	79.5
FLORIDA	28.4	24.1	54.5
GEORGIA	35.6	25.7	67.7
KENTUCKY	38.1	36.7	57.7
LOUISIANA	35.6	24.2	65.8
MISSISSIPPI	51.6	34.4	82.9
NORTH CAROLINA	37.1	28.8	70.1
SOUTH CAROLINA	39.5	24.5	77.0
TENNESSEE	38.3	34.2	63.8
TEXAS	28.7	25.2	57.6
VIRGINIA	27.9	13.7	54.1

TABLE 9

ONE HUNDRED POOREST COUNTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

STATE	Number of Counties Per State Among Poorest	Averages of the 100 Poorest Counties (Per Family Median) In The United States				
		Average Median Family Income	Range of Median Family Income	Average Per Capita Income	Range Per Capita Income	Average Population
ALABAMA	8	$1,736				
ARKANSAS	8		$1,260-$1,956			
GEORGIA	9			$633		
KENTUCKY	22				$435-$886	
LOUISIANA	1					14,606
MISSISSIPPI	24					
N. CAROLINA	3					
S. CAROLINA	4					
TENNESSEE	11					
TEXAS	6					
VIRGINIA	1					
TOTAL	97					

TABLE 9 CONTINUED --

Range in Population	Average Total Civilian Labor Force	Range in Total Civilian Labor Force	Average Percent Unemployment	Range in Percents of Unemployment	Average Percent Non-white	Range in Percent of Non-white
2,443-54,464	4,728	741-16,509	5.523%	0.5%-21.3%	38.89%	0.1%-81.3%

TABLE 9 CONTINUED --

Average Median School Years	Range in Median School Years	Average Percent Rural Residence	Range in Percents of Rural Residence	Average Percent Sound Plumbing	Range in Percent of Sound Plumbing
7.38	5.2-8.9	42.74%	0.1%-47.5%	24.89%	8.8%-47.5%

Woodstock
Vermont
September 21, 1964

Mr. James A. Jordan
Division of Teacher Education
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Dear Jim:

I assume you know as well as I what is wrong with the draft you sent me but I also assume you do not see it as your job to fix it without help since you would not have sent it to me in this shape otherwise. Yet it seems to me you, and you alone, must take the next steps with it. Therefore I will first sketch - for the record - what I think are the major problems and then explain why I think you must fix it yourself.

Overall the paper is disorganized, repetitive, uncoordinated, and unclear. For example: 1) the introduction does not begin with an explanation of what we are up to but rather by taking up a major issue immediately. Consequently Burke County when first mentioned means nothing and not until page 10 is there any hint as to why it is mentioned at all. I think probably much and possibly all of the first 9 or 10 pages should come at the end of the paper and not at the beginning.

2) part II gets into procedure which I think only adds to the reader's confusion. Put it in a preface if you also feel Winnie's desire to explain where the data and ideas came from.

3) parts II and III overlap and conflict in style, emphasis, and purpose - e.g., Winnie gives equal treatment to Edgefield, whereas I used it for contrast only. Parts IV and V need coordination also - could you rework Clay's points so they paralleled mine more clearly? This could of course be reversed but Clay's is shorter.

4) The paper lacks cohesion. There are no smooth transitions from one part to another, there is no summing up, and no conclusions identified as such. The thing needs a frame and some guides for the reader so he can put it all in perspective.

In short it is very evident that different people wrote the different parts with slightly different styles, objectives, and perspectives of the paper as a whole. It is necessary therefore for one person (you) to impose consistency, clarity, continuity, and purpose on the whole thing through editing and/or rewriting before others can comment directly. I trust you agree that this is your job, undertaken when you volunteered to write the final draft.

Yours,

P.S. Don't ever again let me tell you the Blue Ridge looks like this. They are pale, drab, and dull compared to here. I had just plain forgotten.

Copies to:

Dr. Winnie Bridgeman
Dividion of Teacher Education
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Clay V. Brittian
Division of Teacher Education
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Les //

This report represents a fair piece of research + thinking which is camoflaged by a very poor job of writing.

Would suggest that the researchers all get together and work out a fairly detailed OUTLINE for the final report.

Once an outline has been developed, then chop the existing draft into small sections and ~~[illegible]~~ rearrange these sections, topically according to the outline. [This, I think, would help to eliminate much redundance]

Next, fill in those parts of outline which are not touched upon or covered sufficiently, by the present draft. Then,

Rewrite the existing material [eliminating trite phrasing and, especially, removing stray adverbs, prepositional phrases, et al, from the midst of verb phrases] into a second draft, following the outline, of course.

Then there could result a second draft which, with some final editing, would be publishable.

I REALIZE the above recommendations sound systematic + mechanistic — But, sometimes, systematizing is the only way to make committee-written reports readable.

L.J.E.

P.S. I took 3[illegible] pages of notes (appended), plus marked manuscript.

Page

1 — Introduction is not introductory. 1st 1½ pp. reads like conclusions

1 2/3 — Starts what might be introductory theme for a 2nd chapter, following a good Intro. Leave out Burke Cty refs at top of p. 3. Could only be ~~understood by~~ meaningful to someone knowing whats + why of Burke + this study.

MUSH! Flowery sentences thrown in, Don't say anything.
Rendhant for parenthetical graces. Nice occasionally, but . . . .

5, 6 — Good! Theme here might form basis for an Intro — or, would it?

7 — 2 ¶'s — A good opener? For Ch. 2?

8 — Repetitive ¶'s — not clear. What's all this "good life" bus. about?

9 — First half, ref back to 8 — not clear. Repetitive mush!
2nd half — better. Relevant!
Intro. possibilities

10-11 — Also Intro, finally. But, rewritten.

p 11 — Brief description of 2 counties before research design?

pp 13-14 — Rewritten; 2nd part of intro. chapter. Is research design. METHOD & METHODOLOGY.

p. 15 — Where is Table 1?
How really urban are Edgefield (town) + Waynesb.?

Page

15 – 9.9% of what? Does this mean a 1950-60 absolute decline in Negroes of 9.9%?

Ind ¶ is vital, but badly needs rewriting!

16 – "appears" – does it? or doesn't it? Rest of ¶, + next (16-17) good thought!

17 – Table I again! Where?

18 – Is "anomaly" the right word here?

B, 17 – Who are these mysterious sources of info? Why should reader believe what they say?

18 – Good point!

19 – "electronics" = energy adaptor? Problem is – en. ad. = what?

19 – ¶ 2 – good!

19-20 – Last sentence on 19 – first sent. on 20 BUT, Was capital investment local capital that could have been plowed into sch. system?

Too much use of the term "appear(s)(ed) to...". Does not lend an air of credibility to report.

pp. 20-22 – Too many "afforded's"

pp. 23-24 – Good points about obsolesence of local control in rural, emigrant-producing counties

Page

26-27 28-29 - Interesting. But, is it relevant to the present study?

p 28 - Relevant? Is all this economic base of/for education made relevant to the overall report? I think not, or, at least, not very well. The whole point (theme) seems to be lost in verbosity.

p 31 - Where is Table 3? And, should it be III or 3? (cf. Table I!)

p 33 - need to refresh readers' memory as to what assumptions are.

p 35 - 2nd ¶ is contradictory? — Are S.C. (Egfield Cty) Negroes more militant because there is less of a Negro movement ~~there~~ in SC than in Georgia, where there is no N.M. in Burke county. or is it contradictory? Not clear what & why!

Ch III, pp. 30-35 — Not enough info given on the school systems themselves. Not enough material to constitute a whole chapter. Perhaps missing table 3 supplements? (Perhaps combine with 36-43?)

p 37 - Does not define lower-class, middle-class? what is basis for distinction — income? culture? morals? education? IQ? what?

p 38 - Footnoting not clear, at first. Numbering fn's conflicts with paragraph numbering.

p 43 - Are conclusions for chapter IV or for whole study?

p 47 – Good idea to route poverty program to ~~pre-dropouts~~ "pre-dropouts"!

THE TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION IN THE RURAL SOUTH

I. Introduction

If the problems that have plagued the South for the past hundred years are to be faced and met so that they will not drag on another hundred years or more, then education, particularly in the rural South, must be transformed. It must be begun anew based upon the clear realization that it cannot succeed in the task which is legitimately its task unless it addresses itself to the problems and circumstances surrounding all the members of the community from which it draws its life. Education, by virtue of its purpose alone, must be designed to develop abilities wherever it finds them, in any person that it finds them. A community — urban or rural — cannot continue to grow in general richness of experience so long as it develops through education only part of the abilities that are available to it. Neither can it continue to grow if there is no place for the use of developed abilities within the community itself. The primary realization that will make such a transformation of education possible is that Negroes and whites are of necessity members of one and the same community.

There are several important facts about the kind of rural county we are concerned about that can be stated generally and loosely without a significant loss of meaning.

1. Over 50% of the county population is Negro, and this part of the population is poor, in many cases desperately so.
2. The nature of farming in the county is changing, and this change is reducing the only generally available economic opportunity for Negroes.
3. The institution of segregation has operated so successfully and so thoroughly that so far as the white community is concerned, the Negro is all but invisible. Clearly, in the white

community, there is an operational definition of "citizen" and "man" which, though it doesn't positively exclude the Negro, tends to except him from some of the conditions these terms normally carry with them.

4. The cultural level of operation in the homes of the Negroes when compared with ordinary middle class standards, is generally so low as to act as a positive deterrent to the actual carrying out of the standard educational process. This cultural level continues to drag Negro achievement down from the earliest grade levels all the way through school.

5. Though the social, economic, and cultural level of the Negro is generally significantly different from that of the rest of the community, no steps have been taken or are being taken in the educational system to change the root causes of poor educational development. The white community's definition of "Negro" includes these social, economic, and cultural deficiencies so that changing these defeciencies is somewhat akin to making a Negro what he, by definition, cannot be

The general hope for education is that it will make possible for the individual a life filled with richer experiences than he could have without it. ~~[illegible] undergo the process.~~ ~~In a general sense,~~ Education is always forward looking. The process of education is intended to make the life that will be lived by the individual significantly different, hopefully, significantly richer. The most obvious way in which education achieves this hope is through the preparation of the individual to fill one of a number of economic roles that have richer experiences attached to them. Thus education offers to the individual the not too distant hope of an improved economic position in society and so long as this hope

is available the individual can and sometimes will make certain immediate sacrifices of satisfaction in order to obtain the fulfilled promise of a richer life. The facts of Burke County, Georgia (one of the counties studied) make this hope, at least for the great majority of the Negro population, a dead one. A constantly reiterated phrase from members of the Negro teaching community of Burke County is "these people (the general Negro population) have no idea what education is." We take this phrase to mean that there is no way presently known to the Negro teaching community of bringing the general hope of education to life.

Institutions of education in our society build upon the working assumption that when children come to school and as they continue through school there is an expanding fund of social and cultural experience generally available upon which education can be grounded. Certain values, certain complexes of sense experiences, certain attitudes (most of these being the values, experiences, and attitudes of the great middle class) furnish a background or a foundation which allows education to proceed. When a group of children does not have this background, the ordinary process of schooling cannot be carried out efficiently. In ~~the Negro community of~~ Burke County, the Negro children in general simply do not have the appropriate background. That they do not become apparent from the growing disparity between achievement scores of children from the Negro community and children from the white community. The standard school operation built upon the assumption of a certain background functions as one might expect with the white children, but it does not with the Negro children. The consequence is that by the time Negro children have reached the tenth grade (those who remain in school) there is a difference between mean achievement scores, when Negroes are compared to whites, of approximately three grade levels.

The two fundamental educational problems of Burke county are, therefore, (1) reviving the hope of education and (2) either devising a system of educational experiences that does not depend for its effectiveness upon the standard assumptions of middle class background or providing for those children who come to school without

text on par. 2 on p. 7a

it a set of experiences that will supply it. One of our hopes in this paper is to suggest how these two things may be done.

For the Negro in Burke County, there is little or no visible evidence that education leads anywhere. The good things, i.e., those experiences regarded as valuable, are not in any apparent way more available to educated Negroes than to other Negroes. Where the hope of education still lives among the members of the Negro community it lives upon the strength of the great American myth that education is the road up. But the overpowering evidence of first hand experience of Negro children is that education leads nowhere in particular. So long as there is little or no economic opportunity available to Negroes in Burke County, there is little reason to believe that the conclusion of this first hand experience is even incorrect, much less is there any obvious way to prevent this conclusion from being drawn.

Under ordinary circumstances the hope of education depends upon there being people "just like me" who succeed through education. One can hope that his education will lead somewhere when there are people like him in the community whose education has led them somewhere. In the Negro comunity of Burke County, the only people around "just like me" whose education has led anywhere are a few teachers who have returned to the county. There are no Negro doctors, lawyers, business men. There are no educated people "just like me" who are reaping the rewards, in any sort of community observable sense, of their education. That education leads nowhere unless one leaves Burke County is an observable fact. Whether or not it leads somewhere if one leaves the county is certainly not observable by those children who are still trying to struggle through school. Both educated and uneducated Negroes leave Burke County. What happens to them is not very clearly known. Certainly those who leave can hardly serve as community models of the rewards of education. The lack of pressure on youngsters to stay in school is part of the pattern of no hope. Not only do children fail to see the possibility of education, but indeed adults, in many cases, do not either. For a Negro in Burke County,

there are a limited number of experiences available that one might call "good." These experiences are not related to education in any very obvious way. In fact, there is very little reason to think they are related to education at all. If one is a white person, many things are available through education. But one does not have to be a keen observer to see that if one is a Negro, education is the key to nothing. The undergoing of the experiences designed to be educational has not yet in our society been made such a pleasurable thing that children are willing and interested no matter whether education leads anywhere or not. In general, when the adults in a community abandon the hope of education, children do too. When children abandon the hope of education, the drop-out rate rises markedly, and even those children who do not drop out of school learn in such a lackadaisical manner that education does not proceed apace. One of the signs of the low level of aspiration among Negro children in general is their extremely low achievement level. What does school matter if the whole process obviously leads nowhere.? When going to school is just another way to pass the day, how can there be hope? No one has to tell the children there is no hope in education; indeed no one can tell them there is because their first hand experience clearly indicated that education for Negroes is a road to no particular place. Since education still has some of the overtones of castor oil, why should one take it or take it seriously if the direct evidence of his experience tells him that it is a game to be played for awhile, but a game primarily for white children, a game that promises no more than the experiences of the day, a game that is not positively harmful perhaps, but a game neverthless.

Ugh!

The cover of one of the lower elementary grade readers furnished to the Negro students just as they are to the whites makes the whole joke painfully clear. The cover depicts the typical middle class home background with the happy child playing in front of his obviously satisfied home-- the face of the smiling child and the quality of his surroundings suggest right off that the mother and daddy are happlily married, no family problems, no money problems, nothing to worry about

but the pleasantness of the day, the entertainment of the dog or cat, and the enjoyment of the generally happy circumstances. The white child -- one might almost say white, Anglo-Saxon, protestant child, depicted with his thin lips smiling, his thin nose, delicate skin, and blonde hair, smiling, looks pleasantly out at the Negro reader from under the cruel title of "Just Like Me". No doubt the Negro pupil learns the joke of his education as he learns to read.

The myth that education is the road up penetrates to some families of the Negro community and their response to it is particularly revealing. Families occasionally invest their family resources in the possibility of achievement for one of their members. One of the children who seems to offer promise is selected and his education is seen to. He goes to school regularly. His chore load is lightened. Other children take over his home burdens. His task is to go to school. A teacher described the process in obviously sympathetic terms. "The family", he said, "they settle things among themselves. Everybody helps out. The children do the chores for the one who is to get an education. If everybody has to work, some work extra so that the one they chose can go to school. Even the chosen one sees what he has to do. His task is to get educated and to lead the kind of good life that education will make possible. They settle the work to be done among themselves so that one can have the chance to go to school no matter what the others have to do. They don't talk it out, but they feel it out. Everybody, even the youngest sees what is being done, and he gives his share. The family invests in the one going to school, not for gain, not even exactly for his sake, but for the family. They become very close and they don't mind."

Thus the myth of the power of education carries some magic still. A few individuals in a few families are able to respond. But for the great majority of Negro adults as well as for the great majority of Negro children, there is no hope in education. ~~In general, the attitude of the children follows the attitude of the adults. Where there is no hope among the adults, there is not likely to be hope among the children.~~ Whatever the conditions for restoring the hope of education, if

sharp changes in the educational development of Burke county are to be made, these conditions have to be met. It is a necessary condition for the efficient carrying out of any lengthy process of education that those who are concerned to undergo the process believe that it leads somewhere, indeed, to some improvement of some kind.

The aim of public education is to make it possible for the person who undergoes the process of education to lead the maximum good life which his abilities and the cultural, social, and economic context of his community will allow. There are two things that limit this maximum at any particular time --(1) the abilities of the individual, and (2) the organization and structure of the cultural, social and economic affairs of the community within which the individual's life will be lived. Both of these things can conceivably be changed. It is the direct business of education (a) to do whatever maximizes the ability of the individual and (b) to do whatever leads to the greatest likelihood that this ability will be realized in the living of a good life. The formal program of the schools is a straightforward effort to accomplish (b). Schools have done very little in the past to effect (a), and it has not even been clear that it was the business of the schools to attack the problem involved in (2). One of the things we hope to show in this paper is how to set about maximizing the ability which the generally deprived child is likely to bring with him to school. Another is that education is so intricately woven into the cultural, social, and economic conditions of a community that a transformation of education calls for a transformation in many other aspects of community life.

It is not the special business of the psychologist or the educator to spell out precisely what the good life is. The delineation of the good life at any particular time is probably a complex function of many and various elements of a society; and we can best leave precisely what the good life is within the scope of a vague phrase like "the common part of that life written of, spoken of, and otherwise depicted by the various members of a society when they are engaged in expressing what kind of life a person ought to be able to lead."

It is the special business of psychologists and educators, once some of the elements of a good life have been delineated, to tell us the efficient ways to go about securing the greatest likelihood that any particular individual's abilities will be available to him for living a good life. In other words, ~~part of the special business of some~~ psychologists and educators ~~is telling~~ "should" or "might" tell us what to do in order to develop the ability of individuals toward the actual living of a good life. In a more or less clear sense, the advice of psychologists and educators is institutionalized in our school systems. Presumably a school system is an attempt to provide programs that offer the maximum opportunity to individuals to develop the general and special abilities they come to school with to the point of actually living the maximum good life available in the cultural, social, and economic context within which the school system exists. As they presently are, very few school systems are set up to do anything toward increasing the abilities the child brings with him to school or toward removing the cultural, social, and economic limitations of the community within which the child that comes to school will live his life. Whether the schools are set up to do it or not, it seems clear that it is a task of education to maximize the abilities of the individual and it is a task of every community —urban or rural— to organize itself in such a way as to allow developed abilities to be used in the living of a good life.

The justification of any decisions related to the operation of the schools must finally rest in the relationship of the decision to the maximum development of abilities that promote the living of a good life. No decision about the operation of a school system can be justified if it is grounded upon facts or principles that are either irrelevant to or antithetical to the maximum develop of abilities calculated to lead to the actual living of a good life in the cultural, social and economic context broadly available. The public school can legitimately make no distinctions regarding the ownership of abilities. Neither can it limit itself only to a given local cultural, social and economic community. If the achievement of maximum

development is the goal of public education, then all decisions about schools must finally be justified in terms of the likelihood that they contribute to the achievement of this maximum.

Thus there cannot be grounds for educating only some members of a community, and there cannot be grounds for educating any member of a community toward anything but a maximum development of his abilities. Of course, within the development of maximum abilities there is plenty of room for different educational programs and different particular educational achievements, but these differences relate to the differences among individuals and have nothing to do with the general principle of developing ability toward the living of a good life. Individuals with similar abilities and similar aspirations will presumably receive similar educational treatment. One cannot genuinely accept the goal of maximizing the development of abilities and reject the acknowledged steps leading toward such a goal. All of which boils down to saying that educational decisions must be justified on the basis of facts and principles related to education and on no other grounds.

Ugh!

The South has an educational history of decisions about education made and justified on grounds that are irrelevant to the central aim of education. The Negro has been educated as though the aim of education could not be the development of his maximum abilities and as though the kind of good life he could lead was not to be found as a genuine member of the whole community within which he lived. Thus if education is to accomplish its purpose in the South, the South particularly must face the facts to which its educational history have led and must justify its new decisions about education on grounds that are clearly relevant to the process of education itself. Race, considered as a simple genetic fact, is absolutely irrelevant either to the ends or to the means of education.

The general problem of education in the South, then, is a transformation of the process of education in such a way as to overcome the problems which the South's peculiar history of education have visited upon it. It is an assumption of this

paper that Southern communities which accept the goal of maximum development of individual abilities toward the living of a good life will come to realize that a radical transformation of the decisions about education in its social, cultural, and economic context is necessary before schools can begin to move genuinely toward the accomplishment of this goal. This paper is an attempt to forward such a radical transformation.

Though race is irrelevant as a fact in the justification of decisions about education, it is in the South a reasonable indicator of the ~~cultural, social, and economic~~ conditions with which an individual must struggle, especially if that individual is a Negro. The Negro in the rural South provides a particularly clear example of the South's general educational problem. He is likely to be poor; economic opportunities are almost non-existent; he participates only nominally in the social and cultural affairs of the larger community of which his race provides a major part. The history of education in the rural South is such that the Negro's people are likely to be backward educationally, socially, culturally, and economically. If the goal of education is the maximum development of everyone's ability toward a full participation in the life of his community, then the problems of education could not be more clearly presented than they are in the rural South.

It is our purpose in this paper to examine two school systems of rural communities in the South in order to provide constructive suggestions about how to proceed in facing the staggering problems produced by the peculiar context within which Southern education has developed. Our suggestions embody the premise that race is absolutely irrelevant as an appropriate basis for decisions about education. Decisions about education which were based upon race have created many of the problems that the South is now called upon to face. Thus our assumption is that every Southern community accepts the goal of maximum development of abilities for the living of a good life and that this goal prohibits the making of educational decisions on grounds irrelevant to the educational process. Our task, then, is to acknowledge

the actual history of education in the South and the problems that come with it and to suggest decisions about education grounded upon facts and principles directly relevant to the achievement of the goal of education.

For convenience and in the hope that they are more or less typical, Burke County, Georgia and Edgefield County, South Carolina were selected for study. Information about both counties was gathered from reports submitted by each county to a higher authority, and from a brief visit to the school system in each county. The information submitted by the counties in their various reports was in general taken to be accurate. The information gathered through the brief visits was recorded largely as impressions and is subject to all the difficulties of interpretation which mere impressions always involve. One part of our information, then, is as accurate and as sound as the county reports are. The other part of our information is as accurate and sound as the sensitivity and objectivity of the observers. The only premise we intended to carry with us and maintain in tact was that sound educational decisions must follow from facts and principles relevant to education. We are convinced that race is not relevant.

Our report is divided into four parts. 1) An evaluation of the socio-economic factors relevant to education in Burke County and Edgefield County. The process of education ends formally in a life lived in a community containing various social, cultural, and economic conditions. The limitations placed upon the community by these conditions are in the long run, limitations placed upon the good life available to the individual in that community. Education, in its broadest context, must be related to the social, economic, and cultural life of the community of which it is a part. Our evaluation is an attempt to suggest possibilities that might eliminate some of the specific limitations that were obvious in the counties we studied.
2) A survey of the existing educational situation. In this part of the report are most of the hard facts about the two county school systems in their present condition.
3) A summary of some reserach about the culturally deprived child. By almost any definition, the Negro child in the rural South is culturally deprived. Before we made suggestions about the specific remedies for the kinds of deprivation that were

apparent in both Burke and Edgefield counties, it seemed reasonable to survey what is generally known about the effects of cultural deprivation upon the possibilities of education. 4) Suggestions for solutions. Our suggestions are tentative though firm. We certainly do not pretend to be experts on the two counties studied, but we do claim a certain knowledge about the process of learning and the context in which it best takes place. Thus our suggestions are tentative in the sense that we think with more detailed and exact study of the counties involved they could be actually put into practice. They are firm in the sense that they are based upon facts and principles which are directly relevant to education. To the extent that Burke and Edgefield counties represent the problems of rural education in the South, the solutions we suggest are offered as genuine possibilities in facing these problems. We feel a radical transformation of the process of education is necessary because the history of Southern education has embodied a serious error in the making of educational decisions, i.e., the belief that race is a relevant fact in the justification of educational policies. We eliminated this error by reconstructing some of the premises upon which our educational decisions were based. Our suggestions embody our beliefs about ways to undo the concrete effects of this error. It is our belief that the open acknowledgement of a mistake is the surest way to the elimination of its bad results.

II

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS IN THE EVALUATION OF RURAL EDUCATION

It is a fundamental premise of this section of the report that the process of education--whether considered as a formal or informal process--cannot be realistically considered independently of the economic milieu within which it exists. Educational aims and ideals, and therefore educational substance, stand in a symbiotic relationship to the terms which a man--or community--is able to make with his physical and social environment. Superflous

In the two counties observed there were certain broad similarities which served as the basis for their selection for observation. They are both essentially rural counties in that ~~the~~ agriculture has been and is currently a major livelihood. Both have once been "plantation" counties heavily dependent upon cotton production with its base resting upon slavery. The many ramifications and consequences of this history are too well known to recount here. Suffice it to recognise that two major preoccupations in the post-bellum South have been the economic adjustments away from the agriculture-cotton fixation and the socio-economic assimilation of the Negro. Needless to say, progress in both of these matters has been very uneven across the South. This irregular evolution is fairly well depicted in Burke and Edgefield counties, and this fact appears to have considerable significance for education present and future.

Description and Directions of Change

The exposition which follows is subject to some fairly severe restrictions. First, the data are drawn from several sources of rather uneven quality and comprehensiveness. In general, three sources of evidence are represented:

(1) General descriptions of one of the communities by two citizens of long standing whose interests were not of the sort which might obviously lead to distortion favor-

able to the community. As a rule this evidence is used only as it is consonant with some other data source. Nevertheless, the hazards of such information in creating a "set" for the selection and interpretation of other data must be acknowledged.

(2) Direct observation of the communities. The writers spent 1 1/2 to 2 days in each of the counties touring the schools--Negro and White, urban and rural--talking in the main with administrative staff persons. The principal contributions of these visits--short of acquiring various public reports and cursory acquaintance with confidential information such as I.Q. and achievement test performance--are mainly in the nature of inferences, intuitions, hunches, and hopefully, insights into the human attitudes, feelings, and aspirations which perhaps are what give life to other objective but skeletal indices conventionally drawn upon in describing such communities.

(3) Various demographic and public report sources. These are identified specifically elsewhere, but it is worth noting that drawing the counties from different states has produced some unevenness in the substance and form of reports. In general, 1950 and 1960 data are presented to give some notion of the relative stability and/or direction of change of community features. This was not possible in all cases, however, in that there were changes in reporting categories of

standard references and some sources were so specialized as to preclude not only periodicity but in some cases direct comparison with the other county.

To simplify the treatment of a rather cumbersome burden of statistical reference, selected items of description of the two counties are arranged in parallel form in Table 1. Wherever possible exposition will be confined to interpretation of these data with appropriate references.

Burke and Edgefield counties are of unequal area, and not quite so unequal population. The urban-rural proportions of the total population are very similar between both counties. Edgefield County's urban group, however, is divided between two small but dominant (and apparently competing) municipalities, while Burke County's urban element is concentrated principally (and apparently increasingly) in a single central city. = Waynesboro?

The racial balance in the two counties is somewhat different not only in terms of current White-Negro proportions but in the apparent change trends over the last several decades. Edgefield County followed a pattern evident in some 22 of the 46 South Carolina counties over the period 1920-1940. In 1920 Edgefield County's racial balance was very similar to that in Burke County, Georgia in 1950, i.e., some 70% of the population was Negro. Between 1920 and 1930 Edgefield County's balance began a shift toward equal proportion of whites and Negroes but the shift slowed down so that between 1950-1960 the decrease was only 1.7 percentage points, from 59.9% Negro to 58.2% (a decline of 9.9% taking the number of Negroes in 1950 as 100%). By contrast Burke County's proportion of Negroes dropped from 71.3% of the total population in 1950 to 66.3% in 1960 —a decrement of 18.2% when the 1950 number is taken as 100%. The white population for the same periods has remained relatively stable in both counties. These facts mean that both counties are losing relatively large numbers of both races presumably to urban areas (Augusta; Atlanta; Washington, D.C.; Chicago were suggested by local persons) but that Negroes are emigrating in much greater number than are whites, and this is especially so in Burke County.

These data by themselves are not especially surprising. Much of agricultural America is experiencing this basic population depletion. The rural South's problem, however, appears to be complicated by at least two related conditions. Not only must farms increase in size and mechanization in order to survive, but the traditional cotton crop must be supplanted by whatever farm enterprise ~~will adapt~~ can be adapted ~~itself~~ to the soil and financial conditions of the area. If mean land value is any index of soil adaptability, then Edgefield County is in a somewhat better position for such crop adaptation than is Burke County. That such is the case seems evident in that Edgefield County had successfully shifted to peaches as the principal crop by 1959. Burke County apparently still maintains cotton as its principal crop, but there were suggestions in the interviews with Burke County residents that much former cotton land was being seeded for pulp-wood production with this acreage then being enrolled in the federal soil-bank program. ~~([redacted])~~ Insert Addendum #1. (next pg.)

The second problem complicating the agricultural revolution in the South appears to arise in the fact that whatever crop adaptations are made, the inevitable consequence is that less unskilled farm labor is required. This, of course, is true wherever mechanization has increased, but in the South it obviously means that the labor surplus created is preponderantly Negro. And while the problem of how best to assimilate workers displaced by automation and technical advance seems to want satisfactory solution nationally, the special problem of local assimilation of displaced Negro workers ~~[redacted]~~ is apparently a threatening prospect for the Southerner, which he may not be too anxious to solve immediately.

The apparent responses of individuals and communities faced with this general problem are not too startling. The displaced individual typically relocates in some urban industrial area where he sees either the illusion of employment alternatives or at least anonymity with which to cloth his economic failure. Some rural communities,

Addendum #1. Page 16, paragraph 1

While soil bank data were not available to us, it may be significant in this connection to note that in the period 1958-1961 the total forest area of Burke County increased from some 250 thousand acres to almost 309 thousand acres--a growth of almost 24% in three years.

impressed with the loss of goods consumers, apparently attempt to entice small industries and manufacturers into filling the business void. Both of these patterns of response can be observed in the census data computed in Table I. Here once again, however, Edgefield County appears to have made a more successful adjustment in attracting small industry than Burke County. That this should be so, however, is as something of an anomaly. Insert Addendum #2. Both counties are located within commuting distance of metropolitan areas which afford some absorption of the unemployed. Yet only 8% of Burke County's workers are employed in such metropolitan areas while 19% of Edgefield County's employed commute, presumably to this urban center. Further complicating the difference between the two counties is the report by a former resident that Burke County in 19__ rejected an offer from a federal agency to span a river separating the county from a federal plant being constructed in the adjoining state at that time.

Whatever the manner in which the rural community reacts to these displaced workers, however, the basic problem is that their assimilation somewhere is going to entail education of some sort. Whether this education is to occur on the job (which, if median level of schooling is any index of technical aptitude, presumes the existence of a large number of low complexity jobs) or in a more formal setting depends upon the technical requirements of the industries in the area of re-location. This fact would appear to be true whether re-location is merely a local shift in place of employment (which could easily be the case if manufacturing jobs are increasingly available in the rural community) or whether it is a matter of a major removal from the home community. It also appears to be true whether the person is a mature worker, or one who is only now or next year to be leaving school and entering the labor market. It is thus clear that the agricultural revolution as a special case of the larger process of automation has created a set of conditions which places the social role of public education--urban and rural-- in a perspective importantly different from that to which we have become habituated over several generations.

Without belaboring a possible thesis about how the "scientific mode of thought"

Addendum #2. Page 17, paragraph 1

~~As has been noted, the counties are in many respects quite similar~~, since neither county possesses any distinctive physical or geographic features which might afford a significant industrial or manufacturing advantage. (Footnote Burke County, paradoxically, gave more immediately tangible evidence of recent community concern for such development in that one of the most useful documents supplied to us in the course of our visit was an attractive and informative community industrial prospectus prepared by a prominent state university.) Inquiries about similar promotional material in Edgefield indicated that none existed and that no single organization in town could be clearly identified as concerned with such promotion. (In this connection it may be significant that Edgefield County was the residence of a United States congressman. why?)

That Burke County has not always been so concerned with the employment and industry, however, is suggested by at least two peculiar circumstances.

(as manifested in the Industrial Revolution and its refinements in mass production) may have shaped our contemporary concept of vocational education, it is increasingly obvious that this same scientific mode of thought is fast making this form of vocational education obsolete.

In one sense ~~[illegible]~~, vocational education in many small rural communities has been obsolete for some time in that local control of education has often defined ~~[illegible]~~ such education in agricultural terms while large numbers of students were destined to pursue urban lives. Such obsolescence is of course not obsolescence at all, but simply an excessively and narrowly utilitarian perception of education as an investment, which—if it is to be worthwhile—must promise a return to the local investor. In all fairness it must be recognized that some small, rural communities have contrived to provide students not only the options of vocational agriculture and college preparatory training—both of which are without doubt legitimate undertakings—but to provide training which might be optimally preparatory for the majority of students who are almost certain to end up as urban workers.

But there is a second and critically appropriate sense in which obsolescence can refer to public vocational training and this without reference to the urban or rural character of schools. In this sense it refers to educational programs which train students in specialized skills which have genuinely disappeared from the technology of the culture into which the student emerges. This of course is an altogether modern problem posing a critical challenge to technological, educational and community leaders in terms of economic and curricular decisions which must be made. Since the problem is both new and complex, it would be an empty ~~position~~ posture to propose a comprehensive solution here. ~~Suffice it to suggest that~~ or, maybe: Thus, Our traditional conception of vocational education may be more an impediment than a guide. Education must always be concerned with that which is to some degree general to a wide range of specific conditions within which the individual will

have to function. That we have in the past beenable to train so narrowly as the term "vocational education" has come to imply was more a function of the organizational and technical stability of the industrial system than it was of anything inherently efficient or right about the training procedure. Whether the current era of electronics (or some other impending form of energy adaptation for industrial use) will lend itself to intermediate levels of technological training which can be called terminal education remains to be seen.

In any cases the point is that education in many if not most rural communities may be regarded as obsolescent in both senses in which the term has been employed here. Small, dispersed communities, whether motivated to survive as communities by attracting business and manufacturing interests or motivated by sense of obligation to their young, seemingly must be prepared to invest money and effort in supplying the structure and substance for education which offers only a perilous promise of visible local return.

Both Durke and Edgefield counties can be described in terms of the major elements of the larger problems presented. Regard for the importance of education, whether as an investment or as essential to the fitness of the young, can be measured by the amount of money invested in it. The two counties differ slightly but it appears safe to say that neither gives education top priority. Edgefield County with some 4400 students in 1962 saw fit to invest but $155,000 of local money in their education for that year. This amounts to about $40 per student (based on average daily attendance). Such a figure of course is deceptively low inasmuch as various state and federal taxes paid locally are returned in the form of state and federal supports to education. Such support (approximately $527,000 in 1962) is out of proportion to the taxes paid. Whatever the case, 3 cents on the assessed property value dollar suggests no intense esteem for the merits of education. It should further be noted that while in 1957 this county ranked 45th among 46 counties in Average Millage Rate, it also ranked 5th among the same 46 counties in the per cent increase in manufacturing capital

CONFUSING. $40 a day? Hardly!

invested during the 10 year period 1946-1956. Obviously there is local money that could be spent on education.

In Burke County the same sort of index suggests that the county has even less confidence in the merits of education. Not only are its general tax revenues less than those of Edgefield County, but with an 40% greater enrollment in 1961 than that of Edgefield County, it also provides less local support--both total and per pupil--than does Edgefield County. The Average Daily Attendance based per pupil support (77% ADA, all grades) was about $30 in 1961. The remaining 80% of the total school budget came from state aid. In Edgefield County the state accounted for about 75% of the total budget. In the data at hand there was no basis for comparing the tax rates of the two counties, but in 1963 the Burke County rate was about $35 per $1000 assessed valuation. Industrial property was assessed at 10% of real value. In the leading community the rate was $18 per $1000 assessed value with assessment running at 20% of real value.

In assessing these counties with respect to what has been portrayed as the concern for adapting education to changing technological and business needs, one might find a second index in efforts to improve education by consolidating smaller units to provide a sufficient student body and broad enough economic base to afford the often expensive equipment and trained personnel necessary to outfit modern educational aspirations not only in technical but more general preparation as well. In this respect Edgefield County again seems relatively more responsible. Although parallel racial systems are maintained, major improvements appear to have been afforded in both Negro and white systems. As nearly as could be discerned from the rapid survey made, the consolidations completed represent a rational solution to the problems of a dispersed population in flux, though such consolidation were apparently not made without considerable inter-community conflict and rivalry.

In Burke County again, such consolidation as has occurred appeared to be more a function of expediency than of any educational vision. Even though the outlying rural areas are 70% populated by Negroes, it is the Negro system which is most heavily consolidated. One high school building in the dominant county seat houses not only the entire Negro secondary enrollment (1084 in 1961) but serves the city's elementary pupils as well. By contrast three separate white high schools are maintained over the county to serve a total of 608 (1960) secondary enrollment. One of the outlying units was maintained to accomodate 54 students (1964) while the other had an enrollment of 100. In both counties conversations with school officials indicated that resistance to consolidation arose from two principal sources. One of these was centered in the intense interest lavished on inter-scholastic athletics. Insert Addendum #3.

~~At first blush one could easily infer that the interest in athletics stems from a selfish desire to be entertained. Without discounting this possible motivation one can with a little relection see in it a desperate clutch on a waning community vitality.~~ Almost all informants agreed that removal of the local school, elementary or high school, was generally followed by slow community dissolution and eventual demise.

Throughout this descriptive comparison of the two county school systems, Edgefield County has emerged as exhibiting relatively more vitality and direction than Burke County. Lest this be misconstrued, it should be noted that in most curriculum and student achievement areas both systems were probably sub-standard. Edgefield County, it is true, appeared to be evincing concern and exhibited considerable material progress. But such changes as have been made are modest on any scale. For the terminal student not going into agriculture the training options are principally Auto Mechanics (3 years), Mechanical Drawing (2 years), Woodworking Shop (1 year) and Bookkeeping (2 years).

Both counties bear a formidable self-imposed burden in maintaining their parallel racially segregated school systems. And although the point has not been dwelt upon because of its obvious nature, the Negro systems are subject to the same ills as the

Addendum #3. Page 21, paragraph 1

The other and perhaps not independent concern seemed to center in simple community survival.

white systems and share in practically none of whatever meager advantages the white students have been afforded. The new buildings afforded the Negro systems serve mainly to accent the futile and mocking aspects of the substance of Negro education.

The discussion of education thus far, in its specifics and in its generalities, has made no distinction in its application to the races. In the enumeration of perceived deficiences and in the sketching of impressions of what might or should be is implicit the notion that change and perhaps improvement are possible if one could but interpret, explain or demonstrate the important consequences of education for the vitality of the community or for the reasonable outfitting of the young for living. And it should be evident from the description of the white schools and their meager, (but no less important) grudging changes which have been effected (with as many remaining uneffected) that a new kind of school of the order dimly perceived here would require an almost inconceivable change in orientation toward the worth and potential of education in the white community. The magnitude of required change is so great in the white community that the imagination struggles to visualize, even if imperfectly, what utter irrelevance formal education must have for the mass of Negroes. Save for those few for whom parental vision and sacrifice have depicted education as a feasible avenue of escape from the rule of cruel caprice and crushing poverty which regulates the world of the untrained and the unwanted, schooling must be the most aimless of servitudes. Since the probable difficulties of trying to reshape the white perception of education have been suggested it is important to reflect upon what such visionary changes might mean to the Negro student. Negro education as it stands bears but little relationship to what life is and will be outside the school. Such changes as have been intimated here would themselves make but little difference in the life of the Negro as it is presently determined.

The fact remains, however, that such systems as have been briefly reviewed here continue to train large numbers of white and Negro students in a manner which little befits them for life either in their own community or in the urban communities to which many of them will gravitate.

Some Suggestions

In trying to formulate concrete suggestions concerning what such communities as Edgefield and Burke Counties might do toward improving the economical and social context of the education of their children, it becomes necessary to consider what the dominant values and aspirations of the communities might be. More to the point, it is important to determine what the local people want their community to look like 10 or 20 years hence. Considering the currents of modern business and industry (including agriculture) only two courses are possible--continuing decline or slow, arduous growth. It is impossible to restore yesterday or fend off tommorrow.

Such a seemingly platitudinous issue is important only if we remember that these rural communities, considered collectively, continue in a sense to dump sizeable segments of their population into urban centers where they are ill-prepared to subsist economically or socially. And it seems evident that in counties such as those reviewed, the relevance and conception of educational substance is closely identified with the parochial economic and social interests of the particular community. In the interests of the young in these communities, only two avenues of improvement seem evident. One approach would simply be to underwrite a supplementary educational program somewhat after the fashion of the Smith-Hughes vocational training program (or simply modify the present program) but centering it around such areas of terminal education as are best deemed preparatory to urban industrial and business needs of the next generation. Such a program however would be inordinately expensive without some local support and efforts to provide housing and equipment. And even such external supports for such programs could not guarantee acceptance comparable to former vocational support programs because these have been synchronized with local vocational interests and needs. It isn't at all clear how a program in vocational electronics or business machine repair might be received in Burke County. Nor is

it evident what might be the social ramifications of openly educating the young (and presumably many of the most able) for emigration. [They'd be less of a problem in those comm's to which they emigrate.]

A second and much more reasonable approach is to couple educational change with determined efforts to broaden and diversify the economic base of the community. It is true that in this glib exhortation lies the touchstone of the whole matter which, if one could magically turn it on, might go far toward resolving many of the basic issues here discussed as educational. It may be that prolonged drift of financial and political power toward the concentration which sometimes characterizes the singularly agricultural community makes it impossible to generate the divergent interests, but common efforts, which go with community vitality. That such is not necessarily the case, however, is indicated by the rather limited success which Edgefield County has had in at least sustaining itself as a viable community struggling with change.

From an educational perspective--whatever the preconditions may be for such community arousal--this second avenue for educational change amounts to not much more than attempting to bring local interests into closer alignment with those here depicted as characterizing the modern urban community. ("Not much more" in this last assertion pertains to the simplicity of the idea rather than to the magnitude of the undertaking.) From the standpoint of sheer effiency it is far easier to contemplate educational change through external support and direction. But whether from tradition or from something integral to community life, local support and control appear to be essential to educational success. The point of contention of course is the faith that local initiative, local support, and local control are important even in adjustment to the sweeping changes which have been imposed upon all of us by modern science and its attendant technology. But it is important to note that change will come and must come if only as the demise of those communities unwilling or unable to muster the undertaking of this basic technical, economic, and social reformation.

It may be worthwhile to speculate on the possible dimensions which such basic community reformation might entail. Foremost here would be a drastic relaxation of the invisible boundaries of the race system. These communities obviously pay a tremendous price for indulging their foibles concerning the relevance of race to educational decisions. Consolidation of schools without regard for race would do much toward alleviating the economic problems impeding educational development. But more importantly, the faint evidence that one of the counties was actively avoiding economic opportunity (presumably to the altogether negative end that it might retard the exodus of the Negro population) suggests that such errors can become self-destructive. Clichés such as community vitality are elusive under the most favorable circumstances, but if every idea, every plan and every aspiration must first be censored for its possible racial significance then such terms become even less than merely ambiguous.

Thus, any genuine effort to revitalize not only the system of education but the community as well will necessarily begin with a resolve in the communities and their leadership to be willing to experiment with economic, with educational, with social ideas directed toward the improvement of the whole community, regardless of race. Without this, efforts from without the community to supplement the education of the young would be seriously impaired, but probably worth making.

The importance of this local initiative is in nothing more apparent than it is in the matter of Negro education. Before schooling for the young Negro can even begin to have significance for him or impact in the community it will be necessary to convince him that it is related in some real way to an improved way of life for him. To assert that education is a singularly future-oriented enterprise is hardly a profundity. However, what is not banal about such a statement is that the student must in some way share this sense of futurity if his education is to be more than mere patient servitude. In a few words, for Negro education to become functional there must exist clear cut concrete examples of Negroes who succeed in the larger community

because they have the skill. Providing such examples is going to necessitate continuing adjustment in urban areas as well as in Burke and Edgefield Counties.

The mere fact of employing Negroes, however, is likely to be disappointing and even disastrous unless it, too, is accompanied by corollary conditions. All of these conditions stem from the depth of disfunction to which generations of slavery and exclusion--ranging from benevolent paternalism to hysterical avoidance and rejection--have reduced the Negro. In some genuine sense, the Negro must be made a part of the local community.

The first of these corollary conditions has to do with the attitudes with which the Negro's efforts to become constructively autonomous are regarded. There are social and psychiatric theorists who maintain that an important part of what an individual is, and is capable of becoming, is shaped to a considerable degree by what other significant people expect him to be and how they react to what he does. If there is any truth in this view, our cultural relegation of the Negro to the role of a child--sometimes tolerated, sometimes shamefully rejected--would lead us to anticipate that many Negro individuals might react foolishly and immaturely to suddenly achieved prerogative and opportunity. Just as it is important to understand the adolescent's awkward fumblings for maturity--not necessarily condoning but with equal reserve in condemning--so it may be essential to extend the Negro the same restrained encouragement and leadership which is optimally accorded any adult in a novel role.

The second of these corollary conditions has to do with the development of the Negro's own attitudes not only toward the particular new avenues of endeavor, expression and responsibility with which he may be confronted individually, but with respect to new social responsibilities generally--to his own race and others. If it is supposed that it will be difficult for the prejudiced white person to muster respect and forbearance in a new relationship to the Negro, then it may be that the Negro, too, may find it difficult to overcome an unsuspected and insidiously latent counter-prejudice which will only become manifest as he experiences increased autonomy.

By this is meant only that an effort should be made not to waste freedom on vengeance nor to suppose that hostility is even an important expression of independence. If amity and ease of association are ever to develop there is no time or energy to be wasted in trial-and-error discovery of the differences between common civility and servility or between a due respect for another's beliefs and obsequity.

In many ways the Negroes' task of emotional containment may be greater than that of the whites. Somehow righteous outrage and smouldering bitterness seem more volatile than frustration and guilt. But in a way a ready made vent is available to the aroused Negro in his opportunity and need to develop and perfect his own talents. In matters such as these, exhortations to calmness are seldom as important or effective as are soundly conceived and broadly implemented strategies of action. Negro leadership has an excellent opportunity to initiate programs of achievement in the schools similar perhaps to those effected by Mr. Sheppard in the Benneker School in St. Louis. Community improvement programs could be instigated centering around successful Negroes in other parts of the country. Bi-racial undertakings could be encouraged and Negro initiative and resources turned to problems which have hitherto been problems of the white community but are in a legitimate sense problems of the community as a whole. Of particular interest might be the strategic deployment of Negro capital (local if possible, or from regional funds established by Negro entrepreneurs) to finance local sound industrial or manufacturing developments in the area with pointedly fair employment practices.

In just a few words, it appears from this distance that communities such as Burke and Edgefield Counties are marginal as viable, continuing communities. To continue the preoccupation of the counties with jealous concern for the maintenance of ancient inequities and protocol may be to find that the struggle will terminate in the decay and dissolution of the economic and social bases of community. And insofar as the sense of community may be important to residents of either race its preservation is altogether dependent upon the recognition that they share common problems and common responsibilities which demand ~~the~~ common efforts at solution and fulfillment.

The final corollary condition necessary to any simple relaxation of social, economic, and educational policies in these communities--and this is implicit in what has already been said--is the necessity for reassessing the economic potential and aspirations of the region as a whole. The contiguity of both counties with a river of intermediate proportions suggests both a power and transportation potential which should be attractive to manufacturing interests, especially those who process products for which there is an agricultural or forestry potential. Burke County, for example, produces important quantities of corn second in value only to cotton. Whether there is sufficient production or potential for production in the area to warrant establishment of a corn processing industry on a navigable river deserves exploration. Similarly, about half the area of both counties is forested. Whether such reserves together with those of near-by counties are adequate for the attraction of paper processing mills to a site boasting a power and cheap transportation surplus is worthy of careful, imaginative consideration.

These and doubtless other possibilities may already have been explored to some extent. And if indeed it can be determined that there exists no economic base for supporting growing communities perhaps the kindest consequence would be to expedite the demise of what would then be economically defunct communities. Caution in coming to such a conclusion, however, seems essential when we reflect that such a convenient term as "economic potential" is as much or more determined by inventive and aroused men as it is by the structure of environment.

It may be apparent that the important contention here is that communities function as an integrated unit, not along the separate dimensions which we abstract out of this integrity for purposes of communication. And while it may be essential and imperative that certain issues--such as racial injustices--be so abstracted and communicated, it is equally imperative that whatever real events issue from such discussion be discerned as having ramifications in every other dimensions of the community. An effort has been made here to discuss a single community issue--education of the

young of both races--in its complex relationship with some other selected features of the community. The educational issue is here considered as an imperative. That is, no matter what may happen with respect to the rest of community life it is essential that this matter of education be elevated in a manner that is better commensurate with the needs that these young people will have--as it stands now--preponderantly in distant urban communities. Any substantial improvement in this respect might place a serious strain, not only on community resources as presently organized but on the community's traditional sense of investment in and control of the school as a conventional community institution. It seems unlikely that any sharp changes, such as have been intimated here as necessary, could be effected without some form of extra-community initiation, support and direction.

As an alternative to such disjunctions as might ensue from educational reform through external influence, certain changes in community conceptions, attitudes and aspirations could render change not only less threatening but could become an important element in reversing the slow community deterioration which seems to have accompanied basic economic drift.

Much of the present difficulty in these communities stems from the fixation upon disfunctional racial issues. Not only have these issues drained the energies and imagination of both racial groups in the past, but no formal provision for change in race relations seemingly can succeed in the future without a diversion of the attention and efforts of both races away from their differences and toward a mutual concern with the real community problems facing them.

III

THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS

At first glance, the schools of Burke County may appear to be much like those anywhere. There are of course fewer of them than one would find in a city or a suburb and some of them are small. However, the buildings and the classrooms, ranging from old to new in age, look much like those one would encounter anywhere in the United States. Of the roughly 7000 children of school age in the county, about 4500 Negro children and 1700 or 1800 white children are enrolled in the schools; some 700 to 800 children, mostly Negroes, are not in school. The white population is served by three high schools and five elementary schools, while the Negro population is served by one high school and six elementary schools. Average daily attendance of students in the system is fairly good, better than eighty-five per cent, and only a little higher among the white than the Negro students. Both the curriculum and the general arrangements of the schools appear fairly typical of what one might find in any school. The system is probably not unlike those in the rural South generally but, if anything, somewhat better than the average of these systems. In fact, given the basic conditions in which the system functions it can be called a good system.

6 4500
750
8 1800
225

The basic conditions referred to are the following:

(1) Total segregation. Actually, there are two parallel systems with an entirely white superstructure. The parallelism is not perfect, since the Negro system is not only over twice as large but is fully consolidated and in fairly new but poorly equipped buildings (the Negro high school is about as well equipped as the white high schools). Most of these structures were built shortly after the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The white schools are not fully consolidated, are only partly in modern buildings, but are with the exception noted somewhat better equipped and more adequately staffed than the Negro schools (on a numerical basis especially). Segregation is of course a universal fact of life in this county, and it should be noted that the discrepancies favoring the white schools over the Negro schools are far smaller than the discrepancies in almost all other aspects of life.

(2) Minimum funds for school operation. In fact almost the minimum the state permits is spent in this county. About eighty-eight per cent of its funds come from the state, and what little the county raises over and above that required by the state is spent in maintaining the unconsolidated white schools. In spite of the extensive poverty to be found in the county, it could clearly do much more than it is doing on this score. Per pupil expenditures for the county, based on average daily attendance figures, was slightly over $265 in 1963-64.

(3) Widespread poverty. The customary correlates of poverty are all here, especially what is currently called cultural deprivation, with its inhibiting effect on intellectual growth. This phenomenon will be discussed later. We need note here only that trouble with school work is one major consequence.

(4) A still largely rural farm-based community, with a farm-based economy — Especially among the Negroes the population is spread over a large area. Only one town in the county, the county seat, is holding its own, while the others, like the county as a whole, are losing population. The difficulties this dispersion and shrinkage can create are obvious.

Within the limits of these conditions, it is fair to rate the school system a pretty good one. Despite its shortcomings, the physical facilities are not markedly poor for American schools (although libraries should be so rated); the paper qualifications of the school personnel are at the state average, and the children do somewhat better academically than what some data on Georgia children indicate is average. Table 3 shows some of these data. Burke County children appear to do a bit better than this--thus white high school children are at about the national norm, and since the Negro-white discrepancy is no larger than that shown in the table it appears that the Negro schools are a bit above the Negro average for this state. Dropout rates and progress through school also meet state averages insofar as it is possible to get hard data on this matter. Neither the state nor the county keeps records adequate for fully assessing this point. However, the age-grade enrollment figures shown in Table 4 so indicate. Finally, it should be carefully noted that the system has its quota of able, competent, and industrious school personnel, all things considered, perhaps more than its share in the Negro system.

Obviously this is not perfection, ~~and~~ even within the framework given, improvements are possible. Consolidation could be completed, more local money could be found, libraries could be developed, and so on indefinitely. But the same sort of statement could be made about almost any school system. Thus ~~for~~ to those who like the status quo in the community and especially those interested in maintaining total segregation and minimum expenditure for school operation, the system is satisfactory, even good; ~~and~~ in fact, in the white community, such satisfaction is a common, perhaps dominant, feeling. There are, of course, some white citizens who want improvements in the white schools, but they do not appear to be an important segment of the community. Perhaps a few of these same people, but not many of them, are dissatisfied with the conditions in the Negro schools.

Among the ~~Negro~~ Negro population dissatisfaction with the schools is probably not common either. In fact, one could argue that for large numbers of the Negroes in this county the schools are better than they really believe is necessary. What this proportion would be, however, is unknown. While there is some dissatisfaction with conditions among the Negro school personnel, many of them are pleased because conditions are vastly better than they were only a few short years ago. Thus while some of the professional Negro educators are perhaps not as satisfied with what they are doing and what they are accomplishing as their white counterparts, it would be difficult to maintain that any substantial proportion of the Negro community is unhappy with their schools, especially since it appears doubtful that there are many outside the professional personnel who are aware of the shortcomings that exist.

To repeat, then, within the framework of the basic conditions outlined, the school system is performing well and to the satisfaction of the people being served. Let us look more closely, however, at what this means. Taking the white schools first, although they serve a clientele well above the average of the county socially, economically, and intellectually, the students do not typically fall into such a group intellectually on a national basis; perhaps this would be asking too much of a small rural area with the economic problems that this community has. Still, only

about forty per cent graduate from high school, and of these only two-thirds go to college; even this relatively privileged minority in the county does not contribute its share of developed talent to the nation. Certainly only so long as Burke County can maintain its relative isolation will this white system prove satisfactory even to the county itself.

Clearly, ~~however~~, the white schools are not where the serious problems in the county's educational system lie in any immediate sense. They are to be found instead in the Negro schools and in the Negro community. Given the assumptions with which we started this report, problems within this sector of the educational scene at Burke are very serious indeed. The fact that these Negro schools, like most of them in Georgia, may do far better than they did a few short years ago hardly means the picture is rosy. To give only a few examples: less than 40% of the children make normal progress through the sixth grade (i.e. without failing at least one grade), only 44% reach grade ten, and only about one in seven graduate from high school. When it is recognized that for these children in Burke County, as almost anywhere else in similar areas, a high school diploma represents on the average a level of academic and intellectual development far short of the typical tenth grade student in the United States, the seriousness of this problem can be seen. It appears probable that of the roughly 450 Negro children of a given age in the county, fewer than twenty ever develop in these intellectual and academic areas to a point where they might be called average for the country, and a clearly above average child is rare indeed. It should not be necessary to say more to make it clear that there is a serious educational problem in this county.

This problem stems basically from the social and economic life of the Negroes in this community, which results in what is these days commonly called cultural deprivation. A more careful description of the nature of these problems appears in the next section of this report.

To what extent is Burke unique on these counts? Although there are some differences, the similarities between the Burke County system and the Edgefield County system are more marked than the differences. Those differences that exist are not very large in nature. Nevertheless, they are interesting. In general, the white schools in Edgefield County seem to be somewhat better than the white schools in Burke County. Part of this is probably because consolidation of the white schools has been largely carried out in Edgefield County--perhaps because the distance to be covered by the children coming to the schools is smaller, or possibly because the school leadership has been a little more effective. Perhaps reflecting the fact that generally speaking the county seems a little more open to the world at large and a little more closely in touch with the adjacent urban areas than is true in Burke, the personnel in the white schools of Edgefield County seem to be somewhat more imaginative and to have somewhat more drive than those in Burke County and to be less concerned with maintenance of the status quo. The most noticeable differences were the apparently greater awareness among the Edgefield personnel of what quality work in education may be in the sense of what is necessary this day and age (this does not imply that the school personnel in Burke are not by their own standards as dedicated to achieving quality education as those in Edgefield). While the Edgefield white schools do not do much better than the Burke County schools in terms of holding their children in school and pushing them along through grades and on into college, they do seem to be achieving a bit more at any given level according to the academic accomplishments and the quality of work their children are doing.

In the Negro schools, however, the picture is somewhat reversed. Both systems are fully and adequately consolidated. Perhaps Burke has gone a little too far, but in general they are the same on this score. The Negro schools in Edgefield County are a little less well equipped than the Negro schools in Burke County, whereas the white schools are better equipped in Edgefield than they are in Burke. But these differences are not large, and the matter of equipment in the white schools of Edgefield is almost certainly more a reflection of their recent consolidation than anything else.

The major difference between the two Negro systems seems to be in the character of the personnel and in the characteristics of the community they serve. The Negro school leaders in Edgefield County schools do not have the same interest in--or perhaps it would be fairer to say they have a somewhat more defeated attitude about--overcoming the basic ~~limiting~~ handicaps the children in their schools face. In Edgefield the Negro school people seem committed to working within the current framework and to not ~~things~~ attempting any serious alteration of the prospects of their students, even though the opportunities for Edgefield County ≠ Negroes are much less limited than those in Burke.

Reasons for these contrasting attitudes are difficult to ascertain, but it is our guess that in Edgefield County the confidence and security felt by the powers that be in their ability to maintain conditions makes change seem improbable to Negro schoolmen. Their problem is compounded by the fact that there is a vocal, if not very large, Negro movement in the county. Thus, these school leaders are under pressure from other Negroes to do something and yet see no way at all of accomplishing important changes. In Burke County there may be an equal lack of realistic hope; however the white community is worried about the Negroes, perhaps with the dim awareness that the hopelessness of the economic situation may eventually lead to trouble, or perhaps because the activities of the Negro movement in the South are greater in Georgia than in South Carolina. In any case, since there is no Negro movement in Burke County, the only pressure for improvement comes largely ~~f~~from Negro school personnel themselves. Thus they are not under the same kind of pressure that the school personnel in Edgefield County are, and it is possible for them to think of doing things in their own way and time.

To repeat, these differences are not large, and the accomplishments of both school systems are very similar, whether one is talking about Negro children or white.

IV

THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED CHILD AND SOME GENERAL SUGGESTIONS FOR HIS EDUCATION

Within the scope of the general task to which we have addressed ourselves is the complex problem of providing a good education for culturally deprived children. In locales such as those in which we are interested, any program having a reasonable chance of success in providing a good education for all the children must be based on the realistic recognition that more than half of them are from severely deprived backgrounds, both materially and intellectually. The majority are Negro and suffer the ~~impus~~ impoverishments of both lower class and lower caste. vs Difference?

Related to this fact, there are a number of educationally significant problems. They tend to fall into three categories:

1) Difficulties in obtaining support from the white community, especially the power structure, for programs designed to educate effectively children at all social and economic levels, including, especially, Negroes. children.
2) Severely limited opportunities for the educated Negro to assume social roles commensurate with his level of education.
3) Problems relating to psychological characteristics which are associated with cultural deprivation and which tend to be educationally debilitating.

Providing a good education for the children--all the children--of Burke County, or Edgefield County, is contingent upon finding solutions to problems of all three types. None of them can be ignored. We wish at this point, however, to deal with those in the third category. These problems are more narrowly educational in scope and are probably more amenable to solution through the efforts of educators. In contrast, the first two types of problems are more broadly social, political, and economic in nature. Their solutions lie farther beyond the competence and power of educators. But the distinction should not be over-stated. We do not wish to suggest that educators alone can solve the one set of problems and can contribute nothing to

solving the other two sets. Nor do we wish to imply that the problems are independent of one another. The severely limited career opportunities for Negroes are especially critical in connection with efforts to upgrade education.

Psychological Characteristics Important for Education

The psychological characteristics associated with cultural deprivation are of two types: (1) cognitive-intellectual and (2) emotional-motivational. Let us examine in terms of these categories certain salient characteristics which we believe to be educationally important. Our analysis is based mainly on studies of culturally deprived children reported in the educational and psychological literature, but it is consistent with our own first hand impressions of children in rural environments such as those in which we are interested. We believe that the characteristics of culturally deprived children noted below are acquired and can be modified by a proper educational program.

Cognitive-Intellectual Characteristics

1. Among the most important differences between culturally deprived children--Negro or white--and middle-class children are those in the area of perception. Culturally deprived children tend to be slower in perceptual development and to be behind their middle-class age-mates in ability to make perceptual differentiations. This fact probably can be accounted for in two ways. In the first place, lower class children seem to have fewer opportunities to make perceptual differentiations. It seems reasonable to suppose that this lack of opportunity is related to certain differences in the homes in which middle-class and lower-class children grow up. (5) The homes of lower-class children are more sparsely furnished and the furnishings are less varied. There are a smaller number and variety of dishes and cooking utensils. (8) The lower-class child has few if any toys, and his environment outside the home is severely circumscribed. But these facts almost certainly offer no more than a partial explanation. For, over and above differences in opportunity, there are differences in encouragement and reinforcement. Middle-class children are aided through labeling to make certain differentiations and are rewarded for doing so to a degree not true of lower-class children.

2. Relative to middle class children, culturally deprived children are also deficient in dealing with the abstract and symbolic. That is, culturally deprived children tend to be concrete-minded. They tend to prefer descriptive to analytic categories. (2) They learn in physical and motor ways; i.e. they tend to persist in a mode of thinking that depends upon the manipulation of objects. (10)

FOOTNOTE

A similar suggestion is found in Bernstein's distinction between sensitivity to content and sensitivity to structure. Sensitivity to structure refers to the tendency to respond to objects in terms of a matrix of relationships to other objects, and sensitivity to content refers to the tendency to respond to what is within the boundaries of the object itself. The perceptions of the culturally deprived child as compared to those of the middle-class child reflect less sensitivity to structure, a difference which Bernstein attributes largely to the different language patterns to which the two groups of children are exposed. (3) It does seem reasonable that the greater range and variety of language used in the middle class home sensitizes the middle-class child to structure more so than the somewhat limited language to which the lower-class child is exposed. But, above and beyond the specific effects of language, middle-class parents direct the child's attention to relationships to a degree not true of the lower-class parent.

3. One of the most salient differences between culturally deprived and middle-class children is in the area of language development. According to Bells et al., culturally deprived children use a rather large number of words accurately, (6) and, according to Deutsch, there is some evidence that they use a colorful expressive vocabulary. (5) But in comparison to the middle-class children, those of the lower class are not nearly so familiar with words used in the school. According to Deutsch, they frequently come to school not knowing the meaning of many terms which teachers commonly take for granted, e.g. such concepts of comparability as high and low, near and far.

There are also differences with respect to knowledge of language structure. According to Bernstein, the language patterns of the lower-class are much simpler than those of the middle-class. The language heard by the culturally deprived child is made up of a high proportion of short commands and simple statements. The symbolism is descriptive, concrete, visual, and of a low order of generality. Nuances of feeling and qualifications are expressed by non-verbal means. In contrast, the language which the middle-class child hears and learns to speak includes a more complex sentence structure, and feelings are conveyed through the subtle arrangement of words and sentences. (3) In consequence, lower-class as compared with middle-class children know less about the structural aspects of language and are less able to make use of syntax in filling in for words not heard or not understood. (5) This fact contributes to the difficulties which the culturally deprived child has in understanding much of what he hears and reads in school.

4. Accompanying these differences in the development of perception and language, there appear to be differences in attention and memory. There is evidence that the culturally deprived child as compared to the middle-class child tends to have a shorter attention span and a poorer memory. The extent to which this is a function of the means by which attention and memory are measured is not clear. Such differences, however, are consistent with certain differences between the worlds of the culturally deprived and the middle class. Orientation with respect to time, especially the future, is of particular importance here. For the middle-class person long-range goals are usually fairly specific in character. In contrast, in the lower class the future is regarded in terms of more general notions. Hence, present behavior has a kind of rational relation to future goals for the middle-class person which is not true for those in the lower class. This is basic to a difference in what Bernstein refers to as anticipation span. The middle-class person anticipates in terms of a broader time-perspective and this is reflected in a longer span of attention. (2)

Deutsch suggests that middle-class children are better able to remember things because they find it easier than lower-class children to imagine themselves in different times and different places. (5)

Emotional-Motivational Characteristics Important for Education

Important as cognitive-intellectual deficiencies are for education, the emotional-motivational problems addressed by the psychology of culturally deprived children are more critical for the school. The emotional-motivational characteristics of many culturally deprived children place many of them out of reach of schools as schools are conventionally constituted. The problem is generally seen in the school as a matter of ambition and achievement-motivation. The lower-class child, and especially the Negro child in the kind of rural environment in which we are interested, is simply not motivated to do well in school. In a number of instances we asked principals of the Negro schools we visited about children who had scored relatively high on standardized tests and were told that they had dropped out of school. To cite an example, one Negro girl who came to our attention had scored exceptionally high on both achievement and intelligence tests. During the 1963-64 school year she dropped out of school to work as a domestic servant.

There is both a very high drop-out rate and a very high absence rate in the Negro schools. Absentees are especially numerous during planting and harvesting seasons, when many girls as well as boys are held out of school to help with the farm work. Actually, many Negro children do not enter school in the fall until after crops are harvested and they drop out in the spring to help with such tasks as chopping cotton. There is a high absence rate throughout the year. Many Negro girls stay out of school one or more days each week to help with domestic chores. Negro school personnel report that there is an especially high absence rate on Friday, the day on which girls are most likely to stay at home to help with the family wash.[1] Much of the

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[1] It is probably true, however, that many Negro parents are interested in having their children do well in school. They encourage them to get an education and are most willing to make sacrifices to this end. See Johnson, Charles S., Growing Up in the Black Belt.

absenteeism is a matter of economic necessity. About this there can be no doubt. But there also can be no doubt that the phenomena reflect to some important degree a problem of motivation. There are a number of ways in which the low achievement-motivation can be accounted for:

1. It reflects the value many parents place on education. Perhaps in terms of the world they know, it is realistic to regard schooling as essentially irrelevant. To see education as a way of improving one's lot in life would require a level of aspiration and an orientation to and faith in future possibilities which these people simply do not have. Negro school personnel commented, apparently with some feelings of exasperation, about parental disinterest in having the child even attend school. In Edgefield County there have recently been discovered a number of Negro children ranging in age up to the early and middle teens who have never been enrolled in school. In the presence of such parental disinterest in education, it is not reasonable to expect the child to value educational achievement or to be concerned about failure in school.

2. The low achievement motivation of the culturally deprived child is related to time orientation. That is, culturally deprived children do not regard the future in terms of specific long-range goals to which present behavior appears to be rationally connected, at least not to the degree which is usually true for the middle-class child. This in turn is reflected in what has been called the deferred gratification pattern. There is evidence of different kinds that persons from culturally deprived segments of our society are not inclined to delay or renounce impulse gratification in favor of future gain.

Differences in this regard between children of different segments of our society are probably to be accounted for largely in terms of social reinforcement and learning. Future goals are given a degree of reality for middle-class children which they do not have for lower-class children. Middle-class children are exposed to more consistent patterns of rewards and punishments relative to impulse control and achievement. The adult models to which they are exposed day after day manifest a degree of self-

discipline not generally seen in the adults with which the lower-class child has close emotional ties.

Anxiety reduction is probably also a factor in the culturally deprived person's failure to manifest the delayed gratification pattern. Grinding poverty and the intense threat under which the culturally deprived person, especially the Negro, lives is almost certain to evoke a high level of anxiety, the reduction of which is to some extent effected through impulse gratification.

3. Passivity in the lower-class child, especially the Negro, is another facet of the motivational pattern relating to achievement. One important manifestation of this passivity in the school is the child's failure to ask questions and seek clarification where it is needed. (5)

That children from the backgrounds in which we are interested should tend to be passive is not surprising. Their experiences are most certainly not such as would engender the feeling that the environment can be manipulated, controlled, and changed. This is probably especially true of many Negro boys, who grow up in a matriarchal household where the male is devalued as a person. The Negro boy is likely to come to school having had no direct experience with a successful male model. (1, 5, 8)

4. This whole motivational pattern--the tendency to be passive, impulse-directed, and to lack achievement-motivation--is related to and perhaps rooted in the culturally deprived child's concepts of self. This fact is important in connection with the education of the lower-class child, especially the Negro. What must be the most pernicious psychological consequence of a caste system is the tendency for individuals to accept as accurate for themselves, the social definitions of inferiority inherent in the system. (9)

There are a number of studies which indicate that Negroes from young childhood tend toward low self-acceptance. Negro children of pre-school age express greater preference for white than Negro children. (7) They are later than white children in acknowledging their racial identity. At an older age level Negro students tend

to judge themselves inferior to white students even in the face of objective evidence tending to contradict such judgements. (4)

Conclusions

This analysis perhaps suggests in general outline some of the things a school program effective in educating the large numbers of culturally deprived children in Burke and Edgefield Counties should accomplish. From such an educational program the culturally deprived child would (1) learn to feel more at home with and be more interested in the symbolic and the abstract, (2) come to perceive education as relevant to improving his lot in life, and (3) come to envision himself as a person capable of achievement and his environment as amenable to understanding and control. Moreover, the psychological world of the culturally deprived child would be expanded along both spatial and temporal lines so that it would become easier for him to imagine himself in different times and different places.

Meaning what?

What would be th e nature of such an educational program? Following are some general characteristics which seem indicated:

1. The program should begin earlier than the conventional school entrance age of six years. For culturally deprived children some type of school experience should probably begin at age three.

2. Initially, the set-up should be permissive and loosely structured within a general context of regularity. It should be, as the children see it, largely a matter of playing. Within this context, the emphasis should be on the development of perceptual discriminations and language ability.

3. The structure of rewards should be such as to encourage and reinforce two kinds of behavior:

   a. Patterned sequences of behavior relative to goal attainment and task completion.

   b. Asking questions and seeking information and clarification. The aim here is to facilitate the development of an active rather than a passive orientation on the part of the child.

4. There should be a devoted effort to enlist the interest and cooperation of parents. Failure to capture the interest of parents could result in one, or both, of two probable consequences, i.e., (1) increase in the culturally deprived child's resistance to the educative efforts of the school; (2) increase in the extent to which education tends to alienate him from his parents. In this connection the recruiting and training of personnel for positions involving direct contact with the home becomes crucial. Perhaps it is more a matter of recruiting than of training: patience and sensitivity in dealing with culturally deprived parents, qualities not very amenable to formal training, are indispensable. This is, of course, not to say that professional training is unimportant. Familiarity with the structure of the community, both formal and informal, and with the perspectives of the school's culturally deprived constituents--their fears, prejudices, and aspirations--is important. For anyone who would function effectively in a home-school liaison position, appropriate courses in cultural anthropology and psychology would probably be of especially great value as professional preparation.

5. There is another category of school personnel which becomes highly important in the education of the culturally deprived, namely, guidance counselors. There are two problems which the competent guidance worker is called upon to deal with: (1) the unrealistic nature of the culturally deprived youth's vocational aspirations, i.e., his tendency to dream of success in terms of a glamorous occupation rather than in terms of plans for vocations which could sometimes be prestigious, gratifying, and, at the same time, reasonably within his grasp; (2) the culturally deprived youth's (especially the youth of a rural community) extremely limited knowledge of career opportunities.

BRAVO!

6. There is one final suggestion relating to school personnel. It is perhaps a truism that the limit of the effectiveness of any educational enterprise is set by the competence of those conducting it at the grassroots level, i.e., the teachers. There must be every effort to recruit and retain the very best teachers possible to

obtain. But it is important to ask, "Best according to what criteria?" This is by no means an easy question to answer. Knowledge of a field of subject matter is important. But it does seem clear that the type of certification held and the number of college credits in various fields would not be the decisive criteria. A sense of mission about teaching, a sense of gratification in seeing small every-day instances of pupil accomplishment, and an enormous patience would be of inestimable importance.

We believe that special attention should be given to recruiting outstanding teachers of reading and of art and music. The need for good reading teachers is perhaps self-evident. But the usual need for them is compounded in the present instances by the impoverished perceptual and cognitive backgrounds of most school entrants. The importance of competent art and music teachers is probably not so self-evident, but it is believed that the skillful use of art and music as media of expression could serve as an especially effective means of reaching the Negro child from the small world of Burke and Edgefield Counties.

V

SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS FOR EDUCATION

Having outlined what we see as the major dimensions of the educational problems in counties of this sort, it remains to describe what we think are some of the practical suggestions that could be followed to contribute to the solutions of these problems. We hope that what we have said so far makes it clear that:

(1) ~~we are in effect saying that~~ the lives of many ~~in~~ of these people need to be completely transformed; it therefore follows that this will not be done overnight and will be very expensive relative to the amount of money that is currently being spent on education.

(2) desegregation of the school system and ~~in fact~~ of the whole pattern of community life is a necessary, albeit not sufficient, condition to achieve the ends that we have set.

(3) the steps to be taken must be many and various in kind and that probably an unlimited number of alternatives could be suggested.

(4) the schools need to try to do better the things they are now doing, but that alone will not be sufficient; as we have already pointed out, radical departures from standard school procedures and conditions are going to be necessary for any substantial effects.

REWRITE!

What we are going to describe here, then, will be some specific possible ways of proceeding so that the general conditions we have just described can be met. We do not claim that our suggestions are the prescription, but rather that they are examples of the sorts of things that are needed. In many cases other alternatives are both possible and practical. The steps we are suggesting are the following additions and modifications to a standard school program:

1. Nursery-kindergarten units for children ages 3 through 5
2. The use of boarding units for children in the middle grades (4, 5, and 6)

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[See p. 51]

3. The employment of senior high school students in the system so that all students from the tenth grade on up who want or are interested in work will have an opportunity to earn at least $50 a month as a part of their school program

4. An intercounty and college (or university) cooperative program involving a a coordinated plan of consolidation (including the elimination of separation by race, of course), joint purchasing, and joint inservice and preservice teacher training programs in cooperation with the college.

Beyond these steps and out of them we would expect such things as expanded remedial reading and library services (e.g. a set of mobile reading clinics and mobile library-bookstores—selling paperback books at nominal cost—serving the associated counties), expanded guidance services, and various special education services using, in many cases, college personnel and facilities. One simple but essential step would be to ensure that no child was inadequately fed (breakfast as well as free lunches should be offered) or clothed—something that is not now the case. We would also expect that job corps, work study, and community improvement programs financed through the "poverty program" (Economic Opportunity Act of 1964) would be inaugurated in the county. Furthermore the school buildings should be open 12 hours a day, libraries and supervised study halls should be available afternoons and evenings, evening adult education programs should be offered, extensive summer programs should be developed, and so on indefinitely. ~~However~~ We will not describe all of these steps. Instead we will elaborate only the 4 steps suggested above.

Using Burke County as our example, we shall describe these suggestions in somewhat more detail and then attempt to give an over-all description of what this county system might look like if all of these suggestions were adopted. We will then discuss briefly the cost of such a program and finally indicate what contrasts and alterations might be necessary to fit these suggestions to another county such as Edgefield.

The Nursery and Kindergarten Program

This program would be aimed specifically at those coming from the most deprived homes. While it would be necessary to rely on voluntary attendance, it is assumed that with proper efforts on the part of the school personnel, a large majority of children for whom this program is designed would come to the schools and many others who need it less would also, so one might expect that up to, say, 800 of the roughly 1400 children in the county ages 3 through 5 might choose to attend. We would propose seven such schools in or near the elementary schools currently operating in the county, with half the children attending morning classes and the other half afternoon classes, both groups of children receiving one meal as both an incentive and a necessary condition for their education. This would mean roughly sixteen teachers, each of whom taught two classes of twenty-five children a day. We propose that each teacher be assigned two high school students for each class each day to act as assistants. OBVIOUSLY Thus each class of twenty-five would have in effect a staff of three. A program of this sort could probably be run for approximately $200 per pupil per year.

Since it has already been well established that day-care centers and nursery schools do not necessarily prove very beneficial to children, this is true of all programs the nature of this program ~~[illegible]~~ is its essential feature. What is meant? The kind of program we are envisaging might be like that described by Gray and Klaus: ~~They describe their program as follows:~~

> A casual visitor to our summer school . . . might think that the things we were doing were not unlike what goes on in the usual pre-school. . . . We however see several differences. . . . First of all the significance of what we are attempting to do lay not so much in the materials as in the particular uses to which we put these materials. . . . Secondly . . . the orientation of the adults toward the variables with which we were concerned is relevant. . . . Finally there are several differences in the relative weighting of time devoted to the several kinds of material. For example our children spent a ~~gre~~ great deal of time with one-inch colored blocks. These were used for any number of counting activities, the development of color concepts, and the development of concepts of size, direction, and the like. Although we had wheel toys and a jungle gym the length of time spent with these pieces of equipment was probably much less than one would find in the usual pre-school. (Gray, Susan W. and Klaus, Rupert A., Early Training Project: Interim Report, November 1963)

The program of Gray and Klaus centered first on attitudes toward achievement. They tried to increase the child's achievement motivation, his ability to persist toward a goal and to delay gratification, and tried to arouse interest in school-type activities such as listening to stories and looking at books. The second general area they attempted to work on were aptitudes for achievement by developing the more simple and basic concepts needed in school work, increasing perceptual discrimination and improving language usage. Thus in concept formation they worked on number and color concepts and concepts concerning objects of the world in which they live. In addition they stressed position words and action categories such as walk, run, jump, and hop. They tried to increase the children's abilities to recognize forms, shapes, and patterns and to discriminate among sounds, tastes, odors, and textures. In language development their major efforts consisted of encouraging the children to talk and in placing them in situations where language was necessary.

The central feature of the program was the procedure of reinforcement. They used both concrete reinforcement such as candy and social reinforcement in the form of physical contact with adults--petting, hugging, and so forth. Throughout their work, particularly at the beginning, they made efforts to make sure that reinforcement of the behavior they desired was as immediate and consistent as possible. Gradually they moved away from concrete reinforcement and made efforts to develop verbal rewards as reinforcers.

A program of this sort, to be effective, calls for trained teachers and for careful planning. But we believe that if the teachers running each class thoroughly understand what it is they are trying to do they can quite readily and easily make use of assistants who are much less well-trained and that high school students, both male and female--provided they receive some training related to the program--could work successfully and helpfully to both themselves and the pupils in such a nursery school situation. Thus we are proposing that high school students be

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offered a course in child care and training in the high school and that as part of this course work, and for pay--say $10 per week--they spend two three-hour periods a week acting as assistants to the teachers. These teachers should be part of the staff of what? course.

Contact with parents in this program is also an essential feature of it, and one of the activities of the teachers should be to maintain close contact with the parents. There should be one person assigned this task as a full-time undertaking. The teaching staff and this home visitor should be the ones who contact the parents and persuade them to send their children to these schools.

A problem connected with this school that school administrators are likely to mention is the transportation of children, since it is planned that they spend only three hours a day at school. For this problem we are proposing that the school system, instead of having large school buses, have a number of station wagons or smaller buses which carry maybe nine or ten children and that high school students be employed to drive them. In fact, for this system as a whole we propose a large increase in the number of vehicles and a reduction of the size of their load so that the length of trips to and from school for all children in the system could be reduced. This would cost more money, but a fair portion of that money would go into the pockets of students in the system, and we believe that the tangible economic rewards for staying in school is an important element in the high school program, just as in the nursery school concrete reinforcement should be used initially.

We may finally note in passing that Gray and Klaus report gains in the I.Q.'s of the children with whom they dealt. Similar results have been obtained by a number of other researchers. Again we repeat, it is the nature of this program that counts, not the sheer existence of such schools. Nursery schools which are largely custodial institutions in which the children play without a planned program of learning would not serve any major function and would merely cost money.

Boarding Units

Our second suggestion for the program is the establishment of boarding units connected with each of the elementary schools in the county. Like the preceding suggestion, this is directed primarily to those children who come from the most deprived circumstances, and again its use would be voluntary and it would be necessary to sell the program to the parents. We are proposing that children in grades 4, 5, and 6 spend three months each year for three years in one of these boarding units, whenever the parents will agree to this. ~~Thus again,~~ Between 1200 and 1500 children would be eligible for this program, and one might anticipate that 800 to 1000 might actually ~~fgx~~ participate. Since this program should run through all 12 months of the year roughly 250 children might be expected to be in these boarding units at any one given time. With roughly 25 children to a unit, there would be one or two units attached to each of the various elementary schools in the county.

As in the previous suggestion the important element in this program is what is done, not the mere existence of these boarding units. Most important would be the quality of the teachers because the chance of extensive, warm, personal contact with adults who represent middle class patterns of living, thinking, and values represents one of the major reasons for these units, since such realistic models ~~of this sort,~~ for many of the children in this county, are not handy. In ~~xxx~~ addition there would be the opportunity to live in an organized, stable environment in which books, music, art, and conversation are not only standard but valued activities. They also would have a chance to get some intensive tutoring during this time, and could ~~xxxx~~ also be taught how to study. It would be expected that each group would take a number of trips, especially to cities since that is where many of them will in due course live.

Each unit should be staffed by two regular teachers who carry a partial load in that school (e.g. share a class with an intern), one male and one female (a couple would of course be acceptable), plus two intern teachers in training (see below).

or preferred?

In addition, from three to five high school students would be allotted to each unit each quarter to act as assistants before and after school. These students would not only be given room and board but also paid, perhaps ~~something in the elementary like~~ $50 a month. The interns would also receive some pay, perhaps half the rate for the teacher, for the half year that they would be expected to be in residence. In addition to the direct service the interns and student assistants would give they would also provide the children with a sort of ~~graduated~~ graduated series of models so that being like the--hopefully--admired and loved teacher might not seem so impossible--i.e. ~~they~~ the children could see steps along the road and the possibility of variation. ? The regular school cafeteria could supply food but a dining room in the residence unit to be used for all three meals should be included in the plans. ~~This~~ Mealtime is one of the periods of day when the ~~a~~ kind of personal contact envisaged could be built.

The children would follow the regular school program by and large, would go home on weekends, and the teachers and interns would be expected to carry regular duties in the school. The teachers should receive a regular salary plus their room and board for these duties. They should be required to go through a special training program offered by the associated college or university in order to hold these positions.

There is substantial reason to believe that schools of this sort can have marked effects on students. It is open to question whether or not the period of time suggested--three months for each of three years--would be adequate to accomplish these goals. However, it is believed that at the very least these schools would have positive effects on motivation of the youngsters and that they would go on into junior high school sufficiently interested in doing good school work so the junior high could hold them. There is also reason to believe that the position of teachers in these units would have substantial attraction to good young teachers and interns. Some of these interns could be in preservice training but it should also be possible to include an internship in these schools as a part of the advanced training of teachers with one or two years of experience. Further, it could result in drawing to such rural systems a quality of teacher that they have been having difficulty in finding at the present time.

Employment of Senior High School Students in the School

A third major proposal we have to offer is that all students doing adequate work--for them--in the tenth grade and on up will have an opportunity to earn at least $50 a month as a part of their school program. By employing these students, as already mentioned, as assistants in the nursery school program, in the residential units, and as drivers, several hundred could be so employed. Other ways of employing these students that would be both educational for them and a service to the school system surely could be found. It is believed that these activities can be of substantial educational value--in fact the assistants in both the two programs suggested could well turn out to be the major beneficiaries of these programs if the school system and especially the teachers involved devote proper ~~xxxx~~ attention to helping these students understand what they are doing--but the purpose of the money is to provide an incentive for these children to stay in school and to give them concrete meaningful representation of the fact that the community and society in general values their attendance in school. It should be noted that the school system should also have a fund to provide direct scholarship assistance to students who need it and in special cases without the associated duties.

Intercounty Cooperation

Some of the problems of Burke County's schools are simply a function of its size: the system cannot justify the variety of specialized personnel and facilities that are practical in a large system where the cost can be spread over thousands of pupils. Segregation and the continued use of small unconsolidated units obviously accentuate these problems but they will exist even if the schools are consolidated and integrated.

Still these two steps come first. There is no reason for more than one elementary school in any part of Burke County outside of Waynesboro, where two might be in order (but even there one large school might do the job). We would recommend six ~~xx~~ elementary schools (nursery through grade 6) outside of Waynesboro, two junior high schools (one for the Sardis and Girard area and one in Waynesboro) and one senior

high school in Waynesboro. In view of the shrinking population out in the county the existing Negro elementary schools will soon be large enough for all. Thus no new buildings are needed although some renovation of parts of Sardis High School (to be used as a junior high) would be required. This would still leave a few of the elementary children and many of the older children living in the southern and western edges of the county with unnecessarily long distances to go to school. Unnecessarily long because with the cooperation of adjacent counties much more efficient consolidation would be possible.

We therefore propose the development of intercounty associations for, first, the better coordination of school attendance areas. However other cooperative ventures could develop such as consolidated purchasing, intercounty technical service and materials centers (audio-visual services, programed materials, curriculum materials, professional publications, etc.). Please note that we are not RECOMMENDING talking about the consolidating of counties, but rather cooperative ventures. For a variety of reasons including sheer distance, a substantial degree of county autonomy remains a desirable condition.

An ~~additionax~~ additional and possibly necessary feature of this intercounty cooperative association is the inclusion of a nearby teacher training institution. ~~(pedagese for college or main university with a school or department of education).~~ This step might prove necessary for the survival and/or the vitality of the association and quite probably would be necessary if the boarding units are to function in the manner we have described. The latter assertion stems from the need to train the teachers and provide the interns for these units.

We are suggesting that the college establish teacher training programs analogous to the so-called internship ~~mata~~ master of arts in teaching programs now to be found at various universities around the country (e.g. Chicago, Emory, Harvard, Stanford, etc.) and that the students do their internship in the residential units in these counties. The college should also provide consultant services for the expanded remedial reading programs, guidance programs, and many other facets of both the regular program and these new steps.

What Would it Cost?

If there is any consequence of this report at all, one immediate result we are sure of is that there will be extensive assertions such as "Dreamwork," "Impractical," "It won't work," "You haven't considered . . .," "Don't you realize that . . .," and above all, "Too expensive." We believe these ideas can be made to work and that the many difficulties we haven't discussed here (an endless number) can be solved and finally that the payoff would justify the cost. The first two of these assertions will have to suffice for now. With respect to the last we would like to point out first that this country could and should spend much more on the education of its children than is now the case and second that the cost of these proposals is high only relative to what a county such as Burke now spends.

It is probable that to do these things might cost twice what is now spent. ~~Thus~~ The nursery-kindergarten would add something around $180-$220 per pupil per year (early education is cheap, later on it is not$) or around $160,000 a year. The boarding units would probably add no more than $200,000 a year (remember the staff would serve in the elementary school). The student assistance program (beyond that accounted for in the two preceding items) would add another $200,000 and if enrollment in senior high school was as high as this figure suggests--i.e. 1,000-1,200, the rest in the federally financed "poverty" programs--add another $100,000. This totals $660,000. The consolidation and intercounty cooperation should at least break even since substantial efficiency would be gained.

~~So~~ to be cautious and to allow for the additional steps we have not detailed add $340,000 more and you get one million dollars, a round fat figure that is slightly under the current budget in Burke County. Since they now spend about $265 per child in average daily attendance and since we are adding--we would hope--about 25-30% to the average daily attendance count, the per pupil figure comes to around $410, an outrageously modest figure which is under the national median (but then we are not proposing to change the salary scale ~~xxx~~ of the teachers though perhaps we should).

VGH!

REWRITE!

Yet we are asked, "Where does this million come from?" First of all--though it may be denied--we believe that through proper tax equalization measures and by raising assessments to a proper level (e.g. 50% of fair value) the county itself could raise about $300,000 more. Furthermore, many features could be financed by state and federal funds now available (e.g. the Civil Rights Act, Economic Opportunity Act, and NDEA). The college's costs would partly be included in their regular budget since they do not train teachers; furthermore summer (summer schools for children running on shortened days offer very good teacher training possibilities) and inservice institutes can often be financed through federal programs, and finally, we believe that aside from the desegregation feature, this proposal is such that additional state funds for such cooperative undertakings would soon be forthcoming. It does not seem fanciful to us therefore to expect that federal funds would (and should) play a major role in meeting this budget and that the state would at least match the additional local effort. In our opinion it may prove far easier to persuade the state and federal governments to do their bit in this than it will be to persuade the local citizens to take these steps and increase their contributions by this amount.

An Over-All Description of the School System

If Burke County were to undertake steps of this sort, obviously its school system would look much different from the way it does now. In the first place, it would be a larger system, since children from ages 3 to 5 would be in it and presumably almost all teenagers as well, whereas now the 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds are not in school and a large majority of children 15 years old and up are not in school. By keeping these older children in school, competition for jobs for the adults should be reduced. The community improvement programs, of course, would direct many of their activities toward creating job opportunities in the county, and the schools would be involved in providing training for the adults in the community for performing these jobs. There would be fewer school units in the county, but each one of them would be substantially more diverse in nature than it is now. High

school students would be frequently engaging in activities in and around the elementary schools. However, since more and smaller buses will be used they will spend a lot less time traveling to and from school. College faculty members and interns in the internship teacher training program would be coming and going; thus a much more diverse group of adults and a larger number of adults of much more varied backgrounds would be in the schools. And of course the schools would be centers of activity not only all day long but year-round.

While our suggestions were made largely with Burke County in mind most of them could be adapted with little change to a county such as Edgefield. To be sure, consolidation would be simpler and would involve fewer changes. Even though integrated there probably should still be two elementary schools in both Edgefield and Johnston and one in Trenton. Edgefield County High could be made a junior high school and Thurmond the senior high school. Establishing residential units and finding space for them would perhaps be simpler than in Burke County. On the other hand, finding space for the nursery schools and kindergartens might be somewhat more difficult and might involve new construction. It would also probably be easier in Edgefield for community improvement programs to be established and to find ways of making effective changes in the county. Aside from this it is difficult to see that there is anything of the program suggested that would be unworkable in a county such as Edgefield. Edgefield already uses student bus drivers (successfully) and for this and several other reasons such a program should be cheaper there even though they now spend less per pupil than Burke.

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Lest it be forgotten, perhaps we should point out that all of our recommendations are directed toward doing something about the problems of learning that children with certain kinds of backgrounds are likely to have. In Burke and Edgefield counties these children are likely to be Negro, but that they are has nothing to do with the basis for our recommendations. Indeed, implicit and explicit in our whole report has been the notion that children with similar social, cultural, economic, psychological, and intellectual problems should receive educational opportunities designed to help them solve these problems. That these problems happen to be associated with race is an accident of history and has nothing to do with the nature of the problems. The problems must be solved on the basis of their own demands. The communities in the rural South must become genuine communities in which every person is a member with the living of a life at stake in community growth and development. The educational problems of these communities ramify into the problems of the whole social and economic context. We have tried to suggest that the transformation of education in some sense calls for the transformation of a community. We think such a transformation can be brought about in the South only with the help of genuine local effort and concern, but it can be brought about only if the traditional basis for decision making regarding education is abandoned, and this is true whether the educational problems are attacked in an urban or rural setting. Sound educational decisions cannot be based upon classifications that have nothing to do with education. Our recommendations are based upon the belief that sound educational decisions must be directed toward bringing about the maximum development of all the children in a community and upon the belief that the maximum growth and enrichment of a community cannot be achieved unless every member of the community has, and can be led to see that he has, a genuine stake in the outcome of community affairs. Certainly our recommendations have been made with no intent to be merely critical. They have been made in the hope that others, closer to and more deeply involved with the problems, will join us in trying to help children who need help. Education must take place in a context. The transformation of education, in the long run, entails the transformation of a community.

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Sou. Reg. Council

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TABLE 6[a]

AGE-GRADE ENROLLMENT BY RACE IN BURKE COUNTY, 1962-1963

Grade	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Over 18	Totals by Grade	Percentage in grade overage for grade	Number Making Regular Progress	Percentage making regular progress[c]
									WHITE AGE										
1	42	108	6													171	4	150	94
2	1	20	102	18	5	1										156	15	123	77
3			38	92	23	2										169	15	130	81
4				36	90	18	4	2								159	15	126	79
5					35	95	18	6	4	2						172	17	130	81
6						33	102	23	9	8						184	22	135	84
7							18	96	25	18	2	1				165	28	114	71
8							1	22	81	16	18	6	2			151	28	104	65
9									30	83	19	4	2			142	18	113	71
10										26	86	24	4	1		144	20	112	70
11											31	45	17	5		100	22	76	48
12												17	38	12	1	68	19	55	34
Total by age	43	128	146	146	153	149	143	149	149	153	156	97	63	18	1	1782		1368	81 (Average)
									NEGRO										
1	112	283	131	18	13	4	5									550	31	395	92
2		80	211	93	41	18	4	4								461	35	291	68
3			75	232	89	53	19	11	6	5	1					502	37	307	72
4				53	204	103	49	32	16	13	1					486	44	257	60
5					69	189	97	71	36	19	2	1	1			498	46	258	60
6						53	156	104	58	42	17	2	2			449	50	309	72
7						1	40	150	90	71	38	15	4	1		417	53	191	44
8							1	46	130	84	67	28	14	3	2	376	53	177	41
9									32	107	90	42	27	8	1	315	53	139	32
10									2	25	109	59	30	11	4	342	30	136	32
11											16	48	46	31	17	158	59	64	15
12											1	19	31	27	11	89	43	51	12
Total by age	112	363	417	396	416	422	371	418	370	366	343	274	155	81	35	4593		2575	56 (Average)

a) The figures in the body of the table indicate the number of children of a given age (Column heading) in a given grade (row heading). Thus, for example, of 153 white children age 14, 83 and 26 were in grades 9 and 10 respectively. The remaining 44 were overage for grade being in grades 5, 6, 7, and 8.

b) Includes transfer and others not listed in age-grade roster.

c) Based on assumption of 160 white and 430 Negro children in each age group.

Rec'd 3/15/65

Dear Les:

Enclosed is some stuff I would like to have transcribed. While waiting for the machine to be fixed I began to get so bogged down in so many things that I began to look around for someone to type for me at night and just found someone who will come in several nights a week. So I don't suppose I will need to do this any more but let me keep the machine for a few more days just in case anyway.

The stuff I have recorded is a draft of a foreword and introduction in which I have outlined our task and our position. If it looks rea able when typed your opinion of it would b e helpful.

Ross

ROUGH DRAFT March 15, 1965

In the spring of 1964, the four of us spent a number of days visiting the school systems of Burke County, Georgia, and Edgefield County, South Carolina. We wanted to look at rural school systems in counties predominantly agricultural, and with populations the majority of which were Negro, and which were fully segregated. Unquestionably, what we saw in these two counties was influenced by our preconceptions. Still, in two respects, all four of us were very strongly impressed two ways. First, and we hope our readers will bear this fact in mind as they read on, in both school systems, large numbers of intelligent, energetic, and sensitive people are performing remarkably well in a full professional fashion; for example, we therefore do not believe that if one could put an appropriate number of the teachers and administrators of one of our more highly counted suburban districts into these two systems that many of the school problems would thereby be solved.

Secondly, aside from the physical differences in numbers of buildings and their size, the feature of life in these communities that struck us most forceably was the dominant role played by race and segregation in the lives of all. Even the two of us raised in the South were impressed all over again with the salients of race and the thoughts, actions, and patterns of life of the citizens, white and Negro alike, in these two counties.

These two impressions have been controlling in our recommendations. The first letter to propose drastic changes in the arrangements of the school system, and the second, to the conclusion that

- the starting point for improvement of education in such communities must be the complete elimination of segregation, and therefore in this report, we have assumed that this action has been taken.

INTRODUCTION

Inadequate education is a prominent feature of life for most people growing up in the rural South, so is poverty, so is segregation. Let us suppose, just for the fun of it, the last of these no longer existed as an enforced fact of life, and that the schools, in particular, did not assign schools or teachers to schools and classes on the basis of race. Given this changed condition, what then could be done to alter the first of these features of life in the rural South? Could one develop a truly adequate educational system? What would be the problems to be met, and how might they be attacked?

It is our purpose here to consider such questions. We hope to show that the end of segregation is a necessary condition for any substantial improvement in the kind of educational situations we will describe, but for many reasons, notably the poverty typical of the rural South and its past history of racial segregation, many additional steps are needed. A description of some of these steps is our major goal.

There are at least two obvious attacks that might be made upon the problem of improving education in the rural South. On the one hand, one could study a community in great depth and detail to determine what the facts are about its physical resources, its people and their resources. One then might approach the community as one approaches a political campaign, studying the inter-actions of the people in their particular environments in order that one might align

its power behind whatever changes which are judged possible and advisable. Whatever the results of such a "practical" approach, they would be difficult to adapt to other communities.

A second approach would be to study education in order to determine ideally what kind of education is best suited to rural communities. Facts are not so relevant to such a study. The picture of the ideal is what counts. Such abstractions can be broadly relevant, but to see how they fit reality is often difficult.

Our study is neither one or the other of these approaches. On the one hand, we are not going to develop a blueprint for direct action in a specific community, nor on the other hand are we going to remain entirely in the abstract. Instead, we have chosen to use the school system of a particular rural county in Georgia as the setting for our discussion.

The county we have chosen in Burke County, Georgia. Burke County is a large county in East Central Georgia. Negroes make up well over 50% of the population and the county is predominantly agricultural, although it is near a sizable industrial development. It is economically poor, but rich in southern tradition. It has an illustrious southern history, and still contains more than just vestiges for the society that furnished the conditions out of which current practices of segregation grew.

We shall examine our problem in the context of Burke County. This means that we shall look at some of the specific features of the county and especially at the characteristics of its school system. However, it should be clearly understood that we are not offering

either a complete description of the educational situation of Burke County, nor or we offering what we regard as fully genuine solutions to the problems of Burke County, as such. We will make some suggestions which would need adaptation, even in Burke County, but which we believe, in their main outlines, are adaptable to most southern rural school systems. For example, we will talk specifically about the number of school buildings in Burke County, about their actual locations, about what changes and arrangement our proposal would call for. However, we do not pretend that we have done the full community survey and study of economic and demographic trends that is necessary for really adequate planning of this sort. Our recommendations, therefore, may not be fully applicable even to Burke County, but they are about the kind of thing that needs to be done there, and in most similar school systems in the South.

Now, although one piece of gold may do just as well as another, if one wants to determine the properties of gold, one county is not really just like another. Certainly, Burke County has many unique features, and it is not exactly representative of the educational situation one might uncover if he examined counties throughout the South, but we believe that it has many of the characteristics one might expect to find in rural southern counties. However, in order to suggest the degree which the problems of education in Burke County are like the problems of education in other rural southern counties, and the degree to which out suggested solutions may have general applications, we shall take an occasional comparative look in another school system, that of Edgefield County, South Carolina, the general

description given of Burke County given above is approximately correct for Edgefield County, that is, it is predominantly agricultural, it has more Negro than white citizens, also, it has a distinguished southern history in remnants in the way of life generated by this history. Not that the two counties are the same. Far from it, as we shall shortly see.

However, first we should like to take a quick look at our special condition or assumption about segregation, because we feel that it is necessary to point out that segregation is not a simple matter, it is, in fact, a very complicated one, and it is a particularly difficultyfact to come to terms with in education. Segregation just doesn't mean that my children go to "white" schools with "white" teachers (but Negro janitors), while Negro children go to "Black" schools with "black" teachers (and no janitors). Segregation is a fact, it creeps into the fiber of the society and culture within which education as a process takes place. There are many practices that could be cited as part of the general fact of segregation, but it isn't always clear just how these practices affect education - only that they do, directly ir indirectly.

What does it mean for education when Negro adults, regardless of status and personal attainment, are all called by their first names by all the members of the white community they meet? What does it mean for education if there are no Negro doctors, lawyers, or businessmen in a community on the one hand, and no white janitors, maids, and ditch diggers on the other? What does it mean for education, if life is so arranged that to the casual, uninformed visitor,

it would seem that the group which is actually in the majority in a community is a tiny and unimportant minority? What does it mean for education when the language used in the books read by children is not the same as that used by anyone like you, the person reading the book? And that all the pictures are members of that other group? not yours?

Education always takes place in a context. If a community being served by a school is predominantly lower middle class, then this fact tells something about the kinds of values and the kinds of expectations children bring to school with them. It tells something about the kinds of things that parents are likely to want for their children, and are likely to expect the school to provide. If 50% of a high school's graduates go on to college, then certain kinds of educational practices are obviously more appropriate than others. If 70% of the children who leave high school go into industrial jobs, then certain other kinds of practices are called for. However, the determination of optimal practices is as yet an uncertain art. In rural southern communities, these ordinary difficulties are multiplied by the fact of segregation. You can expect some of the white students in the community to remain as doctors or lawyers, and the like. But what about the Negro students? The manners and mores of the great middle class are perhaps obviously appropriate for the white students, but are they for the Negroes? Every student must be taught the responsibilities of good citizenship such as the responsibility of voting, but are Negroes expected to vote? Whatever facet of the community

one chooses to study in order to relate it to educational practice, the picture is complicated by the fact of segregation, and it seems evident to us even from this brief list, some of the simplest educational problems created by segregation, that if the full intellectual development of all children is the goal of education, then segregation is inappropriate.

For example, a child stimulated to ask questions about the society around him must be answered honestly, for his full intellectual growth. We consider both of these conditions a necessary circumstance to intellectual growth - that is, stimulation to ask questions, and honest answers to the questions. The answers one can give to a Negro child in a fully segregated society amount to either the assertion that he is inferior, or that he is being treated unjustly. A child who accepts the notion he is inferior loses much of his drive to achieve. A child who believes he is being treated unjustly is angry and frustrated, and will soon learn to hate,-but he will not learn to think well and clearly. Thus, either answer will arouse feelings that will perforce thereafter interfere with intellectual growth.

The alternatives to these outcomes is probably the course adopted most often, and that is to prevent the children from asking such questions. This also interferes with adequate education quite plainly. In short, it is immediately, and painfully, and unmistakably obvious that in these counties such as those we are describing, Negroes are assigned an inferior role, and it follows directly from this fact, and from the segregation that proper intellectural growth

is impossible. Consequently, the only way we know to deal with this educational problem is by postulating its end, and by discussing only the problems that remain after this necessary condition to intellectual development has been established.

We should point out here that in this, our discussion is entirely theoretical. We want to recognize the educational facts as it determines the present condition of education in counties such as Burke, but we want to assume that the one educational fact that has been most important in determining the educational situation, namely the decisions about education that are made on the basis of race and race alone, will no longer be a fact to contend with. Recognizing that the decisions about education have been made on the basis of race, and this fact has largely determined the educationsl situation in Burke County, we are going to assume that as of this moment, decisions about education in this county could be made with no regard to race. All of our recommendations then are made on the basis of the assumption that race is not only theorectically irrelevant to educational decisions, but that practically, it is also in the sense just described. We recognize that this assumption is contrary to fact.

So, before we get too far into fantasy, let us establish contacts with reality by examining education in Burke County. There are four basic conditions which create the educational problems of counties such as this: 1) total segregation; 2) severely limited funds for education; 3) widespread poverty; 4) a continuing dominance of a dying agricultural way of life. We intend to deal with the first condition by a wave of the wand. But the second one can only be understood and

remedied in the context of the remaining two conditions. Therefore, we shall pursue this discussion by first describing conditions three and four, and then proceeding to describe the schools as they currently exist, and the general nature of the educational problems that need to be solved. We hope that this background discussion will make it clear why we feel our suggestions for change need to be adopted. We turn first then, to a brief description of the geographic and economic features of Burke County.

Rec'd 3/29/65

Done

Dear Les,

Here are two more ($1\frac{1}{2}$ really) tapes to be transcribed. The stuffx on them is terrible but I can fix it pretty easily from the transcript I'm sure. Also enclosed is a revision of the introduction which is I think in more or less final form. I should be ready to dictate part IV on "cultural deprivation and education" by the time you can get a couple of these tapes backx to me - I didn't get back the first two I used. IF and thats bigger than I can type, that section doesn't give me any trouble a draft of the whole thing should be done by the end of next week since parts III and V fit pretty well as they stand -naturally I wrote them and therefore think so.

Ross

ROUGH DRAFT

. Burke County is in east central Georgia, just South of Augusta on the Savannah river. Across the river is the Savannah River Project in Arts Federal Installation. This proximity, however, is not economically important since the nearest bridge is at Augusta. It is relevant, perhaps, to note that this absence of contact pleased at least some people prominent in the community when we talked to them. As counties go in Georgia, Burke County is a large one. It is roughly triangular with each side extending for about 40 miles. While not flat, there are no large hills or other prominent physical features.

There is one central town, Waynesboro, in which about one-fourth of the county's 20,000 residents live. The remaining three-fourths of the county's population is spread throughout the county in such a way that there are few clusters of population sufficient to support schools. There are half-dozen much smaller towns scattered around the county, several of them to be found in the apexes of the triangle. These towns are rapidly dying, and in some cases, are already too small to justify a school of their own. This dispersion is a fact of considerable importance to education. It creates problems of several kinds. It complicates the sheer mechanical problem of getting children together in sufficient numbers for a sufficient length of time to have a full school day. It also can mean that children may have to spend unreasonable lengths of time getting to and from school. And finally, it means that for many of the children, contact with other children outside of their own families is limited to buses and classes. Children probably do more to educate each other than schools do, and therefore these facts are of

of substantial importance. These are some of the educational problems created by the geographic features of the county.

Economic conditions also create educational problems. Historically, the county depended on cotton for its economic help, and agricultural activities are the most important sources of livelihood still, especially among Negroes. The county has some small industries, but does not depend upon agriculture. The industries have not increased much in recent years, and have not been able to counteract the problems created by the shrinking cotton production in the South - and they mostly employ only whites, anyway. Cotton production was once an adequate basis for a flourishing plantation economy. The amount of cotton produced in Burke County has been declining steadily for many years, and while there is still substantial acreage put in cotton, it has proved to be an increasingly inadequate source of income for the county. There have been several consequences of this change. Some of the land has been shifted to other crops, such as peanuts; some to other kinds of uses, such as pinepplantations for pulpwood production, and in cattle raising. Some land has simply ceased to be used. The major consequence of all this has been that fewer people are needed on the land.

Of course, it isn't just the decline in cotton production that reduced the manpower needed on the farm, but the increased mechanization of all kinds of farming, including cotton farming, as well as the change to crops requiring less human attention. The amount of land being farmed has declined, but the number of farms has declined even faster, because

the size of farms has increased. Burke County has always had some very large plantations. It still does. Also, for a long time, Burke County had many small farms, especially those owned by Negroes. The average size of farms is increasing, partly because these latter farmers are being put out of business. This declining humber of Negro farm owners indicates that the Negro is among the first victims of the complex and mounting pressures of small farmers. It has been widely recognized of course, for some time, that successful farming in this country requires large farms, heavily mechanized, and the availability of many unskilled hands is no longer an adequate answer. Heavy machinery and technically trained personnel are necessary for successful farming. All of these phenomena, then, point to the same thing - dramatic reduction in the need for unskilled farm labor - that is - for Negro labor in particular, in a place like Burke County.

Table I shows these and other economic facts about Burke County. The obvious consequence of these conditions is the poverty to be found in the county, especially among Negroes. 1960 Census data indicate the median family income of Negroes in Burke County to be approximately $1,200 a year. $3,000 per year is the figure that is now commonly cited as the absolute minimum needed by the typical family in the United States, although for a number of years, $2,000 per year for a typical family has been the standard figure. However, I think prices and changing patterns of living probably make the former more realistic. In either case, I note in the number of families in Burke County whose income is below this minimum standard. One can readily see that poverty is

widespread. Only 10% of the Negro families in Burke County have incomes of $3,000 or more per year. While only two-thirds of the white families have incomes meeting or exceding this minimum. Using the $2,000 per year standards, the percentages are respectively blank and blank. In short, there is a very large portion of Negroes in Burke County who live in conditions of severe poverty, and have little prospect of change as long as they remain in the county. There are also substantial numbers of whites who live in conditions of peverty, but their prospect of a better future is not quite so plainly unattainable.

In view of these facts, it is not surprising that the Negro population in Burke County has decreased more than 18% between 1980 and 1960. The white population has remained fairly stable during this period, although it has not shown the normal expected increase. Not too many years ago, Negroes made up more than 80% of the population in Burke County. Today, about two-thirds of the population is Negro, but among adults, the ratio of whites to Negroes is almost down to 1 to 1. It should be noted that not only does this suggest that Negroes tend to have larger families than the white residents in the county, but it is also true that a great many Negro parents leave their children in the county while they go to northern cities to work. A crude survey taking in another county suggests that approximately 25% of the Negro children in the schools had one or both parents working in some other state while they lived with relatives or other families. Since the conditions in Edgefield County (which was the county where this survey was done), are not as severe as those in Burke, it seems likely that this same sort of thing

is happening in Burke County.

What we have been trying to say in the preceding paragraphs is that the people of Burke County are, in a large number of instances, especially among the Negroes, very poor. The situation for most of them is getting worse, not better. There is reason to believe that this sort of situation has very severe consequences for education. However, before turning to that situation, it might be well to make a few comparisons with Edgefield County, since one may indeed want to know just how general this gloomy picture is as it appears in Burke, and just how characteristic the problems of Burke County are in the world South.

Edgefield County, South Carolina, is across the Savannah river, about as far North of Augusta as Burke County is south of Augusta. Like Burke County, it roughly triangular in shape, but a bit smaller, with each side running roughly 30 rather than 40 miles. In one sense, it is even smaller than that size indicates, since much of the northern border of the city is part of Sumter National Forest, and is very thinly populated. Furthermore, the county has substantially three major towns. Edgefield, Johnston, and Trenton. While Tranton is shrinking, both Edgefield and Johnston are reasonably vigorous communities who are holding their own in size. Another major difference between the two counties is that while Edgefield County also was a center of cotton production, it is also a center peach production area, and much of the land is in peach orchards. In addition, the agricultural problems of the county are slightly less severe than those of Burke County. However, the

re

major difference is in the vigor of its industrial development, and in the use of which the citizens of Edgefield County make of employment opportunities outside the county. Also, in Edgefield County, a perceptible number of citizens of the community work in the Savannah River Project. In Edgefield County, both whites and Negroes find work outside the county, not only in the Savannah River Project, but in Aiken and Augusta, and in the counties east and north of Edgefield. We should also note that by 1959, manufacturing became a principal source of employment in Edgefield, in contrast to Burke County, in which farming remains the principal source of employment.

This is not to be interpreted to indicate that everything is rosy in Edgefield County. Very far from it. Most of the other statements made about Burke County apply to Edgefield County. The number of farms is decreasing, the size of farms is increasing; the amount of employment supplied by farming for the unskilled worker, particularly for the Negro in Edgefield County, is decreasing; the number of farm owners among the Negroes in Edgefield has decreased. While Negroes have not been totally excluded from industrial jobs in Edgefield County, most of the industrial jobs, have indeed, been for white people, and to date, at least, this has not been a substantial solution to the problems of the Negro. Income of the people in Edgefield County, while a little better than in Burke County, still puts a substantial number of whites and most of the Negroes in the poverty-stricken category. The median family income among Negroes in Edgefield County, as Table I indicates, was approximately $1,500 a year. Not only is this not the richest of increases, it is a very

severe degree of poverty. The consequences in respect to population have been much the same in Edgefield County, about 10% of the Negroes in the county left between 1950 and 1960. Furthermore, the white popul ation declined by about 3% as well. As in Burke, this has been a long term affair where the emigration from the area has been greater among the Negroes than among the whites. Back in 1920, the Negroes were about three-quarters of the population in Edgefield County; now there are barely more than half. The greatest Negro emigration from Edgefield in proportion to the total population however, has decreased in recent years, compared to what it was during the 30's and 40's.

It seems to us from the information that we have just reviewed, that it would be fair to infer that in both Burke County and Edgefield County, and in counties similar to them, unless there are dramatic changes in trends, large numbers of children will be living and going to school under conditions of severe poverty, with little prospect of bettering themselves in thier home communities. Most of those who do succeed in getting educated in particular, will leave home. The prospects for those who stay are very dim, indeed, among the Negroes. A fair number of the better educated and more successful white youths will also find it advantageous to leave these counties, as they have been doing.

To summarize, the picture seems to be one of disappearing small farms, increase in farm size, displacement of farm workers by machines, and loss of population. The attempt to compensate by bringing into industry typically as in both these counties is more a help to the white residents than the Negroes, but in any case, can only rarely re-

place the jobs that once existed on the land. The result is large numbers of children growing up under conditions that have been variously described as being very poor, needy, underprivileged, disadvantaged, and culturally deprived. The consequences for education are many, and we will describe most of them later, but to give you an idea at this point, we may note that these conditions effect Negro and white students somewhat differently. If a Negro student or his parents are to see that education is a path to an adequate livelihood as an adult, they must recognize that he is preparing to live somewhere else. In other words, they might have enough foresight and enough knowledge of the world to understand what is needed in other parts of the country. Generally speaking, such knowledge and forewight itself requires some education. On the other hand, the white student, although he may also see greater opportunities outside of the county, can see that he probably can make an adequate living in his home county, providing he acquires an appropriate education. For whites, education provides immediate physical opportunity; for Negroes, education provides the only possible opportunity, but it is less visible to them. This lack of visibility is only one of the reasons why the educational efforts of the school systems are not very successful. Before explaining this further, and continuing with these reasons, it seems advisable to describe the school systems, and our estimate of its effectiveness.

12/14/66

Mr. Baker:

Mr. Bob Anderson has asked me to forward to you the enclosed table which is part of the Appendix of the report on desegregation mailed to you earlier.

Janet Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Anderson

Encl: 1

Mr. Robert E. Baker
Washington Post
1515 "L" Street, NW
Washington, D. C.

INTRODUCTION

Inadequate education is a prominent feature of life for most people growing up in the rural South, so is poverty, so is segregation. Let us suppose, just for the fun of it, the last of these no longer existed as an enforced fact of life, and that the schools, in particular, did not assign schools or teachers to schools and classes on the basis of race. Given this changed condition, what then could be done to alter the first of these features of life in the rural South? Could one develop a truly adequate educational system? What would be the problems to be met, and how might they be attacked?

It is our purpose here to consider such questions. We hope to show that the end of segregation is a necessary condition for any substantial improvement in the kind of educational situations we will describe, but for amny reasons, notably the poverty typical of the rural South and its past history of racial segregation, many additional steps are needed. A description of some of these steps is our major goal.

There are at least two obvious attacks that might be made upon the problem of improving education in the rural South. On the one hand, one could study a given community in great depth and detail

to determine what the facts are about its physical resources, its people and their resources. One then might approach the community as one approaches a political campaign, studying the interactions of the people in their particular environment in order that one might align the community power behind those changes judged possible and advisable. Whatever the results of such a "practical" approach, they would be difficult to adapt to other communities.

A second approach would be to study Education in order to determine ideally what kind of education is best suited to rural communities. Facts are not so relevant to such a study. The picture of the ideal is what counts. Such abstractions can be broadly relevant, but to see how they fit reality is often difficult.

Our study is neither one nor the other of these approaches. On the one hand, we are not going to develop a blueprint for direct action in a specific community, nor on the other hand are we going to remain entirely in the abstract. Instead, we have chosen to use the school system of a particular rural county in Georgia as the setting for our discussion.

The county we have chosen is Burke County, Georgia. Burke County is a large county in East Central Georgia. Negroes make up well over 50% of the population and the county is predominatly agricultural, although it is near a sizable industrial development.

It is economically poor, but rich in southern traditions. It has an illustrious southern history, and still contains more than just vestiges of the society that furnished the conditions out of which current practices of segregation grew.

We shall examine our problem in the context of Burke County. This means that we shall look at some of the specific features of the county and especially at the characteristics of its school system. However, it should be clearly understood that we are not offering either a complete description of the educational situation of Burke County, nor or we offering what we regard as fully genuine solutions to the problems of Burke County, as such. Rather we will make some suggestions which would need adaptation, even in Burke County, but which we believe, in their main outlines, are adaptable to most southern rural school systems. For example, we will talk specifically about the number of school buildings in Burke County, about their actual locations, about what changes and arrangements our proposal would call for. However, we do not pretend that we have done the full community survey and study of economic and demographic trends that is necessary for really adequate planning of this sort. Our recommendations, therefore, may not be fully applicable even to Burke County, but they are about the kind of thing that needs to be done there, and in most similar school systems in the South.

Now, although one piece of gold may do just as well as another, if one wants to determine the properties of gold, one county is not really just like another. Certainly, Burke County has many unique

features, and it is not exactly representative of the educational situation one might uncover if he examined counties throughout the South. We do believe that it has many of the characteristics one might expect to find in rural southern counties. However, in order to suggest the degree which the problems of education in Burke County are like the problems of education in other rural southern counties, and the degree to which our suggested solutions may be generally applicable we shall take an occasional comparative look in another school system that of Edgefield County, South Carolina. The general description given of Burke County given above is approximately correct for Edgefield County as well, that is, it is predominatly agricultural, it has more Negro than white citizens, it also has a distinguished southern history and remnants of the way of life generated by this history. Not that the two counties are the same. Far from it, as we shall shortly see.

However, first we should like to take a quick look at our special condition or assumption about segregation, because we feel that it is necessary to point out that segregation is not a simple matter. It is, in fact, a very complicated one, and it is a particularly difficult fact to come to terms with in education. Segregation doesn't mean that white children go to "white" schools with "white" teachers (but Negro janitors), while Negro children go to "black" schools with "black"

teachers (and no janitors). Segregation as a fact creeps into the fiber of the society and culture within which education as a process takes place. There are many practices that could be cited as part of the general fact of segregation, but it isn't always clear just how these practices affect education -- only that they do, directly or indirectly.

What does it mean for education when Negro adults, regardless of status and personal attainment, are all called by their first names by all the members of the white community they meet? What does it mean for education if there are no Negro doctors, Negro lawyers, or Negro businessmen in a community on the one hand, and no white janitors, white maids, or white ditch diggers on the other? What does it mean for education, if life is so arranged that to the casual, uninformed visitor, the group which in fact constitutes the majority in a community appears to be a tiny and unimportant minority? What does it mean for education when the language used in the books read by a child is not the same as that used by anyone like him, the person reading the book? That all the pictures are of members of that other group?

To put it another way: education always takes place in a context. If a community being served by a school is predominatly lower middle class, then this fact tells something about the kinds of values and

the kinds of expectations children bring to school with them. It tells something about the kinds of things that parents are likely to want for their children, and are likely to expect the school to provide. If 50% of a high school's graduates go on to college, then certain kinds of educational practices are obviously more appropriate than others. If 70% of the children who leave high school go into industrial jobs, then certain other kinds of practices are for. However, the determination of optimal practices is as yet an uncertain art. In rural southern communities, these ordinary difficulties are multiplied by the fact of segregation. You can expect some of the white students in the community to remain (or return) as doctors or lawyers, and the like. But what about the Negro students? The manners and mores of the great middle class are perhaps obviously appropriate for the white students, but are they for the Negroes? Every student must be taught the responsibilities of good citizenship such as the responsibility of voting, but are Negroes expected to vote? Whatever facet of the community one chooses to study in order to relate it to educational practice, the picture is complicated by the fact of segregation, and it seems evident to us even from this brief list of some of the simplest educational problems created by segregation, that if the full intellectual development of all children is the goal of education, then segregation is inappropriate.

For example, a child stimulated to ask questions about the society around him must be answered honestly, for his full intellectual growth. We consider both of these conditions necessary circumstances for intellectual growth -- that is, stimulation to ask questions, and honest answers to the questions. The answers one can give to a Negro child in a fully segregated society amount to either the assertion that he is inferior, or that he is being treated unjustly. A child who accepts the notion he is inferior loses much of his drive to achieve. A child who believes he is being treated unjustly is angry and frustrated, so while he will have strong drives, he will not learn to think well or clearly. Thus, either answer will arouse feelings that will thereafter interfere with intellectual growth.

The remaining alternative, and probably the course adopted most often, is to prevent the children from asking such questions. This also interferes with adequate education quite plainly. In short, it is immediately, and painfully, and unmistakably obvious that in localities such as those we are describing, Negroes are assigned an inferior role, and it follows directly from this fact that proper intellectural growth is impossible. Segregation is both the symbol of this situation and the chief source for its maintenance. Consequently, the only way we know to deal with the educational problems created by segregation is by postulating the end of the cause. We shall be discussing only the problems that remain after this necessary condition to intellectual development has been established.

We should point out here that in this respect our discussion is entirely theoretical. While we want to recognize the facts that determine the present condition of education in counties such as Burke, we find it necessary to assume that the one fact that has been most important in determining the present educational situation, will suddenly no longer be a fact to contend with. Thus on the one hand we are recognizing that to date decisions about education have been made on the basis of race, and that this fact has largely determined the educational situation in Burke County. While on the other hand we are going to assume that race is not only theoretically irrelevant to educational decisions, but that from a practical point of view it is irrelevant also. We recognize that this assumption is contrary to fact.

So, before we get too far into fantasy, let us establish contacts with reality. As we said before, education takes place in a context and therefore we must examine this context before proceeding to describe the schools as they currently exist, and the general nature of the educational problems that need to be solved.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

In the Spring of 1964 we spent a number of days visiting the school systems of a county in Georgia and a county in South Carolina. We wanted to look at examples of southern rural school systems. For many years the schools in the large cities of the nation have struggled with the educational deficiencies imposed on them by migrants from the rural South. We went to look at the roots of this problem. We went knowing then, as we know now, that large numbers of people from such areas grow up without an adequate education. We also knew before we started that school segregation did not help the situation; in fact, desegregation of the schools was in our minds as a certainly proper and a probably helpful step. Unquestionably what we saw in these two counties was influenced by our preconceptions.

Still, we were strongly impressed in two ways. First, in both school systems large numbers of intelligent, energetic, and sensitive people are performing remarkably well and in a professional fashion. We, therefore, do not believe that if one could put an appropriate number of the teachers and administrators drawn from one of our better suburban districts into these two systems, many of the school problems would thereby be solved. Secondly, the feature of life in these communities that struck me most forcefully was the dominant role played by race and segregation in the lives of all. Even the two of us raised in the South were impressed all over again with the salience of race in the thoughts, actions, and patterns of life of the citizens, white and Negro alike, in these two counties.

These two impressions have been the leading influences in what we see as the educational problems facing rural areas of this sort and what we think might be done about these problems. The first impression has led us to propose drastic changes in the arrangement of the school system. It seemed clear to us that, if people of the calibre we encountered in these county school systems are unable to do any better than they are doing, it is not possible to achieve the desired improvements in chil-

dren's learning by doing more adequately the same sort of things. It seemed evident to us that some basic changes in the system itself would be necessary to accomplish much. Our second strong impression suggested what the first step in this direction needs to be. We concluded that the starting point for improvement of education in such communities must be the complete elimination of segregation. It seems to us that these two basic propositions have not been fully faced by those concerned with education, either in communities of this sort or anywhere else in the country.

To be sure, the situation has changed dramatically since the Spring of 1964. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 mean that formal desegregation of school systems in counties of this sort is beginning to take place and that relatively large amounts of federal funds are now available to these systems. These are helpful steps, but by themselves they are not enough.

clean up

It is our purpose in this report to explain why they are not enough and especially why, after formal desegregation, ordinary school improvements are still likely to prove inadequate. To this end our discussion will include brief descriptions of the conditions of living and of education we found in the counties visited; these examples are offered in the hope that our discussion of the nature of the basic educational problem will be clearer. Finally, again using the two school systems for illustration, we shall offer some suggestions for changes in the standard pattern of schooling which we believe indicate the kind of alterations conditions in the rural South make necessary.

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Inadequate education is a prominent feature of life for most people growing up in the rural South; so is poverty, so is segregation. We have asserted that the elimination of segregation is the first step toward making the education adequate. But this simple assertion does not dispose of the matter because segregation is not a simple matter; it is complicated, and it is a particularly difficult fact to come to terms with in education. Segregation doesn't just mean that white children go to "white" schools with white teachers (but Negro janitors), while Negro children go to "black" schools with Negro teachers (and no janitors). Segregation creeps into the fiber of the society and

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culture within which education as a process takes place. There are many practices which could be cited as part of the general fact of segregation, but it isn't always clear just how these practices affect education—only that they do, directly or indirectly.

What does it mean for education when Negro adults, regardless of status and personal attainment, are all called by their first names by all the members of the white community they meet? What does it mean for education if there are no Negro doctors or Negro lawyers in a community on the one hand, and no white janitors or white maids on the other? What does it mean for education if life is so arranged that to the casual, uniformed visitor, the group which in fact constitutes the majority in a community appears to be a tiny and unimportant minority? What does it mean for education when the language used in all the books studied by a child is not the same as that used by anyone like him? What does it mean when all the pictures in the books, about both present and past times, are of members of another group?

(uninformed) ^ n

To put it another way, education always takes place in a context. If a community being served by a school is largely lower middle class, then this fact tells something about the kinds of values and the kinds of expectations children bring to school with them. It tells something about the kinds of things that parents are likely to want for their children, and are likely to expect the school to provide. If 50% of a high school's graduates go on to college, then certain kinds of educational practices are obviously more appropriate than others. If 70% of the children who leave high school go into industrial jobs, then certain other kinds of practices are called for.

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In rural southern communities, these ordinary difficulties are multiplied by the fact of segregation. One can expect some of the white students in the community to return as doctors or lawyers, and the like. But what of the Negro students? The manners and mores of the great middle class are perhaps obviously appropriate for the white students, but are they for the Negroes? Every student must be taught the responsibilities of good citizenship, such as the responsibility of voting, but are Negroes expected to vote? Whatever facet of the community

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one chooses to study in order to relate it to educational practice, the picture is complicated by the fact of segregation, and if the full intellectual development of all children is the goal of education, then segregation is inappropriate. Segregation is corrosive of the basic processes that make it possible for education to take place.

For example, a child who asks questions about the society around him must be answered honestly, for his full intellectual growth. In fact a child needs the stimulation to ask such questions as well as honest answers to the questions to attain this growth. The answers one can give to a Negro child in a fully segregated society amount either to the assertion that he is inferior, or that he is being treated unjustly. A child who accepts the notion that he is inferior loses much of his drive to achieve. A child who believes he is being treated unjustly is angry and frustrated, so that while he will have strong drives, he will not learn to think well or clearly. Thus, either answer will arouse feelings that will thereafter interfere with intellectual growth. The remaining alternative, and probably the course adopted most often, is to prevent the children from asking questions. This, also, interferes with adequate education.

An analogous difficulty is created for the white child. In such communities he also is not encouraged to ask questions about segregation and certainly it must often happen that when he does the answers given are not accurate, although on occasion they may be honest as the teacher sees it. These conditions also are less than positive contributions to intellectual growth. However, for the white child in contrast to the Negro, there is the encouragement and stimulation to intellectual growth that can come from the belief in one's superior ability to learn. Probably more serious are the distorted views of his responsibilities as a citizen that develop as he learns to ignore the incongruities between the practices of segregation and the statements about equality and freedom he is asked to learn.

In short, it is immediately, painfully, and unmistakably obvious that in southern rural communities Negroes are assigned an inferior role, and it follows directly that for Negro children especially, proper intellectual growth is impossible. Segregation is both the symbol of this situation and the means for its main-

tenance. Consequently, we do not believe a proper education for any child, white or Negro, can be provided in a segregated system.

But school desegregation is only one of the changes needed to eliminate segregation as an influence on education, and it is beyond the scope of this report (and our ability) to discuss the ways of accomplishing legal desegregation. Our suggestions are designed to help solve the educational problems that remain after this necessary condition to intellectual development has been established.

This does not mean that we shall avoid further consideration of the fact of segregation. As a pervasive and dominant feature of life, its role in education requires repeated attention. We shall assume, however, that the educational practices we are proposing will take place in school systems in which all concerned treat race as irrelevant to educational decisions. Recognizing that this assumption is currently contrary to fact let us turn to our second proposition. It is that legal desegregation is only the first step and that in rural Black Belt areas profound educational problems will remain. The nature of these problems can first be understood by looking more closely at the life of these areas.

CHAPTER II

Two Rural Counties

A. *Geography and Economics*

Burke County is just south of Augusta on the Savannah River. As counties go in Georgia, Burke is large; it is roughly triangular with each side extending for about 40 miles. While not flat, there are no large hills and most of the land is arable. There is one central town, Waynesboro, in which about one-fourth of the county's 20,000 residents live. The remaining three-fourths is spread throughout the county in such a way that there are few clusters of population sufficient to support schools. There are a half-dozen much smaller towns scattered around the county, several of them near the apexes of the

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triangle; these towns are rapidly dying, and in some cases, are already too small to justify a school of their own.

This dispersion creates problems of several kinds. It complicates the sheer mechanical problem of getting children together in sufficient numbers for a sufficient length of time to have a full school day. It means that many children spend unreasonable lengths of time getting to and from school, and, for many of the children, that contact with other children outside their own families is largely limited to the chances schools (and buses) provide.

These facts are important because children probably do more to educate each other than schools as such do, which is one reason why it is difficult to raise the educational level of a community by "good" schools or lower it by "bad" schools. We do not mean that a group of children without a school would learn what they would in school. We mean that by acting as models for each other, by setting standards and by supporting or squelching each others' interests and expectations, the children in the classes of all but the most rare teachers set both the upper and lower limits of achievement. The most strenuous efforts of teachers, principals, and superintendents rarely alter these limits. For the most part, the time and effort spent going to and from schools is not a very constructive force in children's education. Long rides in crowded, noisy buses do not provide learning conditions conducive to academic progress. These particular educational problems are probably characteristic of most rural school systems, although they undoubtedly vary in degree.

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The economic conditions in Burke County also create educational problems.[1] Historically, the county depended on agriculture (principally cotton) for its economic health, and agricultural activities are important sources of livelihood still, especially for Negroes. The county has a few small industries which do not depend upon agriculture. These industries have not greatly increased in number or size in recent years, and have not been able to counteract the problems created by the shrinking number of jobs in agriculture; they mostly employ only

[1]What follows describes the facts to be found in Tables 1, 2, and 3. For some, reading the tables will suffice.

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whites, the group least in need of job opportunities. Cotton production was once an adequate basis for a plantation economy employing many people. Twenty-five years ago, farming alone employed more people than are in the total labor force today. But while there is still substantial cotton acreage, it has proved to be an increasingly inadequate source of income for the county.

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The amount of land being farmed has declined a bit (10% since 1945), but the number of farms has declined even more (50% since 1945), because the size of farms has increased (84% since 1945). Burke County has always had some large plantations. It still does. But for a long time Burke also had many small farms, a number of which were owned by Negroes. The average size of farms is increasing partly because these Negro farmers are being put out of business. The declining number of Negro farm operators indicates that the Negro is among the first victims of the complex and mounting pressures on small farmers. Heavy machinery and technically trained personnel are increasingly necessary for successful farming. All of these phenomena, then, point to the same thing: a dramatic reduction in the need for unskilled farm labor, a fact which means in a place like Burke that there is no longer much need for Negro labor.

Table 1 shows these and other economic facts about Burke County. One obvious consequence of these conditions is widespread poverty, especially among Negroes. As shown in Table 2, the 1960 census data indicate the median family income of Burke Negroes was approximately $1,200 a year, less than half of the $3,000 per year now commonly cited as the minimum needed by the typical family in the United States. Only 11% of the Negro families in Burke County had in 1960 incomes of $3,000 or more per year, while two-thirds of the white families had incomes meeting or exceeding this minimum. In short, a large portion of Negroes in Burke County live in conditions of severe poverty and have little prospect of change as long as they remain in the county. There are also substantial numbers of whites who live in conditions of poverty, but their prospect of a better future is not quite so plainly unattainable.

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It is not surprising that the Negro population in Burke has decreased more than 18% between 1950 and 1960, while the white population has remained fairly stable (see Table 3). Not too many years ago, Negroes made up more than 80% of the population in Burke County. Today, about two-thirds of the population is Negro, but among adults the ratio of whites to Negroes is beginning to approach 1 to 1. It should be noted that not only does this suggest that Negroes tend to have larger families than the white residents of the county, but it also reflects the fact that a great many Negro parents leave their children in the county while they go to cities to work. A crude survey taken in Edgefield County suggests that approximately 25% of the Negro children in the schools had one or both parents working and living somewhere else (usually in the North). While the parents migrate, they frequently let the county educate their children. Migration, then, relieves the county of less of the educational burden than the migration rates suggests.

Edgefield County is across the Savannah River in South Carolina about as far north of Augusta as Burke is south of Augusta. Like Burke, it is roughly triangular, but a bit smaller, with each side running roughly 30 rather than 40 miles. In one sense, it is even smaller than that size indicates, since much of the northern border of the county is part of Sumter National Forest, and is thinly populated. The county has three sizeable towns: Edgefield, Johnston, and Trenton. While Trenton is shrinking, both Edgefield and Johnston are reasonably vigorous communities more than holding their own in size (i.e. slight growth, as in Waynesboro). Another important difference is that while Edgefield was also once primarily a cotton producing county, it is now a peach producing area, and much of the land is in peach orchards. The agricultural problems of the county seem slightly less severe than those of Burke County, but a glance at Table 1 will show that the changes have been about the same with respect to number of farms, their size, and the role played by Negro operators. Exactly as in Burke, the number of farms has decreased dramatically while average size has increased, and it has been the Negro operator who has been

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squeezed the most. In Edgefield as in Burke, agriculture is no longer the principal kind of employment.

Unlike Burke, however, employment opportunities for Negroes in industry have increased. The number of such jobs is still not large, but the difference in direction of change is probably one reason why Edgefield has lost less of its Negro population (see Tables 2 and 3).

Perhaps the most prominent difference is the use the citizens of Edgefield County make of employment opportunities outside the county. For example, a perceptible number of citizens of the community work at the Savannah River Project, a large nearby Atomic Energy Commission installation. Burke County, directly across the river from the project (but the nearest bridge is in Augusta), has few residents who work at the project, and has at least some prominent citizens who are pleased rather than irritated at this lack of involvement with the federal government. In Edgefield, both whites and Negroes find work outside the county, not only at the Savannah River Project but in Aiken, Augusta, and in the counties east and north of Edgefield. Nevertheless, while Negroes have not been totally excluded from industrial jobs in Edgefield, to date at least, industrial employment has not been a substantial solution to their problems. Income of the people in Edgefield, while a little better than in Burke, still puts a substantial number of whites and most of the Negroes in the poverty-stricken category. The median family income among Negroes in Edgefield, as Table 2 indicates, was approximately $1,600 a year. This is severe poverty. The consequences with respect to population have been much the same in Edgefield as in Burke, the Negro population having declined about 10% between 1950 and 1960. Furthermore, the white population declined by about 3% as well. Back in 1920, the Negroes were about three-quarters of the population in Edgefield County; now they are barely more than half. The rate of Negro emigration from Edgefield in proportion to the total population, however, has decreased in recent years, compared with the 30's and 40's.

In both Burke and Edgefield Counties, and in counties similar to them, unless there are dramatic changes in trends, large numbers of children will continue living and going to

school under conditions of severe poverty, with little prospect of bettering themselves in their home communities. Most of those who do succeed in getting educated will leave home. The prospects for those who stay are dim indeed among the Negroes. A fair number of the better educated and more successful white youths will also find it advantageous to leave these counties, as they, too, have been doing.

The consequences for education are many. These affect Negro and white students somewhat differently. If a Negro student and his parents are to see that education is a path to an adequate livelihood as an adult, they must recognize that the student is preparing to live somewhere else. In other words, they must have enough foresight and enough knowledge of the world to understand what is needed in other parts of the country. Generally speaking, such knowledge and foresight come through education. On the other hand, the white student, although he may also see greater opportunities outside of his county, can see that he probably can make an adequate living at home, provided he acquires an appropriate education. For whites, education provides immediate visible opportunities; for Negroes, education provides the only possible opportunity, but it is less visible. This lack of visibility is only one of the reasons why the educational efforts of the school systems are not very successful, and why segregation stymies educational progress.

One way of describing this situation is to say that for the Negro attempting to live in his home, neither education nor anything else leads anywhere. Essentially, it is a situation of "no hope." This problem's solution clearly involves recommendations that go far beyond the field of education.

There are no educational recommendations that will be sufficient even to attack the problems of "no hope" in education, because these problems stem from the function of education in a society. What good will imaginatively conceived vocational education programs be if there is no place in society for the use of skills developed? What good will supplementary educational services be if education itself fits an individual to live in a social, cultural, and economic milieu that simply does not exist? Educational recommendations cannot have their proper effect unless something is done to allow the *use* of edu-

cation by all members of society. In order for education to have its desired effect, the problem of giving hope to education must be addressed and solved *by the community*. Fundamentally, this means that the community must display to the school that educational accomplishment entitles one to social, cultural, and economic rewards. The rural communities of the Black Belt South do not do this, and until and unless they do, plans, energies, and money poured into their schools will do little to solve their basic educational problems.

This means that Negroes must be allowed to compete openly for jobs, and that there must be jobs; it means that cultural opportunities must be made available to all who want them and are ready to appreciate them, and that there must *be* cultural opportunities; it means that social interaction must become a function of natural factors such as temperament, education, concern, and interest. In sum there are no *educational* recommendations we can make that will restore hope to education; to alter the function of education for the Negro community means to make the good things of a free society available to all men.

B. *The School*

At first glance, the schools of Burke County appear to be much like those anywhere. The buildings and the classrooms, ranging from old to new, look much like those one would encounter anywhere in the United States. Of the roughly 7,000 children of school age in the county, about 4,500 Negro and 1,800 white are enrolled in the schools; apparently, some 700-800 children, mostly Negro, are not in school. The white population is served by three high schools and five elementary schools, while the Negro population is served by one high school and six elementary schools. Average daily attendance of students in the system is fair, but is higher among the white (88%) than among the Negro (78%) students. This difference is at least partly because some Negro children do not enter school in the fall until after crops are harvested. Both the curriculum and the general arrangements of the schools appear fairly typical of what one might find in any school.** The

**For a summary of educational statistics, see Table 4.

system is probably not unlike those in the rural South generally but, if anything, somewhat better than the average of these systems. In fact, given the basic conditions in which the system functions, it can be called a good system.

(poverty)

We have already described two of these conditions: the severe and widespread poverty and the low and decreasing density of population in most of the county. A third condition is partly but not entirely a consequence of the first. This is the fact that monies for school operations in Burke County are very nearly at the minimum the state permits. About 88% of these school funds come from the state (1963-64 data), and what little the county raises over and above that required by the state is spent for the teachers in unconsolidated white schools that the state will not support. In spite of the extensive poverty in the county, it could clearly spend more for education. Per pupil expenditures for the county in average daily attendance figures were slightly over $265 in 1963-64. The corresponding figures for Atlanta, for Georgia as a whole, and for the entire country were $380, $295, and $460, respectively.

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The fourth and last condition is—as of 1964-65 at least—total segregation, the importance of which we have already discussed briefly. Actually, there are two parallel school systems with an entirely white superstructure. The parallelism is not perfect, since the Negro system is not only over twice as large but is fully consolidated and in fairly new but poorly equipped buildings. The Negro high school is about as well equipped as the white high schools. Most of these structures were built shortly after the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The white schools are not fully consolidated, are only partly in modern buildings, but are, with the exception noted, somewhat better equipped and more adequately staffed (numerically, at least) than the Negro schools. Segregation is, of course, a universal fact of life in this county, and it should be noted that the discrepancies favoring the white schools over the Negro schools are far smaller than the discrepancies in almost all other aspects of life.

Within the limits of these conditions, it is fair to rate the school system a pretty good one. Despite its shortcomings, the physical facilities are not markedly poor for American schools

(although the libraries are); the paper qualifications of the school personnel are at the state average; and the children do somewhat better academically than some data on Georgia children indicate as state average. Table 5 shows some of these data in the form of average lag in grade placement scores of Georgia children relative to national norms. Burke County children appear to do a bit better than this; white high school children are close to the national norms, and it appears probable that the Negro children, though considerably lower than the national norm, are a bit above the state average for Negroes. Dropout rates and progress through school also meet state averages insofar as it is possible to get hard data on this matter; neither the state nor the county keeps records adequate for fully assessing this point. However, the age-grade enrollment figures shown in Table 6 seem to indicate that the rate at which children progress through the grades is much like that found elsewhere in the state. Finally, it should be carefully noted that the system has its quota of able, competent, and industrious school personnel; all things considered, perhaps more than its share in the Negro system.

Obviously, even within the social and economic framework given, improvements are possible. Consolidation could be completed; more local money could be found, libraries could be developed; and so on indefinitely. But the same sort of statement could be made about almost any school system. For those who like the status quo in the community and especially those interested in maintaining total segregation and minimum expenditure for school operation, the system is satisfactory. In the white community, such satisfaction is a common, perhaps dominant, feeling. There are, of course, some white citizens who want improvements in the white schools, but they do not appear to be an important segment of the community. Perhaps a few of these same people, but not many of them, are dissatisfied with the conditions in the Negro schools.

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Among the Negro population, dissatisfaction with the schools is probably not common either. In fact, for large numbers of the Negroes in this county the schools are better than they really believe is necessary. While among the Negro school personnel there is some dissatisfaction with conditions, many

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of them are pleased because conditions are vastly better than they were only a few short years ago. It would be difficult to maintain that any substantial proportion of the Negro community is unhappy with the schools, especially since it appears doubtful that there are many outside the professional personnel who are aware of the shortcomings that exist.

To repeat, within the framework of the basic conditions outlined, the school system is performing well and to the satisfaction of the people being served, and we suspect that few school systems working within familiar conditions do much better. Let us look more closely, however, at what this means. Taking the white schools first, although they serve a clientele well above the average of the county socially, economically, and intellectually, their students do not typically fall into an above-average group on a national basis. Only about 40% graduate from high school, and of these only two-thirds go to college; even this relatively privileged minority in the county, i.e., the white citizens, do not contribute their share of developed talent to the nation. Only so long as Burke County can maintain its relative isolation will this white system prove satisfactory even to the county itself.

Clearly, however, the white schools are not where the serious problems in the county's educational system lie, in any immediate sense. They are to be found instead in the Negro schools and in the Negro community. Problems here are very serious indeed. These schools, like most in Georgia, do far better than they did a few short years ago but, still, fewer than 40% of the students reach grade ten, and only about one in seven graduate from high school (see Table 6). When it is recognized that for these Negro children in Burke, as almost anywhere else in similar areas, a high school diploma represents, on the average, a level of academic and intellectual development far short of the typical tenth grade student in the United States (see Table 5) the seriousness of this problem can be seen. It appears probable that among the 400-450 Negro children of a given age in the county, fewer than 20 will ever develop intellectually and academically to a point where they might be called average in this nation. Of about 4,500 school children, 4,200 must be classified as academically retarded or

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slow by the end of their school careers. This appalling fact is evidently characteristic of the rural South.

Although there are some differences, the similarities between Burke's schools and those of Edgefield are more marked than the differences. Those differences that exist are not large. The white schools in Edgefield County seem a little more open to the world, and somewhat more intellectually diverse and stimulating. Strom Thurmond High School in Edgefield is not only well equipped, but reflects an attempt to incorporate new ideas in school planning into its structure. The new Waynesboro High School in Burke County is much less well equipped, and does not show signs of such an attempt. Perhaps another symptom, or perhaps a cause, of this difference is the fact that the white high schools in Edgefield were recently consolidated in spite of an ancient football rivalry. The Negro schools are fully consolidated, a little less well equipped than the Negro schools in Burke County, and more than in Burke Negro schoolmen seemed committed to working within the current framework and to not attempting any serious alteration of the prospects of their students. To repeat, these differences are not large, and are, of course, mainly impressions. The accomplishments of both school systems are similar, whether one is talking about Negro children or white, and we believe that both of these school systems are at least as good as most similar rural systems. We must also emphasize that whatever criticism we might make of these schools—and obviously many are possible—the thing that sets them apart from others in this country is not their physical arrangements, their curricula, their books, or even the professional characteristics of their teachers. What is different is the product.

We suspect many people will find this assertion hard to accept, since it is part of the widely believed American educational mythology that all educational deficiencies can be attributed to poor teaching. This is false.* We are not claiming, of course, that these schools are staffed by the cream of the crop, and we do not deny that better teachers, better books, libraries, and other facilities might, here as everywhere else,

*For a discussion of this point see Green, D. R., *Educational Psychology*, Prentice-Hall, 1964.

improve matters—a little at least, and maybe even a lot. But we do not believe that achievement scores of the sort shown in Table 5 can be explained this way, if for no other reason than that these schools and these teachers are not very different from those to be found elsewhere. Many cities which pay high salaries and which have adequate equipment have whole schools of students who perform no better than these children, probably for many of the same reasons, most of which depend on who the children are. The reason is plain. As we noted earlier, education takes place in a cultural context. All over this country in communities in which children are "disadvantaged"—in city slums, on Indian reservations, among migrant workers—similar achievement scores are found. The currently popular term used to describe this phenomenon in educational circles is "cultural deprivation."

Giving it a name does not solve the problem or even explain its nature. The phenomenon has drawn a great deal of attention in recent years, focusing largely on the slums of large cities. But it is not just a problem of the cities. It is not just a problem of segregation or of poverty, and it can involve a majority of the children in a community. The serious and widespread deficiencies in the educational systems of the rural South cannot be readily solved within a standard framework. The schools of a county like Burke or Edgefield could be rather easily made to be like those of one of our "good" suburban systems in all respects but one, because they are not very different now. But they cannot be made "just like" because the students are different, they belong to a different culture, and the "standard" American school is ill-suited to their needs.

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This matter has been the subject of some research, but much remains to be learned in spite of the recent attention it has been getting. Although current knowledge is largely derived from research among children in city slums, it provides some clues as to what kinds of educational procedure might be effective in a rural setting.

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CHAPTER III
Cultural Deprivation*

Many children in the rural Black Belt, particularly Negro children, can be classified as "culturally deprived." We assert that it is for this reason that schooling is so relatively unsuccessful among these children.

What do we mean (and what do we not mean) when we say that some individual is "culturally deprived"? Broadly speaking, we mean that there have been omissions and deficiencies in the background of the individual so that in comparison with the "typical" individual in the culture under consideration he has had little opportunity to acquire the knowledge, skills, and abilities needed for successful functioning in society. In particular, then, we are asserting that the skills and abilities, the knowledge and information, and, to some extent, the values that the children of the very poor rural Southerner learn in their childhood at home, especially if they are Negro, do not provide an adequate foundation for their schooling.

Note that we are not saying that such children do not acquire any knowledge, ability, or values at home. However, there is no doubt that regardless of what these children do learn at home, they do not learn—or do not learn well—those things that the standard school procedures and patterns of organization make it necessary that children know in order to progress successfully in school.

In all groups to which the label "culturally deprived" has been applied, the children start school with marked language

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*The material of this section is our interpretation of the research on the topic of cultural deprivation. We have not cited this research directly but references to most of it can be found in one or more of the following:

Bloom, B. S., Davis, A., and Hess, R., *Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation*. New York, 1965.

Green, D. R., *Educational Psychology*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1964.

Passow, H. (ed.), *Education in Depressed Areas*. New York, 1963.

Reissman, F., *The Culturally Deprived Child*. New York, 1962.

For those interested in pursuing the language problem the following two references will be more helpful than the preceding four:

Bernstein, B., "Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning," in Halsey, A. H. *et al.* (eds.), *Education, Economy and Society*. Glencoe, Ill., 1961.

Loban, W. A., *The Language of Elementary School Children*. National Council of Teachers of English, 1963.

deficits. These deficiencies usually create difficulties in school work immediately, because language skills are needed for learning to read and most schools make reading the first and foremost order of business. The child who cannot succeed reasonably promptly in learning to read almost always face continuous failure from that point on and may quite realistically lose hope of ever having any real school success even if he does gradually learn to read a bit.

The seriousness of the consequences of this language deficiency is much clearer than its exact nature. It has traditionally been assumed that lower class children—and, in fact, all those children rating low in language proficiency—have learning problems because they do not know enough words and thus lack the concepts needed. Such views have shaped the programs offered in most schools.

Educators have known for a long time that language facility is an important factor in academic success and programs to increase the vocabularies and language skills of children are part of the curricula of all schools. For example, direct vocabulary instruction, in which children compile lists of new words and look up their meanings, has been a technique used widely for many years. These traditional approaches are not, however, a hopeful line of attack, because, in spite of the effort and ingenuity that has been put into them, they have not done the job.

It now appears that vocabulary deficiencies may not be the root of the problem. In fact, culturally deprived children often use a rather large number of words accurately. To be sure, in comparison with the middle class children, those of the lower class are not nearly so familiar with the words normally used in the school, and it is true also that these children do not know much about many of the objects and paraphenalia of middle class life in America. Television is helping to change this. Because of this they have special problems in understanding many of the things talked about in their textbooks and in relating these things to their own lives. But it should be understood that this particular sort of problem is not so much a deficit as it is a difference. It is to be sure a difference that calls for action. A child can and should read about life in

other places and other cultures; but he ought to read and learn about his own as well, since that is his base of reality and the beginning of all thought. In short, this so-called deficit is in the school material and not in the child's mind.

In any case, the importance of sheer knowledge of words is not entirely clear since recent work in this area suggests that the difficulty is more subtle. It lies in the flexibility and skill children develop in their language usage. Culturally deprived children (or adults for that matter) use a language that at first blush is not very different from that of anybody else. But on closer examination it appears that they use relatively large numbers of standard expressions and clichés that fit the situation generally, but that lack precision and clarity. The symbolism used is descriptive, concrete, visual, and of a low order of generality. Nuances of feeling are expressed by non-verbal means. The language used in a given situation lacks both the variety and specificity to the situation one finds in the language of middle class children and it deals with abstract ideas relatively rarely. Although he often knows the words needed, the culturally deprived child will seldom use alternative ways of saying something even though such variations can be used to make meanings clear, to draw distinction, and to add emphasis. Instead the same standard phrasing is used over and over. In addition, hypotheses and conditional statements are infrequent as are all indications of tentativeness and uncertainty.

It seems probable that these and related deficits carry over to listening as well as reading skills, thereby creating extra problems for these children everywhere they turn. Perhaps more than any other single thing, they need to learn to play with language meanings, to learn to get variety and nuance of meaning into their speech, to increase their appreciation and awareness of the value in the distinctions and refinements of meaning that shifts in word order and the adoption of subordinate and qualifying expressions can bring. We are talking about communication and the expression of ideas, and, therefore, this training must involve speech in use, and it must be functional in the childrens' lives from the start;* from this it follows that practice in communicating and elaborating their own ideas, not those of others, comes first. Furthermore, this practice must

to footnote from pg. 20 ?

be extensive in each of as many kinds and varieties of situations as possible if it is seriously to affect the thinking of children.

Conversations with adults aware of the possibilities of the language and concerned with helping the child learn to use it is, it seems, the most effective way for children to learn these language skills, at least until reading becomes a prominent part of the child's life (if it ever does), and perhaps still even then. Probably this training is most effective in the early pre-school years when basic language patterns are being established.

But use of language is not the only problem. Among others, all of which are very closely related to language, there is the apparently slower perceptual development of the disadvantaged child, i.e., his more restricted awareness of the perceptual discriminations possible among many sensory dimensions, such as size and volume. These children are not likely to be taught, or rewarded, at home for learning the appropriate quantitative discriminations among objects or to attach the proper descriptive labels to objects (e.g., "tall" rather than "big," and so on). Consequently, orderly development of abstract quantitative concepts is hindered.

Relative to middle class children, lower class children tend to be concrete minded; they are oriented toward objects and direct physical action, rather than toward abstractions and conceptual manipulation. They often continue more or less indefinitely to learn through motor or physical actions; that is, they tend to persist in a mode of thinking that depends on the manipulation of objects, whereas middle class children usually begin to shift to symbolic and verbal substitutes for action sometime between the ages of ten and fourteen.

Perhaps related to this is another intellectual difference which through its effect on motivation has far reaching educational consequences. Lower class children seem to have shorter attention spans, memory, and (therefore?) what may be called anticipation span; that is, they function more with reference to immediate than distant goals. For the middle class person, long range goals are usually fairly specific in character. In

*We hope very much that this notion will not be read as necessarily asking for more of the pedestrian "real life" material which seems to plague our school texts. Children find poetry, fantasy, and sheer word play (e.g. nonsense rhymes) intelligible and functional in their lives.

contrast, in the lower class the future is regarded in more general and vague notions and for the most part is not considered as something one controls through present action. Hence, present behavior has a kind of rational relation to future goals for the middle class person which it does not have for those in the lower class. The middle class person anticipates within a broader time perspective.

That culturally deprived children do not see as clearly specific long range goals to which present behavior appears to be rationally connected helps cause what has been called the "deferred gratification pattern." They are not inclined to delay or renounce impulse gratification in favor of future gain. Future goals have a degree of reality for middle class children which they do not have for lower class children. Middle class children are exposed to more consistent patterns of rewards and punishments for impulse control and achievement. The adult models to which they are exposed day after day manifest a degree of self-discipline not generally seen in the adults with whom the lower class has close emotional ties.

clean up

Anxiety reduction is probably also a factor in the disadvantaged person's failure to manifest the deferred gratification pattern. Grinding poverty and the intense threat under which he, especially if Negro, lives is almost certain to evoke a high level of anxiety, the reduction of which is to some extent effected through impulse gratification.

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Passivity in the lower class child, especially the Negro, is another facet of the motivational pattern related to achievement. One important manifestation of this passivity in the school is the child's failure to ask questions and seek clarification where it is needed. That these children should tend to be passive is not surprising. Their first hand experience most certainly does not teach them that the environment can be manipulated, controlled, and changed by anything they do. The Negro boy is likely to come to school having had no direct experience with a successful male model.

This whole pattern—the tendency to be passive, impulse-directed, and to lack motivation for achievement—is related to and perhaps rooted in the child's concepts of self. The most pernicious psychological consequence of a caste system must

surely be the tendency for individuals to accept as accurate for themselves the social definitions of inferiority inherent in the system.

For example, there are a number of studies which indicate (a) that Negroes from young childhood on tend toward low self-acceptance; (b) that Negro children of pre-school age express greater preference for white than Negro children; (c) that they are later than white children in acknowledging their racial identity; and (d) the result is that at an older age level Negro students tend to judge themselves inferior to white students even in the face of objective evidence tending to contradict such judgments.

Finally, we should add that the homes of these children do not help them do well in school for other reasons. The parents don't know how to teach their children how to learn. They tend to be particularly inept as teachers of their own children (again partly a language problem). Also the homes usually lack books and there are rarely places for students to read and study in peace and quiet.

clean up

In the face of all these severe problems, an ordinary school as typically constituted at present is fighting a losing battle. These schools are organized and run on the assumption that the child has been growing in the ordinary middle class home, and that he has had the years of direct individual training that this implies. Whenever this assumption is not justified the school tends to fail.

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To succeed the school needs to provide substitutes for the experiences these children lack.

1. The children need extended contact with educated adults as early as possible in their lives; the school must provide many additional opportunities for these children to converse with each other, with older children, and with adults about all kinds of things. This experience should have a degree of direction and order and lead the child in the direction of the abstract.

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2. The school must also provide the deprived children with more assistance in the important pre-adolescent years. First, they need help in learning to deal with problems using abstractions, both with words and with other sym-

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bol systems; thus the school must do more than it now does to help the children shift to adult patterns of thinking. Second, the school must help the child develop long range goals. This means that he must see visible and believable steps along the way to these goals. If he is to remain in contact with his family without conflict, the older members of his family, older brothers and sisters as well as parents, must also come to believe in both the goodness and the real possibility of these goals. Third, the school must provide the child with solid evidence that effort, persistence, and self-discipline in school tasks are expected and rewarded.

3. To inculcate these attitudes and to avoid misunderstanding and conflict means that the adolescents and adults in the community must also be drawn into these efforts sufficiently both to support and at least to some degree understand the school's objectives.

CHAPTER IV

Specific Suggestions For Education

We have tried to make clear that education takes place in a social context. What schools can accomplish is tightly limited by the environment within which those schools operate. Schools of a rural slum are not likely to produce persons able to be constructive members of a community, unless the school gets into the children's home and neighboring life. It follows that an educational program which offers full opportunities for intellectual growth to all children is not possible where economic and other forms of social advancement are racially segregated. This is categorically true, we believe, for the Negro children. It is true as well for the white children, though present arrangements are much less unsatisfactory for their intellectual growth.

Education can be more successful when schools are desegregated. But only partially so, because, again, education occurs in a context, and when life and opportunities outside the school are segregated, the best efforts of schoolmen to develop the talents of students will be handicapped severely.

Even were all segregation removed in Black Belt counties, their educational problems would still be immense, because of the economic and cultural lags burdening them. We have said, therefore, that improvement of the schools along standard lines is not the answer. If the states of Georgia and South Carolina (or the United States) were to pour unstinted resources into Burke and Edgefield schools, the educational results would not be greatly different, if the added resources only helped the counties do what they are now doing better.

We have said that basic transformations of the Black Belt schools are needed, by which we mean new practices aimed at compensating for the cultural handicaps brought by the children to the school-door. Given the economics of the Black Belt, even such basic transformations cannot be expected to overcome the handicaps imposed by the environment on the children —schools cannot do everything—but in time, perhaps, they could reverse the environmental conditions, and they can, in any event, truly educate a larger proportion of the children than they now manage.

What we are going to describe here, then, will be some specific possible ways of proceeding. We do not claim that our suggestions are the prescription, but rather that they are examples of the sorts of things that are needed. In some cases, other alternatives are both possible and practical. As indicative of the kind of changes which we believe could result in more successful education in the rural South, we would suggest:

1. Nursery-kindergarten units for children ages three through five;
2. The use of boarding units for children in the middle grades (four, five, and six);
3. The employment of senior high school students in the system, so that all students from the tenth grade up who want or are interested in work will have an opportunity to earn at least $50 a month as a part of their school program;
4. An intercounty and college (or university) cooperative program involving a coordinated plan of consolidation, joint purchasing, and joint inservice and preservice

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teacher training programs in cooperation with the college.

Beyond these steps and out of them we would expect such things as expanded remedial reading and library services (e.g., a set of mobile reading clinics and mobile library-bookstores, selling paperbook books at nominal cost, serving the associated counties), expanded guidance services, and various special education services using, in many cases, college personnel and facilities. One simple but essential step would be to insure that no child is inadequately fed (breakfast as well as free lunches should be offered) or clothed. We would also expect that Job Corps, Work Study, and Community Action Programs financed through the "poverty program" (Economic Opportunity Act of 1964) would be inaugurated. Furthermore, the school buildings should be open twelve or more hours a day; libraries and supervised study halls should be available afternoons and evenings; evening adult education programs should be offered; extensive summer programs should be developed; and so on indefinitely. We shall not describe all of these steps. Instead, we shall elaborate only the four steps suggested above.

A. *The Nursery and Kindergarten Program*

There is a tendency in some quarters to hold out nursery schools as a pancea for cultural deprivation; they are not that. Nevertheless, where, as in the Black Belt, the problem is the lack of educational growth in the home, there is a pressing need to get the children as early as possible into organized learning opportunities and to establish school-parent relationships. We think there should be a pre-school program for these five-year olds.

This program would be aimed specifically at those coming from the poorest homes. Day-care centers and nursery schools do not necessarily prove very beneficial to children, so the nature of the program is all-important. The kind we are envisaging might be like that described by Gray and Klaus.*

Their program centered first on attitudes toward achievement; trying to increase the child's achievement motivation, his

*Gray, S. W., and Klaus, R. A., *Early Training Project: Interim Report,* 1963.

ability to persist toward a goal and to delay gratification, and to arouse interest in school-type activities such as listening to stories and looking at books. Secondly, they attempted to improve aptitudes for achievement by developing the more simple and basic concepts needed in school work, increasing perceptual discrimination, and improving language usage.

Gray and Klaus worked on number and color concepts and concepts concerning objects of the world in which they live. In addition they stressed position words and action categories, such as walk, run, jump, and hop. They tried to increase the children's abilities to recognize forms, shapes, and patterns and to discriminate among sounds, tastes, odors, and textures. In language development their major efforts consisted of encouraging the children to talk and in placing them in situations where language was necessary. The central operating feature of the program was the procedure of reinforcement. They used both concrete reinforcement, such as candy, and social reinforcement in the form of physical contact with adults: petting, hugging, and so forth. Throughout their work, particularly at the beginning, they made efforts to make sure that reinforcement of the behavior they desired was as immediate and consistent as possible. Gradually they moved away from concrete reinforcement and made efforts to develop verbal rewards as reinforcers.

A program of this sort, to be effective, calls for trained teachers and for careful planning. But if the teachers running each class thoroughly understand what it is they are trying to do they can quite readily and easily make use of assistants who are much less well-trained; high school students—both male and female—provided they receive some training related to the program, could work successfully and helpfully, to both themselves and the pupils, in such a nursery school situation. We would propose that high school students be offered a course in child care, and training as part of this course work, and that for pay—say $10 per week—they spend two three-hour periods a week acting as assistants to the teachers.* These teachers should be part of the staff of the high school course.

*Untrained adults might well be employed as aides also, and it should be evident that there are opportunities for tie-ins with adult education programs too.

A course of this sort is part of the curriculum of many high schools, but some preliminary training of all teachers would be desirable and probably easily arranged through the associated college.

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Contact with parents is also essential, and one of the activities of the teachers should be to maintain it. Trained social workers should also be involved in this part of the program. Attendance of at least the three and four year olds should be a matter of parental choice. The regular teaching staff and the social workers should be the ones who reach the parents and persuade them to send their children to these schools. Having a pre-school program creates transportation problems both because of added numbers of children to carry and because these very young children should spend only three or four hours a day at school. These problems will be minimized, however, if the school system, instead of having large school buses, has a number of station wagons or smaller buses which carry maybe nine or ten children, and if carefully selected high school students be employed to drive them. For the system as a whole we would propose a large increase in the number of vehicles and a reduction in the size of their load so that the length of trips to and from school for most of the children in the system could be reduced. This would cost more money, but a fair portion of that money would go into the pockets of students in the system, and we believe that tangible economic rewards for staying in school are important for the same reasons that concrete reinforcement should be used initially in the pre-school classes.

We may finally note in passing that Gray and Klaus report gains in the I.Q.'s of the children with whom they dealt. Similar results have been obtained by a number of other researchers. But it is the nature of the program that counts, not the sheer existence of such schools. Nursery schools which are largely custodial institutions, in which the children play without a planned program of learning, do not serve any educational function and merely cost money.

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B. *Boarding Units*

Our second suggestion is the establishment of boarding units connected with each of the elementary schools in the

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county. Like the preceding suggestion, this is directed primarily to the poorest children, and again its use would be voluntary and it would be necessary to gain agreement from the parents. We are proposing that children in grades four, five, and six spend three months each year in one of these boarding units, whenever the parents will agree to this.

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As in the previous suggestion the important element is what is done, not the mere existence of these boarding units. Most important would be the quality of the teachers. The chance of extensive, warm, personal contact with adults who represent middle class patterns of living, thinking, and values represents one of the principal reasons for these units, since realistic models of this sort, for many of the children of the rural South, are not handy. In addition there would be the opportunity to live in an organized, stable environment in which books, music, art, and conversation are standard and valued activities.* They also would have a chance to get some intensive tutoring during this time, and could be helped with their study habits. It would be expected that each group would take a number of trips, especially to cities, since that is where many of them will in due course live.

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In fact, it might be well to plan a fourth quarter in grade seven, spent at a residential unit in a city. Perhaps some cities would be willing to develop exchange programs with counties, sending children to the boarding units in the county and accepting an equal number in a unit in the city for a quarter. Three months in a city school accompanied by a careful orientation to the city might add much to the perspective of these children about the need for education. The city children could probably profit at least as much from a period of time in a rural community.

We envisage these units as having about 21 children, seven to eight from each grade, with approximately equal numbers of boys and girls. A unit would be staffed by two regular teachers who carry a partial load in that school (e.g., share classes with an intern), one male and one female, plus

*At this point we would ask the reader to re-read what we have said about the instructional need to relate material to the children's own life. See above, page ____.

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two intern teachers in training (one might have had some previous experience, while the other might be a beginner). In addition, from three to five high school students would be allotted to each unit each quarter to act as assistants before and after school. These students would not only be given room and board but also paid something — say $40 a month. The interns would also receive some pay, perhaps half-rate for the half-year that they would be expected to be in residence. In addition to the direct service that student assistants (drawn from the same cultural background) and interns would give, they would also provide the children with a sort of graduated series of models so that being like the — hopefully — admired and loved teacher might not seem so impossible; i.e., the children could see steps along the road and the possibility of variation. The regular school cafeteria could supply food but a dining room in the residence unit to be used for all three meals should be included in the plans. Mealtime is one of the periods of day when the kind of personal contact envisaged could be built.

The children would follow the regular school program by and large, would go home on weekends, and the teachers and interns would be expected to carry regular duties in the school. The teachers should receive a regular salary plus their room and board for these duties.* They should be required to go through a special training program offered by the associated college or university in order to hold these positions. This could lead to a hierarchy of teacher ranks justifying substantial salary differences, related to competence and responsibility rather than pure seniority and course credits. There is reason to believe that the position of teachers in these units would have substantial attraction to good young teachers and interns. Some of these interns could be in preservice training but it should also be possible to include an internship in these schools as a part of the advanced training of teachers with one or two years of experience. Further, it

*It is of interest to note that the notion of having such perquisites attached to teachers' positions is actually traditional in counties like Burke, many of which used to maintain "teacherages" or teacher residences.

could result in drawing to such rural systems a quality of teacher that they have been having difficulty in finding at the present time.

There is substantial reason to believe that schools of this sort can have marked effects on students; but it is open to question whether or not the period of time suggested — three months for each of three or four years — would be adequate to accomplish these goals. However, it is believed that at the very least these schools would have positive effects on motivation of the youngsters and that they would go into junior high grades sufficiently interested in doing good work so that the school could hold them.

C. *Employment of Senior High School Students in the School*

The third proposal is that all interested students who are doing adequate work in the tenth grade and up have an opportunity to earn at least $10 a week as a part of their school program. By employing these students as assistants in the nursery school program, in the residential units, and as drivers, several hundred could be so employed. Other employment that would be both educational for them and a service to the school system surely could be found. It should be noted that by keeping these young people in school, competition with adults for jobs should be reduced. These activities can be of substantial educational value; in fact the assistants in both the two programs suggested above could well turn out to be the chief beneficiaries of these programs if the school system and especially the teachers involved devote proper attention to helping these students understand what they are doing. The reason for paying the students, of course, is to provide an incentive for these adolescents to stay in school and to give them concrete representation of the fact that the community and society at large value their attendance in school. It should be noted that the school system should also have a fund to provide direct scholarship assistance to students who need it and, in special cases, without the associated duties. A school board should always remember that it costs parents money to send children to school, even though the schools do not charge tuition.

D. *Intercounty Cooperation*

Some problems of rural systems are simply a function of size: the system cannot justify the variety of specialized personnel and facilities that are practical in a large system where the cost can be spread over thousands of pupils. Segregation and the continued use of small, unconsolidated units obviously accentuate these problems but they will exist even if the schools are consolidated and integrated.

There should be, therefore, intercounty associations for the better coordination of school attendance areas. Once these associations are started, other cooperative ventures could develop, such as consolidated purchasing, intercounty technical service, and materials centers (audio-visual services, programed materials, curriculum materials, professional publications, etc). We are *not* talking about the consolidation of counties, but rather cooperative ventures.

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Cogent reasons for intercounty consolidation and a statewide plan for it are embodied for Georgia in the recent "Peabody" report. It should be recalled, however, that children already spend more time in travel than is sound practice. Cooperation can solve this and will be needed for some children regardless of district size. School districts should not get so large and far away that the people in the district are not interested in them. The notion of local responsibility has merit because it is, potentially at least, a powerful educational force which can function to create a sense of belonging and identity in the students. This asset should not be discarded lightly.

An additional and possibly necessary feature of this intercounty cooperative association is the inclusion of a nearby teacher training institution, which probably would be necessary if the boarding units are to function in the manner we have described. What we are proposing here does not seem to us to exceed the institutional resources already available: in Georgia, for example, there are 10 public supported and 14 private colleges and universities now offering approved teacher training programs; in South Carolina, there are 4 and 13.

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These colleges should establish teacher training programs analogous to the so-called internship master of arts in teaching programs now to be found at various universities around the country (e.g., Chicago, Emory, Harvard, Stanford, etc.), and some of their students should do their internship in the residential units of these counties. The colleges should also provide consultant services for the expanded remedial reading programs, guidance programs, and many other facets of both the regular and new programs. This arrangement would supply the interns and provide the school systems with a first chance at young beginning teachers as well as provide a way of obtaining special services to students and inservice training for teachers otherwise awkward to arrange. Large colleges might well become members of several such associations.

E. *Is It Practical?*

One immediate response to these recommendations will be assertions such as "Dreamwork," "Impractical," "It won't work," "You haven't considered. . ." "Don't you realize that. . . ," and above all, "Too expensive." We believe these ideas *can* be made to work, and that the many difficulties we haven't discussed here (an endless number) *can* be solved, and that the product would justify the cost. This country could and should spend much more on the education of its children than is now the case. Furthermore, the cost of these proposals is high only relative to what a rural southern county now spends. It is probable that to do these things might cost twice what is now spent. Let us look at what it might cost in a county the size of Burke.

The nursery-kindergarten would add around $300 per pupil per year (early education is cheap, later on it is not) or about $250,000 a year. This figure is based on the assumption of roughly 800 pupils in a class of 20-25 students staffed by a senior teacher, a junior teacher (or a nonprofessional assistant), and two (or three) high school assistants. Each teacher would have two classes, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. This figure also is based on the assumption that present structures could be used with relatively small alterations and additions.

The boarding units might seem expensive at first glance but most of the salaries could be charged to the regular instructional budget. The staff would be carrying teaching loads in the school at about ¾ rate (two teachers and two interns carrying three classes). Consequently, the eight or nine boarding units a county the size of Burke might require would probably cost no more than $300,000 a year.

The student assistance program (beyond that accounted for in the two preceding items) would add another $300,000, assuming that about 800 students in senior high school would be earning about $10 a week. This totals $850,000. The consolidation and intercounty cooperation should at least break even since substantial efficiency would be gained.

To be cautious, and to allow for the additional steps we mentioned but have not detailed, add $250,000 more for a total of $1,100,000, a figure that is a bit under the 1964 school budget in Burke County. Since Burke spent about $265 per child in average daily attendance in 1963-64, and since we are hopefully adding about 25-30% to the average daily attendance count, the per pupil figure comes to around $400, an outrageously modest figure which is under the national median (because we are not proposing here to change the salary scale of the teachers, though probably we should).

"Where does this million plus come from?" First of all, through proper tax equalization measures and by raising assessments to a proper level (e.g., 50% of fair value), the county itself could raise much more. Furthermore, many features could be financed by state and federal funds now available; e.g., Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the National Defense Education Act, and above all, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The colleges' costs would partly be included in their regular budget since they now train teachers; furthermore, summer and in-service institutes (summer schools for children running on shortened days offer very good teacher training possibilities) can often be financed through federal programs. Additional state funds for cooperative undertakings should be forthcoming. It does not seem fanciful to us, therefore, to expect that federal funds would (and should) play a large

role in meeting this budget and that the state would add to the additional local effort. In short, we believe that suggestions as basic as ours could be adapted to most rural counties and could be financed if the community were really interested in its children's education. All of our recommendations are directed toward doing something about the problems of learning that children with certain kinds of backgrounds are likely to have. In the Black Belt South, most of these children are Negro, but that they are has nothing to do with the reasons for our recommendations.

The communities in the rural South must become genuine communities in which every person is a member with a stake in community growth and development. The educational problems of these communities ramify into the problems of the whole social and economic context. We have tried to suggest that the transformation of education in some sense calls for the transformation of a community. We think such a transformation can be brought about in the South only with the help of genuine local effort and concern. Our recommendations are based upon the belief that sound educational decisions must be directed toward bringing about the maximum development of all the children in a community and upon the belief that the maximum growth and enrichment of a community cannot be achieved unless every member of the community has, and can be led to see that he has, a real stake in the outcome of community affairs.

#10

TABLE 1
FARMS AND JOBS IN BURKE AND EDGEFIELD COUNTIES — 1940-1960

	BURKE COUNTY, GEORGIA							EDGEFIELD COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA						
	1940	1945	1950	1954	1960	1950 to 1960 percent change	First date to 1960 percent change	1940	1945	1950	1954	1960	1950 to 1960 percent change	First date to 1960 percent change
FARMING														
Number of Farms		2362	2159	1654	1176	—45	—50		2311	1966	1688	1076	—45	—53
Average Farm Size (Acres)		156	196	254	287	+46	+84		96	106	105	160	+51	+67
Farm Acreage (in thousands)														
Operated by whites			305	331	276	—10				154	139	152	— 1	
Operated by Negroes			119	69	61	—48				55	38	20	—64	
TOTAL		362	423	420	337	—20	—10		223	209	177	173	—17	—22
LABOR FORCE														
Employed:														
In Agriculture														
White			746		455	—39				632		340	—46	
Negro			4105		1892	—54				1802		1086	—40	
TOTAL	7105		4851		2347	—52	—67	3766		2434		1426	—41	—62
In Manufacturing, Mining and Construction														
White			527		856	+62				1039		1079	+ 4	
Negro			679		444	—35				572		865	+51	
TOTAL	623		1206		1300	+ 8	+108	695		1611		1944	+12	+180
In Other Occupations														
White			1110		1243	+12				936		1291	+40	
Negro			1124		1330	+18				718		938	+31	
TOTAL	2193		2234		2573	+15	+17	1290		1654		2229	+35	+73
Complete Labor Force														
White	2368		2432		2653	+ 9	+12	2411		2649		2744	+ 4	+14
Negro	8161		6031		3878	—36	—52	3792		3133		2964	— 5	—22
GRAND TOTAL	10529		8463		6531	—23	—38	6203		5782		5708	— 1	— 8

clean up

clean up

bottom rule?

flush rt

rule ? |

TABLE 2

1960 FAMILY INCOME

	Percentage With Incomes	Burke County			Edgefield		
		White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total
Under	$ 1,000	9	43	29	8	31	19
Between	$1,000 - 2,000	11	33	24	12	34	23
Between "	$2,000 - 3,000	16	13	14	9	18	13
Between "	$3,000 - 10,000	58	11	31	65	17	41
Over	10,000	6	0	2	5	—	3
	Median	$3,900	1,202	1,855	4,250	1,557	2,595

12 pieces

All Cap

TABLE 3

POPULATION TRENDS IN BURKE AND EDGEFIELD COUNTIES

1930 - 1960

Group	BURKE 1930	BURKE 1940	BURKE 1950	BURKE 1960	BURKE 1950 to 1960 Percent Change	BURKE 1940 to 1950 Percent Change	EDGEFIELD 1930	EDGEFIELD 1940	EDGEFIELD 1950	EDGEFIELD 1960	EDGEFIELD 1950 to 1960 Percent Change	EDGEFIELD 1940 to 1950 Percent Change
White:												
School Aged Children (5-14) incl.)	1581	1321	1327	1453	+ 9	+10	1771	1249	1175	1338	+14	+ 7
Adults (21 & up)	3485	3865	4053	4123	+ 2	+ 7	3705	3930	4190	4103	— 2	+ 4
~~Total Population~~ (Total Whites (all ages))	6524	6654	6724	6911			7055	6594	6660	6581		
Negro:												
School Aged Children	5978	4584	4329	4052	— 7	—12	3739	3025	2752	2764	+ 0	— 9
Adults	10825	10184	8055	5988	—26	—41	4966	5014	4312	3754	—13	—25
~~Total Population~~ (Total Negroes (all ages))	22698	19866	16734	13625			12271	11300	9931	9154		

All Cap

10 min

15 min

15 exp

bandit on night

flash it

Rule 2

TABLE 4
THE BURKE COUNTY AND EDGEFIELD COUNTY SCHOOLS[1]

	Burke County			Edgefield County		
	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment						
Elementary[2]	1150	3316	4466	1078	2085	3163
Secondary	638	1187	1825	391	794	1185
Total	1788	4503	6291	1469	2879	4348
Average Daily Attendance (ADA)						
Elementary[2]	1002	2527	3529	998	1753	2751
Secondary	568	970	1538	358	670	1028
Total	1570	3497	5067	1356	2423	3779
ADA/Enrollment						
Elementary	87	76	79	93	84	87
Secondary	89	82	84	92	92	87
Total	88	78	81	92	84	84
Schools						
Elementary	5	6	11	3	3	6
Secondary	3	1	4	1	1	2
Total	8	7	15	4	4	8
Teachers						
Elementary[2]	48	94	142	39	51	90
Secondary	30	43	73	22	33	55
Total[3]	80	138	218	61	84	145
Pupils in ADA per teacher						
Elementary	21	27	25	26	34	31
Secondary	19	23	21	16	20	19
Total	20	25	23	22	29	26
Finances						
Expenditures for instruction		$ 1,036,854			$ 615,647	
Locally raised funds[4] (in ADA)		159,777			152,030	
Per pupil/expenditures for[5] instruction		205			163	

NOTES TO TABLE 4:

[1] Data are for 1963-64 for Burke County, and for 1962-63 for Edgefield County.

[2] Elementary schools in Burke vary in the number of grades in the school, but all figures are for grades 1-7 inclusive for Burke County, and grades 1-8 in Edgefield.

[3] Includes non-teaching principals.

[4] Almost all of the remainder is from the state; federal funds are not important in the budgets of these systems, especially in Burke County.

[5] The difference between the counties largely represents two factors: teacher-pupil ratios and its teacher scales, for the periods considered. It may be noted that Georgia has one scale whereas S. C. has scales that depend on scores on the National Teacher Exam, a test emphasizing verbal facility. Negro teachers tend to score low on this test.

TABLE 5

READING VOCABULARY AND READING COMPREHENSION SCORES OF WHITE AND NEGRO STUDENTS IN GEORGIA[1]

	White		Negro		White-Negro Differences	
Grades	Vocab.	Comp.	Vocab.	Comp.	Vocab.	Comp.
4	+ 3	+ 1	— 8	—12	11	13
6	+ 2	— 3	—22	—23	24	20
9	— 6	— 8	—37	—34	31	26
12	—15	—22	—51	—53	36	31

Adapted from B. Cooper, "An analysis of the reading achievement of white and Negro pupils in certain public schools of Georgia." **School Review**, 1964, pp. 78:452-471.

[1]Mean deviations in grade equivalent scores from national median.

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Vol. 78, pp. 452-471

A R A W P C P

Tommy, Can we put in diagnol lines to show regular progress?

Two words over age

TABLE 6[1]
AGE-GRADE ENROLLMENT BY RACE IN BURKE COUNTY, 1962-1963

Grade	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Over 18	Totals by Grade	Percentage in grade overage for grade[2]	Number Making Regular Progress	Percentage Making Regular Progress[3]
WHITE																			
AGE																			
1	42	108	6													171	4	150	94
2	1	20	102	18	5	1										156	15	123	77
3			38	92	23	2										169	15	130	81
4				36	90	18	4	2								159	15	126	79
5					35	95	18	16	4	2						172	17	130	81
6					1	33	102	23	9	8						184	22	135	84
7							18	96	25	18	2	1				165	28	114	71
8							1	22	81	16	18	6	2			151	28	104	65
9									30	83	19	4	2			142	18	113	71
10										26	86	24	4	1		144	20	112	70
11											31	45	17	5		100	22	76	48
12												17	38	12	1	68	19	55	34
Total by age	43	128	146	146	153	149	143	149	149	153	156	97	63	18	1	1782		1368	81 Av.
NEGRO																			
1	112	283	131	18	13	4	5									550	31	395	92
2		80	211	93	41	18	4	4								461	35	291	68
3			75	232	89	53	19	1	6	5	1					502	37	307	72
4				53	204	103	49	32	16	13	1					486	44	257	60
5					69	189	97	71	36	19	2	1	1			498	46	258	60
6						53	156	104	58	42	17	2	2			449	50	309	72
7						1	40	150	90	71	38	15	4	1		417	53	191	44
8							1	46	130	84	67	28	14	3	2	376	53	177	41
9									32	107	90	42	27	8	1	315	53	139	32
10									2	25	109	59	30	11	4	342	30	136	32
11											16	48	46	31	17	158	59	64	15
12											1	19	31	27	11	89	43	51	12
Total by age	112	363	417	396	416	422	371	418	370	366	343	274	155	81	35	4593		2575	56 Av.

[1] The figures in the body of the table indicate the number of children of a given age (Column heading) in a given grade (row heading). Thus, for example, of 155 white children age 14, 83 and 26 were in grades 9 and 10 respectively. The remaining 44 were overage for grade being in grades 5, 6, 7, and 8.
[2] Includes transfer and others not listed in age-grade roster.
[3] Based on assumption of 160 white and 430 Negro children in each age group.

align

two words over age

Page 40 Page

Negro

"The antipoverty program is cautiously initiated, zealously supervised and evaluated for immediate results while billions are liberally expended for this ill-considered war." —Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., speech to anti-Viet Nam War rally in Chicago, March 25, 1967.

"I don't have a job now and you know they cut C.D.G.M. out. So I don't no what is what. So please help me if you can." —Letter from a Negro mother in Rolling Fork, Miss.

The civil rights movement raised the main question about Mississippi: Is it merely aberrant, an exception that proves the rule of the better intentions of the rest of America, or is it the reality of America, unvarnished? Certainly, one can see a reality more plainly there. In the Delta, Even in winter, the sun shines so brightly and the land is so open, images have vividness to show the changing nature of things. A row of six plantation shacks with imitation brick siding, light tan, stand deserted, the roof of one caved in. (Across the South's black belt, Negroes are no longer needed on the land; automation and crop allotments have moved them by the thousands to the cities' ghettos; the extension of the minimum wage to some farm laborers would remove _____ from the Mississippi Delta in 1967 alone.) A farm with a big barn, a squat house, unpainted, stands lone and stubborn in the center of a cotton field, a woman sitting on the porch, her legs over the edge, working on something in her lap. (She might be a voter; Negro registration increased from 28,500 to 140,000 in Mississippi from 1964 to late 1966. One might still be killed in the process of registering, but the larger effort of the old order has come to be to control that growing total of votes.) A cross-roads filling station-market has on its freshly white-washed brick wall two signs, one proclaiming it an interstate bus depot, the other saying, "White Rest Room." That is what the freedom rides of five years before sought to end.

The almost esoteric controversy and clamor that have surrounded CDGM— the Child Development Group of Mississippi— showed in the same kind of clear perspective and the old riddle of relevancy, most of the basics about race and poverty in America in the middle of the Johnson Administration: what was happening to the poverty program, convolutions of national (and the new southern) politics on these issues, black power, effectiveness and dilemmas of the nation's liberals, and the way it

2

was with the poor people themselves who had so much to gain-- and even more to lose.

CDGM was established as a head-start program in the beginning days of the poverty program in the summer of 1965. According to the lore (and it is well to point out here that there is a great body of it and that while the main lines of the saga emerge with consistency, no two people or documents tell its details exactly alike), civil rights activists were at the time casting about for a follow-up to the tumultuous 1964 freedom summer. These included the tough, grass-roots oriented Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches, the remnants of COFO, that largely SNCC-dominated civil rights alliance which had run the freedom summer, the Freedom Democratic Party people and various others, including free-lance community organizers. They were persuaded by the Office of Economic Oppertunity to undertake the job of setting up head-start schools across the state. Establishing this least controversial of poverty programs was a formidable job in Mississippi; the people and agencies (in the terms of demonology, the power structures and normal channels) who ordinarily would have been given the task wouldn't touch it. Whether consciously or not, here emerged a role later. of CDGM to become crucial in controversy. It served as an agent of help fear to force the power structures and normal channels to involve themsleves in the poverty program; otherwise all that money and these jobs would be in the hands of the enemy, the nefarious civil rights "agitators."

There followed frantic (and from all reports fairly typical) organization of Community Action Programs across the state, peopled by respectable whites (in a state not too long beyond the days when the ultimate in respectability was membership in the citizens council) and middle-class Negroes. One who was intimiately and conscientiously involved in this effort recalled that the pressure from OEO was for quick action, not quality of board membership. You did your best about the latter, but you produced CAP Boards regardless. When final failues of the poverty program are assessed, this business-borrowed, values-defining performance will surely be high on the chart of causality.

The first CDGM grant was for $1,400,000; it financed 87 head-start centers for 6,000 children from May to August, 1965. By July of that brief period, Sen. John Stennis had completed his own investigation of the program, and had one made by the Senate Appropriations Committee staff, and concluded that federal money was being used to subsidize civil rights groups and that there was evidence of irregular handling of funds. These are the essential charges that were to be repeated in each crisis of criticism CDGM. Most of the saga is summed up in the fact that the OEO moved from a position of denying them to making them. In the lore is the Aug. 21, 1965, New Republic story by Andrew Kopkind which claims that the celebrated Rep. John Bell Williams, Goldwater Democrat, persuaded Sen. Stennis to use his mighty influence against CDGM for the obvious politick reasons. This meant more than the opposition of Sen. James Eastland which would have been expected as automatic; Sen. Stennis is adjudged more rational a southern racist, and more importantly, of course, head of the very committee from which the poverty program had to get its money.

It took until February, 1966, that first time, for CDGM to get refunded. "Glory, glory hallelujah, we want our Head Start School," a "romper lobby" of 48 five-year-olds from Mississippi sang to Congress, as one of a number of demonstrations for refunding. The most important demonstration, however, was the fact that 50 of the 87 centers remained open, the staffs working for no pay, during the months of delay. It was the rarety of in this action by the "poor," the "undeducated" who had found not only regular paying work in CDGM, but a sense of achievement and vision about the yet neanderthal children, that the real meaning (and implications beyond the strategems of Mississippi politics) began to emerge. The nation had in the previous summer learned to be properly choked up by the little freedom schools in Mississippi. valiant Publicity was lavished on them and largely their white college-student staffs. There were no full-page pictures in the Saturday Evening Post and Look of the Negro staffs in the CDGM schools nor of their larger accomplishments. Only the initiated— mainly the liberal audiences of such publications as the New Republic— have ever been aware of what CDGM was all about.

The Washington Post among that dwindled sopply of daily papers regarded as responsibile covered it well. The New York Times did not, and the initiated have puzzled over this. The explanation is probably simple; the southern bureau was in process of having one of its two staffers transferred, and besides, until its latest stages CDGM was lacking the ingredients to stir a newsman to wade through its massive complexities; it was more of a publicist's dream than a reporter's.

5

In the first refunding crisis, the program's first director, Dr. Tom Levin, a New York lay psycho-analyist, was quietly eased out, and the headquarters was moved from the Delta Ministry's Mount Beulah Conference Center near Edwards, Miss., (with its movement tone and peoples, a source of great criticism) to a proper office building in downtown Jackson. Dr. Levin's main contribution seems to have been in educational theory, no small matter of signfficance in the CDGM saga. What invariably impresses visitors is the confident bearing and bright-faced demeanor of the little head-start children; this miracle seems to have been wrought by no more than the application of undiluted "progressive education" on them, a commentary on most head-starts and the mediocre norm of most American education. (get polly greenberg stuff))) Dr. Levin seems also to have been of that variety of northern missionary familiar through the history of the South whose revulsion for the grosser evils of the southern way of life allowed no rapprochement with its smaller charms, and its perhaps even smaller opportunities for encouraging local reform. The tone of the first funded period of CDGM seems to have been largely that of the previous year's freedom summer when local propriety was affronted by beards and bohemianism (while murder by local whites went unexpiated). ~~Local whites and the Negro middle-class who might have been allies of CDGM were put off and have never come around bec~~ This was understandable, but created perhaps a needless handicap. There were some local whites and many of the Negro middle class who might have been CDGM allies who were among those put off, and there resulted probably the weakest part of the CDGM program. This is the inability to get the kind of local support for health examinations and the like, including in some cases even food supplies required in head-start centers. The problem in such a state as Mississippi, however, takes on a fuller perspective when it is realized that those who can call upon such resources do it in such a way that as do demean the recipient. As one local observer put it, the doctor doesn't establish a relationship with the child and his parent which would mean future treatment and better health. Instead the person who get the doctor establishes a relationship of power over the parent and child; if a doctor is needed again, they know to whom they must go to get him if they are desperate enough.

INSERT 6

Like the educational theory, the organizational framework had the virtue of rational design. The staff and the advisory boards were set up on three levels: local, regional and state, the middle layer to serve as go-between the top and bottom. Poor people, less than well educated, even the teachers, filled the jobs; there was real mobility from bottom to top, as well as communication. There

began as teachers, people who, on the local level, moved through the middle level, and served in administrative posts at headquarters. Here, in part, was the source of the spirit of CDGM which, far better than most big organizational structures, maintained a connection between action-taking power and the reality with which the action was supposed to deal. As far along as the period of the third funding, with super-strict regulations from OEO breathing a poison of caution into the superstructure, Mrs. Pearl Draine, associate director, of the program for children, could reassert the old spirit by becoming fed-up with weeks of wheel-spinning to get the schools ready to open under to the new regulations, and sending out the order to open 'em up Monday, ready or not.

Under the second funding, after Sargent Shriver, director of the OEO, himself, had— while acknowledging some irregularities— defended the program generally, CDGM received $5,600,000 in February, 1966, to administer 121 centers in 28 counties for a six-month period. John Mudd, get his age, a young white lawyer, attracted to Mississippi during the freedom summer days to work with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., emerged as the new director. (Miss Marian Wright, who is Negro, also with the "Inc. Fund," is said to have suggested him for the job. She is on the board of directors of CDGM.) The two of them, in the despairing way of the post-1964 movement regulars who stayed on in the South, have been eloquent in describing Mississippi's terrible problems of race and poverty, and persistent in seeking solutions. It would not be proper to call them the brains of CDGM, but it is important to realize that their influence has been considerable. Both are well educated, sophisticated and movement-seasoned young people of that extraordinary kind who persistently have held to the old goals of the civil rights movement and the old dream of a fundamental change in American society— against virtually nothing but disappointment and of late, a desertion and giving up on both the goals and the dream by the vast majority of those, white and Negro, who felt the same in the early 1960's.) The new grant meant that CDGM was pumping nearly a million dollars a month into the poorest part of the economy of the nation's poorest state; a lot of jobs, a lot of power was involved. In the way of statistics, a CDGM handout proclaimed that 98.9 per cent of the 2,272 employes during the period were local residents, and the vast majority of them were poor people. In this, as in education, CDGM was a startlingly successful operation; it seemed to be doing what the poverty program called for in the most straightforward manner.

INSERT

There were supposed to be 9,000 children in the centers under the second grant; the count was closer to 12,000 because none was refused. Beyond this, another 49 centers in counties not covered by CDGM were being operated by volunteers and on whatever money they could raise, serving some 4,000 children.

7

Those in Sunflower County (home of Senator Eastland) were in this category, competing successfully for children and local Negro support with well-heeled "regular" head-starts in early 1967 under the county's CAP program. A visit to one in Sunflower City, a hamlet with a majority-Negro population, suggested some of the strengths underlying CDGM and unleashed by it. The center was in a building built of corrugated metal, on a row of small neat Negro homes fronting the usual rutted dirt road.

"Don't Teach Children; Teach a Child," said a sign on the wall. Inside and spilling out into the yard, about thirty children were enjoying a play period— pushing each other in (in that way of gentleness notable in southern Negro children, surely a trait of the sub-culture), home-made wagons, laughing and horsing around, taking turns sliding down a home-made sliding board— a "usual scene" in the schools. Sixty children were on the rolls; half were out because of "flu."

Mrs. Eddy J. Townsend, a big-framed retired teacher with a no-nonsense face under grey hair, told how she walked a mile to work from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. for nothing, and a mile home each day. A little boy was holding to her, nestling his head in her skirts, quietly protesting because three others on a tricycle wouldn't let him ride. She said to him, "You go ride," and to the three, "Y'all share," and the accommodation was made. She said she was "76 on" now, had taught 23 years, and had decided that "as long as the children come, I'll help."

Otis Brown, the young Negro man who is director of the school, told how it was sort of a continuation of one that was started as a freedom school in nearby Indianola, and was "burned out" by whites. The building and a second-hand bus used to haul children represented a $500 investment of money raised by a "newsletter" (typed with carbons) sent to northern patrons. Local Negroes had built the building six months before on land owned by Negro woman next door, Mrs. Lula Mae Brooks, who was fired from her job as a maid because of her 1964 involvement in the movement, and, vowing she had rather die than be a maid again, has been a local leader since. Mr. Brown hoped to be elected mayor of Sunflower City in a muncipal election ordered re-run by a Federal Court, so that Negro candidates might be placed on the ballot. The election, to be held in May, was considered a test of whether

movement leaders (including Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville) with their CDGM organization could muster a strong local Negro vote against the usual obstacles—everything from economic and physical intimidation to apathy. Looking about him at the children and the well-kept "center," Mr. Brown struggled for the words that would describe what the effort there represented to the people. He said it wasn't really a question of taking sides between CDGM and the whites in power. The main thing was to get to share in the head-start program, but not in the old way of charity, with the whites giving orders. There ought to be opportunity to talk things out. "It's got to not be race," he said.

The opposition from Mississippi's two United States senators and the whites of the state generally resumed with the second grant to CDGM. There were the usual charges, and a flurry of concern in a state notable for its concern about education over a textbook (long a leading voice of Mississippi reactionary racism) 1966, August 22, the Jackson Daily News (a racist newspaper) could proclaim a three-way investigation underway by not only the General Accounting Office and the Senate Appropriations Committee, but the Office of Economic Opportunity as well. In this article, CDGM was linked with the "militant black power wing of the civil rights movement," a charge that was later to figure in leaks to such journalistic reflections of the Johnsonian spirit in Washington as the Evans-Novak column. Mr. Shriver has denied ever making such a charge; the leaks were generally attributed to OEO and they cited the black power complaint as the real reason for the impending end of CDGM funding.

The CDGM staff and board, meanwhile, generally encouraged by the genuine success of the schools and involvement of poor people, had in July drawn up a request for $41,000,000 to operate a statewide program. This was sent back as fiscally out of the question, and a new request for $21,000,000 was submitted in August in what the CDGM headquarters people declare was complete good faith. Mr. Mudd described one of the more subtle terrors of the trade he has found himself in: the second proposal, a document of some 115 pages of text and numerous appendices of facts and figures, setting out with some eloquence the

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rationale and philosophy of CDGM, was prepared in an incredibly short time by forced work, with people going nights without sleep. It was praised by educators and others interested as a remarkable social document— but from OEO in Washington, it soon became evident that no one had read it in its entirety. Specialists read it piecemeal. The proposal was based on actual registration of 30,000 children in 44 counties, with local communities/not already in the program setting up committees on their own to form a school. The reduced proposal was submitted to a public hearing and finally approved by more than 2,000 in attendance with a resolution saying that the full $41,000,000 was needed, and that $29,000,000 was a bare minimum. A copy of the resolution, beginning, "We, the poor people of Mississippi, assembled at this CDGM public hearing, August 13, 1966, declare our full support of the CDGM Head Start program," was sent to the President. His reaction to this assertion of CDGM's spirit of something better than abject acceptance/of poverty program impecuniousness is not recorded.

On September 30, the Jackson Daily News broke an exclusive story gleefully saying that "the controversial" CDGM would not be refunded, and that it would be replaced by a 12-man board of white and Negro leaders set up under the "personal supervision" of Mr. Shriver. Sen. Stennis was quoted as saying he had been working toward just such an end,/ and thought an official announcement would soon be forthcoming. This remarkable bit of journalistic enterprise apparently inadvertently gave CDGM a month's early warning of impending disaster, embarrassed the OEO with the disclosure that it had been setting up a new headstart agency before ever notifying the old one that it was to be ended, and moved powerful liberal forces in the nation to the defense of CDGM.

At this point, the CDGM lore begins to lack definitiveness. It is not clear, for example, whether the plot to scrap CDGM and replace it with Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP) originated in Washington or Mississippi. Some on the CDGM side suspect that the group of white moderates and liberal and maybe middle-class Negroes who have sought to build a loyalist Democratic party in Mississippi

sold the idea to Washington. Hedding Carter III, scion of the nationalist Greenville, Miss., newspaper family, a leader of the political effort and prime mover in MAP, denies this vehemently. He said that the first call came in August from an OEO source in the Atlanta regional office, saying that CDGM could not be refunded, and who in Mississippi might set up a more acceptable group to run head-start? Others tell the same story, but suggest the groundwork was being laid as early as May.

Whichever and whenever, MAP was set up to replace CDGM. Its board was headed by "wealthy industrialist" Owen Cooper, a chemical plant tycoon of Yazoo City. The most influential Negro member was Aaron Henry, stalwart of the civil rights movement, the Clarksdale druggist who kept a precarious balance between the middle-class NAACP and the radicals of COFO through 1964. Mr. Henry, something of a folk hero in his time, seems to have been doing what comes naturally a tough-minded politician and state NAACP president. Offered such an opportunity for power and patronage, he took it. Some say it was the gravest mistake he has ever made.

The bitterness of the CDGM-MAP split, with much of the Negro CDGM wrath falling on Mr. Henry, reflects continuing animosity that started with the 1964 freedom summer and continued between NAACP and the Freedom Democratic Party. It is in a sense a class split, with the middle-class approach embodied in the NAACP and MAP. Also involved perhaps is the subterranean fueding between the NAACP and its legal arm, the Inc. Fund, a national phenomenon. On the national level, Roy Wilkins was caught in a terrible squeeze--with pressure to support his Mississippi people in MAP (which included state director Charles Evers) and the threat of loss of funds from northern liberal sources unless he got behind CDGM. He ended up asserting support of CDGM, but also of MAP if CDGM were killed.

There are many stories of how things happen in Mississippi which probably more than most southern states is much like one spread-out, gossipy small town. One about Aaron Henry and Owen Cooper is that they met at a state Human Relations Council banquet at which Mr. Cooper had appeared perhaps reluctantly to introduce Brooks Hayes. ~~As he is now fond of saying,~~ Mr. Cooper said during dinner to Mr. Henry that he felt he had done his Christian duty in most civic affairs, but not by the Negro poor (he is much given to saying this), and that if a chance came where Mr. Henry thought he might help out, he would like to hear from him. The story is that Mr. Henry immediately thought of his new friend, Mr. Cooper, when the MAP proposition was offered. However Mr. Cooper got in it (and some see him there to further a long-range desire for the governor's chair), his presence is attributed by many to the absence of one of the key members of the political moderate/coalition, Claude Ramsey, state director of the AFL-CIO. Mr. Ramsey, a shrewd survivor in a state whose power and white people hate labor almost as much as desegregation, demurs from this view, though making no bones of his distaste for Mr. Cooper and his labor relations. He said

merely that MAP didn't look good to him from the start, and that when they asked for a labor representative, he had enough sense to know it should be a Negro one. He demurs, too, from one Walter Reuther theory that the anti-union flavor of MAP helped induce and his Citizens Crusade Against Poverty to throw the formidable weight that they did behind efforts to save CDGM. Indeed, his awareness of CCAP's (CCAP supported CDGM in the first fund fight) predelictions might have had a bearing on his reluctance to be involved with MAP.

MAP was chartered by Gov. Paul Johnson on Sept. 13, and received a $3,000,000 grant on Oct. 11. Funds to CDGM were ended on Oct. 3. From that date until Dec. 17, when Sargent Shriver capitulated to all demands by the liberal establishment, and until Jan. 30 when after what seemed churlish delay he finally signed a new $5,000,000 funding, big-time battle was joined on the national level over little old CDGM.

In CDGM's corner, in addition to Mr. Reuther and CCAP, were the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church (by virtue of their sponsorship of CDGM through Mary Holmes Junior College, a strategem which originally prevented veto of the program by Gov. Johnson); functionaries of the Congregational Chruch and the National Council of Churches, the Field Foundation (which provided limited funds to let CDGM limp along) and New World Foundation. CCAP coordinated the attack; one of its major achievements was keeping it alive in the newspapers, with again, not much luck with the New York Times. The battle was marked by that deadly coldness and ruthlessness we have come somehow not to take as frightening in our national (not to mention international) affairs. OEO seems to have fought dirtiest (it accused, found guilty and sentenced CDGM without bothering to notify its staff, let alone allow it to defend itself, a disregard for due process seriously being considered for court or legislative remedy in pro-CDGM circles; it

and a battery of high-powered attorneys, including Joseph Rauh, the ADA and Civil Rights Leadership Conference leader, and the firm of _____ and _____ (*)

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Also important was the work of a blue-ribbon panel of liberals headed by Dr. Robert Spike, professor of theology at the University of Chicago (subsequently, mysteriously slain to add another coincidental/somber note to the whole affair) and A. Philip Randolph. The panel investigated CDGM and found the charges against it false. CCAP also coordinated letters of protest from professional groups, with plans to keep these coming in increasing numbers. To much of this, as to a full-page ad in the New York Times, Mr. Shriver's response can only and charitably be described as overly defensive.

sent Negro law students to infiltrate CDGM and spy upon it; it demanded fiscal purity far beyond the standards of its norm, according to much competent testimony). But the coalition against it— including all those churchmen— fought the fire with its own white-hot flames. Not the smallest of its tactics was to set old friends (including even his former legal counsel) upon Mr. Shriver, this culminating in the setting upon him of Vice President Humphrey, an ace-card which, if not the deciding factor, was certainly one that hurried along the process of Mr. Shriver's defeat.

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In the lore, it is varyingly stated that this titanic battle was joined somewhere along the way, if not from the beginning, by the President himself, through the good offices of Henry McPherson, special counsel to President Johnson, and Douglas Wynn, a Greenville, Miss., attorney considered a special friend to the President. Here again, the lore is hazy. If all the accounts are to be followed and believed, the highest power in the land at first acquiesced in the MAP plot, but then turned about and allowed (if not directed) the Vice President to step in and save CDGM— which in effect betrayed those like Aaron Henry who had put considerable political and personal prestige into following the first signals, not to mention the unhappy Mr. Shriver. A student of Johnson's ways with the liberals might find some credence though in the results. Their enemies, Stennis and Eastland, were treated to the hope that CDGM would be killed. Their efforts to build a party in Mississippi were treated to the actuality of poverty program patronage— a remarkable first

A student of Johnson's off-balancing ways, however, might make sense of the sequence of events. Stennis and Eastland were given the pleasure of seeing CDGM almost destroyed. The Mississippi moderates were given an extraordinary if not unique been, at the expense of the regular Democratic Party right-wingers, a real hunk of patronage. In the political annals, this may eventually turn out to be the most important thing that happened, and substantiates a claim in an article highly regarded in the lore published in Christianity and Crisis, by Larold K. Schulz (who is "Executive Coordinator of the Anti-Poverty Task Force of the National Council of Churches). His condention was that the real aim of the President in the affair was to help out the moderates. This is given credence in some Washington circles, but viewed with more skepticism in Mississippi— where the question is asked— why should he when the real power is still in the hands of the rightist regulars?

One answer is that anyone setting out to kill CDGM and replace it with a moderately controlled program would be helping the regular party rightists, because they would prefer to cope with conventional deal-making politicians than with the kind of uncompromising politics CDGM seemed capable of producing-- people capable of giving up all [redacted] rather than make a deal. Certainly the avoidance of such politics is a part of the art of government in the more mature areas of concentration of poor and Negro voters, as the poverty program in such affairs as Syracuse early on discovered, and as Dr. King learned in Chicago. Moreover, a man like Mr.

Carter complains eloquently (while disclaiming that MAP has any iota of political content) that the administration has done nothing for the moderates/but double-cross them, or why else would they have turned to a Bobby Kennedy cocktail party for funds. The truth seems to be that the moderates (even as Aaron Henry of old) keep a precarious perch with a foot in each of these volatile party camps.

Certainly in the funding negotiations, when the Vice-President came in on the side of the angels, there was the sense that various people had been betrayed, and yet such an authority as Mr. Rauh hints that the Vice-President acted not with Presidential disfavor. So— in the end, everybody got a little and lost a little, and that is the way with it in a consensus, isn't it, no matter how collapse

Not the least of the debilitating effects of the battle royal over the nation's liberals [redacted] was on the Office of Economic Opportunity itself. Staffers were split in their reaction to the way the situation was handled; some of them got up a petition protesting it, and were treated to a long, fatherly interview with Mr. Shriver. All three men in the unit's civil rights division quit, two of them over CDGM alone, the director, Samuel F. Yette, over it and other matters. In early 1967, a staff member in Washington said morale was at an all-time low over CDGM, over the inability to get programs of merit through city politics opposition in northern cities, and bad CAP boards in the South, over the rumors that the department would have its functions and whatever was left of its spirit of innovation turned over to the mercies of the regular bureaucracies. Many old-hands had left and others were working with their bags packed.

At any rate, MAP was created and proceeded apace with difficulty to try to set up standard-model head-start schools in 24 counties. Similar schools are operated by CAP boards in the state. Some 40 of these were set up during the second funding negotiations, with a special task force from OEO working to convert CDGM schools to what is called delegate agencies, which means they have their own board and virtual autonomy. This seems to have been a concession to Mississippi reality by the better-half of OEO when it was thought CDGM really would be killed, and suggests one hopeful fate of the remaining CDGM schools when the program finally is killed.

Standard head-starts and an adult education program are operated by the STAR (Systematic Training and Redevelopment) program under auspices of the Catholic Church. A touchy point in setting up the MAP board was the avoidance of Catholic members so people wouldn't think STAR was trying to take over.

Also falling out of the final funding crisis was dispute over five of Mississippi's counties which originally had CDGM schools but were assigned to MAP. This is a sorest of sore spots in the rancor, with many of the old CDGM people refusing or being refused the opportunity to cooperate with MAP, and a tug of war on for the children. In the

counties, CDGM probably commands the loyalty of most of the people. An organization called Friends of the Children of Mississippi, of CDGM supporters rather than CDGM itself (which would of course be in violation of regulations) fights this battle, and seems capable of developing with foundation financing important auxiliary programs to the Head Start schools, another organizational offshoot is Mississippi Action for Community Education (MACE) which hopes to get private funding (including CCAP money) to provide technical assistance and training to community organizations for any kind of action, from poverty program to boycotts, they might want to take. Such an organization is needed southwide; SNCC and CORE before they went off on black power seemed headed in such a direction. MACE with its roots in the CDGM experience might be the beginning on the model of something big in the continuing transition from demonstration to implementation in the South.

But meanwhile, Mississippi's better people, its few white liberals and moderates, its Negroes, were split asunder in the aftermath of the CDGM battle's bitterness. Mr. Shriver's office after the dust settled was citing a news article that pleased it, and this was a rarity. It was in a series on CDGM by James C. Millstone in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and it suggested that happily enough and all by accident and blunder, Mississippi now has two mutually complimentary programs, MAP which "prepares whites to accept Negroes on equal terms," and CDGM which "works to bring Negroes to the point where they can deal with whites as equals." More on the mark of truth are points made by Leslie W. Dunbar, director of the Field Foundation, in a lecture at the Ezra Stiles College at Yale— that it is "especially saddening to see Negro and white liberal Southerners... at war, as they are over CDGM," and that though "we weep and we worry at what we fearfully apprehend to be the progressive abdication of Negroes and youth from the general society," there was a strong effort to kill in CDGM probably the largest and most important endeavor in which Negroes and white youth were still working together within the normal framework of the larger society.

It is necessary to wade through the density of detail in the CDGM saga to get the feel of what really happened. The mainstream modes of high-powered modern America are complicated and mean, and even so pure and simple and innocent a plan as the head-start schools becomes caught up and altered. It is good even to sit for awhile

in one of the outer offices of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, and observe without rancor (because we are all what we are, shaped by culture and accident) the secretaries and tired-looking men busy with all the paper-work of big-organization ritual, and listen as a little flurry of excitement runs through them at a hurry-up order to ship a film to a Mr. Martinez, away off somewhere in unreality. phone calls are made for plane schedules, a messenger is sent for, effort is made to get the right name and address on the label, all accompanied by the painfully corny kind of repartee that passes for humor and sophistication in such an office. It is good to sit there and try to picture Mr. Martinez and whatever his poverty program effort and reality of hungry children might be, as a secretary makes her harmless, unintentionally offensive little joke in old-movie mock Mexican-English, and to remember the little girl in Mississippi at Strike City. At Strike City, a lot of history comes together. There, the desperately poor people of the cotton plantations who attempted in 1965 to strike against the law of labor supply and demand lived in tents until Frank Smith, one of the old SNCCs who ran a voter effort with style in Holly Springs, came and single-handedly built fine concrete block and wood housing units and a community center. The little girl and her family lived in one of the units, and she and her mother came out to greet visitors, and took them inside to see the nice interior with the modern kitchen and the walls all blackened with kerosene oil from a faulty stove and against one wall in the living room, a book case, filled with books. They are the children's, said the mother who came from the plantations and no opportunity for education. The little girl went and took down a book and brought it to the adult visitor and like any little five-year-old who has grown up with books turned the pages and pointed to the pictures and told what they were: fish and monkey and cow and clown. Earlier when she first came up and looked the visitors

in the eye and told her name without shyness and stuck out her black little hand to the white ones, one of the visitors had asked, "Do you go to school," and she had answered: "To the CDGM."

That has been the chief accomplishment, the most complete one. The headquarters staff, the young white and Negro intellectuals, like to say that this is only the smallest part of it, that the bigger part is involving the poor people in a high-powered organization and letting them learn its jungle trails and trials by combat so that they can survive and flourish in the new America, change their lives and societies, and even shake the vapid foundations of those big bureaucrat-culture offices up in Washington. On this level, the head start, the children were an issue around which the poor people might organize. For they would see the fine effect on their little pre-schoolers and they would inevitably ask, "But what happens when they get in those regular schools?" And no one would have to answer; they would know that something had to be done about the regular schools. And one way to begin would be to register to vote and to join the PTA. And soon such a community would be in action, even as the poverty program envisioned. Marian Wright said children were an obvious issue; they were precious, and whites wouldn't be too worried, wouldn't harrass. (There has been some sporadic white violence, but far less to CDGM than to the old civil rights efforts, and even less than to MAP which stirs the violent racists because of its white employes, and strained efforts to enroll a few white children.) Miss Wright was asked if there were other such obvious issues. Welfare, she answered. "Eating and kids. They're basic."

The light and the space make things plainer to see in Mississippi, or maybe it is the plain talk of the poor Negroes whose earnestness and honesty and values (one recalls always with them David Riesman's inner-directed man) which fed the civil rights movement and was the real strength of CDGM. Here are leaders, their leaders, two of them talking on the two main achievements of CDGM. Amzie Moore of Cleveland, Miss.: "The kids in CDGM

are not put in a bind. They are told what to do, and what not to do. But they are let to develop as they are. They're not bashful. They talk, sing. Their little spirits have been lifted. They have become individuals. But once they get in the regular school system, I don't know if a teacher with sixty kids in her class will know this, will know how to handle them." Mrs. Unita Blackwell of Isdquena County: "The people had given up on PTA, schools, etc., teachers, etc. They wouldn't have anything to do with it. Teachers said they were ignorant. They were discouraged. You had to work on them to get them to come to CDGM parents' meetings. But when they came to CDGM, they said it feels good to know they had something to give, to help run things."

That was what was going on, and to an extent under the last funding continued, though John Mudd at its outset spoke of his pessimism about being able to achieve the "real goals." The organization was hamstrung with probably the strictest regulations and severest surveillence of any in the poverty program; its staff and grassroots followers worked in almost certain knowledge that this would be the last funding. The hope was that the people in CDGM would be able to continue its spirit and its aims in the other poverty programs or in community organizations after it is gone. But the polluted waters of the mainstream were seeping in early in that last funding period. A major policy dispute developed between the staff and the board; ostensibly it was over who should fill one of the administrative jobs, but below the surface was distrust and suspicion centered on patronage and the power involved in all those jobs to give to people.

The liberals who put together their remarkable coalition and campaign to save CDGM congratulated themselves justifiably on having won the first major victory for justice in the South since Selma. But it was a strange victory. Few in the nation knew that it had been won, let alone what was at stake. Here was a failure of communication and of follow-through. There was little attempt to make

the obvious connection between CDGM and the rest of the poverty program, to force the issue for the whole program and not simply CDGM in Mississippi. The issue was clearly, as John Mudd and Marvin Hoffman stated it in The Nation, Oct. 24, 1966, the flaws built into "community action" programs of OEO whereby the whole community, rich and poor, theoretically work together to solve problems of poverty. "The poor are again deprived of control of factors which most directly affect their own lives, and, as a result, lose the opportunity to acquire the competence which would allow them to sit as equals, able to represent effectively the claims of their group. In fact, a traditional authoritarian pattern, which at best approaches humanitarian paternalism, is reinforced. The few immediate beneficiaries of the programs among the poor will receive a short-term boost to their incomes through their dole as 'aides,' but even these gains are contingent on the acceptance of whatever strings of dependency may be implicit. The danger of spawning such short-sighted poverty programs lies in the unwitting creation of a 'low-level equilibrium trap' in which the human basis for continued growth is throttled rather than liberated."

The victory of the liberals then was to preserve one deviant program, the exception that proved the rule of the general failure of the poverty program. Why wasn't the battle fought over the issue of basic policy, or why wasn't the issue of basic policy not pressed after the victory? The answers include everything from awareness that OEO itself was about to be dismantled to debilitating discouragement over the Viet Nam War to acknowledgement of the "mood of the nation" which was no longer thought to be liberal. Another large question might well be whether most of those who fought for CDGM in Mississippi would similarly support it in any other state of the union. The riddle of Mississippi remains unanswered, but it seems clear that the kind of innovative and creative and purposeful direction in the lives of the poor that CDGM set in motion are not going to be set in motion under the forces

which, like the big offices in Washington, are so far from any comprehension of the reality of poverty that they cannot act meaningfully. (Some put it more harshly; how can the people and institutions which in direct and indirect ways are responsible for the existence of poverty be expected to change it? Yet another way of looking at it is to say that the middle class of white and Negro Americans are no more in control of the forces that shape their lives (as witness the Viet Nam War) than are the poor. Indeed, as we keep learning, so many of the poor are passed over by the controlling forces of conventional welfare that they do have the kind of potential for free action and independence of thought that sprang so quickly out in Mississippi and other parts of the South in the Negro movement and such efforts as CDGM. (There are other smaller efforts, co-operatives, community organizations, remnants of movement organizations, not connected with the poverty program, struggling along across the rest of the South.) One of the awarenesses in CDGM was that to lose out to MAP and the CAP committees or to the mainstream spirit of power-seeking and accommodation was not that poverty in the form of physical and fiscal deprivation would continue, but that alleviation of poverty would be used by the conventional forces to control those who need help. The implications for the years ahead of diminishing jobs and increasing welfarism are clear. The middle-class of the nation stands ready for whatever new halter is being prepared; the old Marxist hope that the poor might be a revolutionary force breathes anew in an ironic way in the notion that they might form a political force to fight for freedom and individualism, for control of institutions instead of vice-versa.

But the struggle for survival (as with the black-belt farmers trying desperately to assert their right to live on the land-- a kind of right the middle-class seems so far not even aware of) consumes the energy and efforts of the poor, C. Wright Mills's warning that the young intellectuals and not the poor are the real revolutionary force keeps coming to mind. People in CDGM who before it came along had never been out of Mississippi now complain on out-of-state trips if their hotel accommodations aren't first-rate. Will the mainstream carry them away? What is the relevance of idealism to their struggle, full of hard common sense always, to survive? And what of racism?

The charge that black power permeated CDGM was demonstrably untrue if it meant to say the organization was under the sway of the exhibitionist sloganeers of what is left of SNCC and CORE. But if any

understanding was to be had of the meaning of CDGM it had to include the knowledge that the kind of stirring among poor Negroes that it achieved had to be done by the poor Negroes themselves. The same would seem to hold true for poor whites. The Mudd-Hoffman article makes the point that such a separatist phase is necessary while the poor learn how to cope with high-powered organizational modes and methods. Only after the poor learn to cope can they deal effectively with the sophisticated (relatively more so, even in Mississippi) forces they find on a conventional CAP board.

Dr. Dunbar in his Yale speech acknowledged, that America, even as the black power slogans sneer, is racist. And he cites as a major political miscalculation the belief that a loyalist Democratic Party can be built in Mississippi (or any other deep South state) without the poor Negroes as the forces behind MAP seemed to be trying to do. "...They can't go without the poor; without them they don't have the votes even to be interesting— and the Negro poor have, at least yet for awhile, a new vision in Mississippi." This seemed to be the deepest political meaning in the CDGM battle. The Negro vote is large enough at 32.9 per cent of its potential in Mississippi to be worth a major struggle on the national level, from most accounts involving even the President. The percentages of registered Negroes are higher in most other southern states, but, not having experienced a Mississippi Summer like that of 1964, and for other reasons, none of the other southern states have as mature a Negro movement. What has happened in Mississippi will in probably quieter ways be a continuing struggle across the South in the immediate future. The nation needs to realize better what the stakes are, and how liberals in their Democratic Party politics need to do more than save CDGM for one more funding, if there is to be real progress against racism and poverty, and for freedom for all Americans.

The light is so very clear in Mississippi. You see things there in a way that you can't quite make out in other parts of America. A Negro Methodist minister from Neshoba County (where three civil rights workers were martyred in 1964) stood up in a meeting to tell, his lean face strained to find the words, about schools in the state: "The power structure," he said, "wants to handle head start like the public schools. The public schools are regimented by the power. God forbid it. I taught six years in Neshoba County schools; it was a straitjacket. I don't want it for these Negro children. Senator Stennis got elected by crying us down. Is he going to help our children? They help the child like the power structure wants. They regiment him. So they can control him."

Dr. Kenneth Clark when he came down on the special panel that defended CDGM viewed a movie of the children, happy and beginning to unfold their precious potential, in their CDGM schools, and thinking CDGM was dead, said, Threadbeans, in the silence after the film ended: "It would be more merciful to just kill these children now, instead of doing it slowly over the next twenty years."

As always, the question remains: Is Mississippi really so different?

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Certainly it was good to have so much poverty money being lavished on this poorest of states, and the enlightened aim was to encourage all the programs, and to try to heal the animosities. But a main Mississippi question emerges: If the state should catch up with the very best of America's conventional efforts to cope with poverty and race, what would it have?

In the way of statistics, a CDGM handout proclaimed that 98.9 per cent of the 2,272 employees during the period were local residents, and the vast majority of them were poor people. In this, as in education, CDGM was a startlingly successful operation; it seemed to be doing what the poverty program called for in the most straightforward manner.

Like the education theory, the organizational framework had the virtue of rational design. The staff and the advisory boards were set up on three levels: local, regional, and state; the middle layer to serve as go-between the top and bottom. Poor people, less than well educated, even the teachers, filled the jobs; there was real mobility from bottom to top, as well as communication. There were people who began as teachers on the local level, moved through the middle level, and served in administrative posts at headquarters. Here, in part, was the source of the spirit of CDGM which, far better than most big organizational structures, maintained a connection between action-taking power and the reality with which the action was supposed to deal. As far along as the period of the third funding, with super-strict regulations from OEO breathing a poison of caution into the superstructure, Mrs. Pearl Draine, associate-director of the program for children, could reassert the old spirit by becoming fed-up with weeks of wheel-spinning to get the schools ready to open under the new regulations, and sending out the order to open 'em up Monday, ready or not.

There were supposed to be 9,000 children in the centers under the second grant; the count was closer to 12,000 because

Otis Brown, the young Negro man who is director of the school, told how it was sort of a continuation of one that was started as a freddom school in nearby Indianola, and was "burned out" by whites. The building and a second-hand bus used to haul children represented a $500 investment of money raised by a "newsletter" (typed with carbons) sent to northern patrons. Local Negroes had built the building six months before on land owned by a Negro woman next door, Mrs. Lula Mae Brooks, who was fired from her job as a maid because of her 1964 involvement in the movement, and, vowing she had rather die than be a maid again, has been a local leader since. Mr. Brown hoped to be elected mayor of Sunflower City in an election ordered re-run by a federal court so that Negro candidates might be placed on the ballot. The election, to be held in May, was considered a test of whether movement leaders (including Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville) with their CDGM and FDP orientation could muster a strong local Negro vote against the usual obstacles -- everything from economic and physical intimidation to apathy. Looking about him at the children and the well-kept "center," Mr. Brown struggled for the words that would describe what the effort there represented to the people. He said it wasn't really a question of taking sides between CDGM and the whites in power. The main thing was to get to share in the Head Start program, but not in the old way of charity, with the whites giving orders. There ought to be an opportunity to talk things out. "It's got to not be race," he said.

The opposition from Mississippi's two United States senators and the whites of the state generally resumed with the second grant to

Rough Draft.

APPENDIX I

FACTS THAT OUTLINE THE DILEMMA OF THE NEGRO HIRED FARM WORKER

1. In one aspect of American agriculture, the role of the Negro is on the increase -- doing farm work for cash. Negro farm wage workers in the South increased from 298,000 in 1950 to 311,000 in 1960. Whites in such jobs decreased during this period from 392,000 to 308,000. Ironically, extension of the minimum wage to some agricultural workers in 1967 heightened mechanization, especially in cotton farming, which is among new factors reducing the total number of wage laborers.

2. The increase is in part caused by the switch from tenant farmers to hired hands. For every ten tenant farmers released, an average of three wage hands were hired.

3. An example of this is the Mississippi Delta country. From 1954 to 1959, the number of white and Negro tenant farmers decreased 60 per cent -- from 83,000 to 33,000. At the same time, wage hands increased 62 per cent -- from 24,000 to 39,000.

4. The average wage paid farm workers in the South in 1963 was 73 cents an hour without room and board.

5. Agriculture is among the most hazardous of all industries. In 1964, when agriculture accounted for only 7% of total employment, 13.2% of all disabling injuries and 22.5% of all fatalities from work accidents occurred in agriculture.

6. Farms, in 1964, accounted for only 4.5% of all non-transportation-accident fatalities, but they accounted for 45% of all deaths from accidents involving machinery.

7. Except for Social Security, farm wage earners are excluded from any basic employment protection. Minimum wage was extended in 1967 to some (about 25% of those in the South), costing many their jobs. There is yet no unemployment compensation, disability insurance, or collective bargaining.

8. In the South, Negro farm workers do a little over half of all farm wage work.

9. In 1962 -- 623,000 non-white households had one or more persons who did farm work for wages sometime during the year. More than 3,050,000 people lived in these households.

In about one-half the cases, the household (head) representative worked less than 25 days. All in the household worked less than 150 days.

10. 26.5% of non-white farm workers' households do not have a male head. 8.5% of their white counterparts do not have a male head.

11. Negro hired farm workers are concentrated in hand or stoop labor -- 67% in 1961. Only 25% operated or repaired farm machinery. With whites, the situation was almost reversed.

12. Male hand laborers earned about as much as machine operators per day in 1961, but hand laborers averaged 93 days of farm work in the year compared with 200 days for machine operators.

13. There was a 5% decrease in the amount of man-hours of hired farm labor from 1964-1965. At the same time, farm production increased 3% to set an all-time record.

14. The major declines in hand labor man-hours were in cotton, tobacco, and sugar cane. The latter two were the results primarily of production shrinkage, while cotton labor loss was

due to technological improvements. This trend has accelerated.

15. Seasonal hired farm labor decreased 93,000 people in cotton, 23,600 people in harvesting fruit.

16. Employment of all seasonal workers declined 12% from 1965 and 66.

17. Only 64,200 workers were harvesting cotton in mid-September, 1966, compared with 157,200 on the same date in 1965.

18. There were 37,000 fewer jobs for non-white males in 1960 than there were in 1950 according to the census of population.

APPENDIX II

FACTS THAT OUTLINE THE DILEMMA OF THE NEGRO FARMER IN THE RURAL SOUTH

The following facts are drawn primarily from "The Negro in American Agriculture" by Calvin L. Beale in The American Negro Reference Book, John P. Davis, Ed., (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 161 ff.

1. A revised 1960 census survey lists 2,666,700 rural non-farm Negroes and 2,390,000 rural farm Negroes.

2. The total Negro rural population -- farm and non-farm -- declined from 1950 to 1960 by nearly 600,000 people.

3. From 1945 to 1959, there was a 70% loss of Negro tenants and 30% loss of Negro farm owners.

From 1959 to 1964, tenants decreased from 131,826 to 74,488 in nine of the southern states, a 44% decrease.

Negro owners and part-owners decreased from 98,904 to 79,204 in nine southern states, a 20% decrease.

There were 273,000 Negro farmers in 1959; 180,000 in 1964.

4. At their peak in 1920, Negro farm operators numbered 926,000. (This includes all tenant farmers.)

5. In 1964, approximately 180,000 Negro farm operators were left.

6. 11% of all Negro men are employed in agriculture (sole or primary employment; 3% as operators; 8% as farm laborers (wage-earners).

7. There are 87 counties in which Negro farmers are in the majority.

8. The maximum relative land controlled by Negroes in any one county is 26% of all farmland in Jefferson Davis County in Mississippi.

9. Average size of all Negro farms was 52 acres in 1959, according to census data.

10. Average size of white farms was 249 acres.

11. The farmer who does not control the land he works does not have control of his own destiny in the far-reaching changes now affecting agriculture. This puts the typical Negro farmer with his limited capital and lack of ownership at a frightening disadvantage.

12. Somewhat less than 24,000 non-white southern farmers produced and sold more than $5,000 of products in 1959. (U. S. Agriculture figures estimate a farmer needs to sell $10,000 worth of produce to make $2,500.)

13. 60% of Negro full and part owners are not even producing enough to be classed as commercial farmers. (Bureau of Census classes as commercial farms those selling over $2,500 worth of products a year.)

14. If $10,000 of sales is accepted as the minimum adequate scale of farming, only 1.3% of all non-white farms in the South were of adequate size in 1959.

~~15.~~ Of the above 24,000 farmers, only 7,000 own their own land.

15 ~~16.~~ Summing up the above: In 1959, there were about 7,000 non-white owner operators with an adequate or marginally adequate level of production, 3,000 owners with inadequate commercial production, but a fair amount of off-farm work, and 34,000 owners and renters who did not produce very much but had rather steady farm work.

16 ~~17.~~ These 44,000 appear to be the total of the Negro farmers with a tangible expectation of obtaining a minimum adequate income from farming or a combination of farm and non-farm work.

These two should go after no. 33

17 ~~18~~. In 1959, this group of 44,000 farmers represented only ~~17~~% of the total number of Negro operators.

18 ~~19~~. If half of this unused land could be put into the hands of tenants, 10,000 additional commercial Negro farmers might have a reasonable chance for survival.

19 ~~20~~. The possession of land is the key to future participation by Negroes in American agriculture as operators. (A separate list of facts helps depict the plight of the Negro farm wage laborer.)

18 20 ~~21~~. 71% of all non-white farm homes were classified as deteriorating or dilapidated (compared to 27% of all white farm homes.)

19 21 ~~22~~. Of Negro farm homes, 30% had more than 1.5 persons per room in 1960, compared with 3% of white farm homes.

20 22 ~~23~~. 80% of non-white <u>tenant</u> homes were dilapidated. 3% had bathrooms.

21 23 ~~24~~. Only 7% of adult Negro farm residents in 1960 had completed high school. This was a change of only 5% in <u>20 years</u>. 14% of white farm residents had completed high school.

22 24 ~~25~~. More than 40% of the non-white farm people 25 years old and over did not complete five years of school, compared with 8% of the white farm population.

23 25 ~~26~~. 75% of <u>all Negro</u> farm boys drop out of high school before completing.

24 26 ~~27~~. 38% of non-white farm owners own tractors.
70% of white farm owners own tractors.
50% non-white part-owners and
87% white part-owners own tractors.

25 27 ~~28~~. ~~1/3~~ One-third of Negro farmers have no automotive transporation.

26 28 ~~29~~. 43% of all commercial scale non-white farmers were still located on a dirt or unimproved road in 1959, compared with 28% of whites.

27 29 ~~30~~. The non-white farmer has only minor representation in the sectors of agriculture that have been expanding in the South -- livestock, poultry, dairy, and truck farming.

28 30 ~~31~~. Negro farm owners had 8.7 million acres of land in 1959. In 1964, they had 4.7 million acres.

29 31 ~~32~~. There were <u>20</u> counties in 1959 in which Negro farm owners outnumbered white owners.

30 32 ~~33~~. In 1964, Negro farm owners have about 4.7 million acres of land, 2 million of which is in the hands of elderly and part-time non-commercial farmers who are cultivating only half their crop land.

ROUGH DRAFT

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NOTES ON RURAL POVERTY IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

The rural poor are being forced off the land by immense economic and technological pressures. This is particularly a problem in the South* -- which by accepted census and economic definitions is both the most rural and most impoverished region in the United States.

More than 41% of the South's population is classified as rural by the U. S. Bureau of the Census. Only 10.8% is rural-farm, however. In the 1960 Census, of the 22,797,630 Southerners designated as rural, nearly 18 million were white and nearly five million non-white. (In the South, almost all non-whites are Negroes.) The "rural" designation can be divided into farm and non-farm categories. Among southern rural non-farm people, 13.5 million are white and 3.3 million are non-white. Among rural farm people, 4.4 million are white and nearly 1.5 million are non-white. There are only 1.6 million rural farm non-whites in all the U. S.; thus, most are concentrated in the South.

The poverty of the South is reflected in a recent study in the Social Security Bulletin. According to the study by Mollie Orshansky, more than half of the nation's poor live in the South.

Whereas the majority of the poor in other regions reside in urban areas, considerably more than half the South's poor reside in rural areas.

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*Unless otherwise indicated, the South in this paper refers to the eleven states of the old Confederacy: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The extent of poverty in the rural South knows no racial bounds. (There are more white poor than black poor in the region.) Yet a much higher percentage of rural Negroes are poor. More than 80% of Negro rural people in the South had annual family incomes of less than $3,000 according to the 1960 census. Forty per cent had family incomes below $1,000 annually. By contrast, the percentage of white rural non-farm families with less than $3,000 annually ranged from 39% in South Carolina to 47% in Alabama. The range of white farm families below $3,000 annually was from 49% in South Carolina to 60% in Alabama. Thus both races suffer. The degree of poverty is greater among rural Negroes but, because there are more rural whites, the total number of white poor is greater.

THE ONCE AND FUTURE INFLUX

In an April 8, 1966, memorandum, the National Sharecroppers Fund estimated that mechanization and reduced acreage allotments in the cotton belt will create from a narrow economic perspective, 300,000 "surplus" families in 16 southern states in the next 10 years.

Because King Cotton's semi-feudal socio-economic order is no longer useful commercially, and because this order no longer requires an abundance of cheap, unskilled black labor, the abrupt changes fall most heavily on the "surplus" Negro poor. The result is the continued mass migration of untrained rural people against their will to join others in the dense and explosive city ghettos of the North and increasingly, the South.

Should rural people be afforded the dignity of choosing not to abandon the rural culture? Should they be forced into the pathologies of slum life solely because they have no way to survive if they remain on the land?

Is it not dynamite literally to dump "surplus rural labor" into bulging, impoverished urban slums? Is it not pragmatic and prudent, to say nothing of humane, to try to create new ways of rural life? At the least, this might be attempted on an interim basis if for nothing more than to allow longer term efforts against existing urban poverty to take effect without being swamped by a sharp new influx of the rural poor to the cities.

THE NEGRO FARMER: ATTRITION, ABOLITION, OR ADVANCE?

The depth and the dimensions of rural poverty can be recognized when some facts about the Negro farmer are considered. Calvin Beale, writing in The American Negro Reference Book, is realistic:

"To be optimistic about the future of Negro farmers would be to disregard almost every facet of their past and present status and of the factors that impinge upon them. But then, the odds have always been against them even in the period when they reached their greatest number."

At their peak in 1920, Negro farmers numbered 926,000, including all tenant farmers. In 1964, approximately 180,000 Negro farm operater were left. This was 3% of all Negro men. (Another 8% of all Negro men were employed as wage-earning farm laborers).

The desperate problem of the Negro farmer has been a lack of land. This dilemma is becoming worse. In 1964, there were approximately 80,000 Negro farm owners or part-owners out of 180,000 Negro farm operators. This means that the majority of Negro farmers work another man's land.

The average size of the Negro farm was 52 acres in the 1959 census of agriculture, an increase of only eight acres since 1935. By contrast the average white farm had increased by 118 acres since 1935 to an average size of 249 acres. This lack of land on which to work and the consequent need to pay rent to or share crops with a landowner is reflected in the following statistic: Somewhat less than 24,000 non-white southern farmers produced and sold more than $5,000 of products in 1959 when U.S.D.A. estimated that a farmer must sell $10,000 of products to make $2,500. Of these 24,000 in 1959, only 7,000 owned their land, and some of the others who were tenants, according to Beale, have probably lost their lease or share arrangements since the 1959 census of agriculture.

Nevertheless, Beale estimates that this core of Negro farmers has the potential for commercial success in full-time farming, if the majority of those without land could be provided a homestead.

In addition, there were 3[illegible],000 owners with inadequate commercial production, but a fair amount of off-farm work, and 34,000 owners and renters who produced few goods for sale but had rather steady farm work, according to the census. Beale's judgment is that this group, these 61,000 out of 180,000 Negro farm operators

are the ones with "a tangible expectation of obtaining a minimum adequate income from farming or a combination of farm or non-farm work." The reader should note that even this "successful" group includes many whose income level is below current poverty lines.

But what of the other Negro farm operators who are not "successful" or the other thousands who work as hired men in burgeoning "agribusiness" corporate farms and in neo-plantation servitude? In Beale's view, the crucial factor once again is land. "The possession of land is the key to the future participation by Negroes in American agriculture as operators." Once again, "the farmer who does not control the land he works does not control his own destiny in the far-reaching changes now affecting agriculture. This puts the typical Negro farmer with his limited capital and lack of ownership experience at a disadvantage."

Nevertheless, Beale proposes that many more than the 61,000 "successful" Negro farmers could be made really "successful" if land in the hands of small-scale owners could be "combined through lease or purchase into larger units, or if federal programs of assistance in land purchase could be made effective on a widespread basis for low-income landless farmers, or if additional non-farm employment opportunities became available for rural Negroes." We should add immediately that present loan and credit programs are of virtually no help. Moreover, it can be asked, in view of the national commitment to end poverty, whether a new program of land grants should not be considered as a means of halting migration to urban areas.

Our basic purpose, however, is to show the extremity of the Negro farmer's predicament as part of our larger plea that the rural poor in theSouth be given options which will not force them into an alien urban environment and alienated urban existence. We should note, in addition, that most of the rural poor are not farm operators. The plight of the Negro hired farm worker is often more desperate than that of the farm operator in the South. Clearly, land reform alone will not suffice to transform their deprivation and dependence, but it might, if combined with agricultural training programs and effective minimum wages legislation or income subsidies, offer options to the virtual serfdom which now prevails.

AGRICULTURE AND SOCIAL POLICY

It is not the purpose of this study to describe and analyze the various approaches which treat the "farm problem" solely as an economic issue of efficiency, productivity, and resource allocation. Yet the narrowness of such approaches must be pointed out. To most such approaches, the "ultimate solution" is to move people off the farms, to destroy the "myth" of the family farm, and to approach food and fiber production with every resource of modern management and technology available. Typical of this approach was the much publicized, corporation sponsored study, An Adaptive Program for Agriculture, prepared by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. Similar in approach but not in all details are Roots of the Farm Problem by Earl D.

Heady and others of the Iowa State University Center for Agricultural and Economic Development and Farm Policy: New Directions, by Geoffrey S. Shepherd, an economist also of Iowa State University.

We question the social vision of these judgments. The center of our critique is that these proposals fail to take into account our central concern -- the lack of a better alternative to living on the land for thousands of poor southern farmers.

When we consider these proposals for national policy from a regional standpoint, we are impressed by the extent to which they project as national goals solutions that seem mostly relevant to the Middle West. The Committee for Economic Development program barely alludes to the "farm problem" as seen in Appalachia. It ignores the nation's and the South's racism as it blithely suggests moving "surplus" farm labor to cities. Seen from the perspective of what is faced by the rural, southern Negro moving to Atlanta, New Orleans, or even Chicago, the C.E.D.'s easy optimism about finding employment "off the land" has at best a superficial quality.

BROADER CONSIDERATIONS IN AGRICULTURE

It is the heart of our position that rural poverty cannot be separated from urban poverty and that agricultural policy must be consistent with general economic and social policy. It is also central that the South's unique regional problems not be overlooked in national programs.

Edward Higbee clearly sets his analysis of agricultural policy in an urban context in his book, Farms and Farmers in an Urban Age. He recognizes the human as well as the social disintegration that accompanies forced migration of rural people to urban areas. He argues that there could be only two acceptable justifications for federal funds being used to move "inefficient" farmers from the land. One is that a food shortage might require that land be put in hands capable of greater productivity. No such national shortage presently exists. There are indications the other justification might be that farming's "surplus" manpower was demanded by other fields with labor shortages. But since this manpower is untrained to fill shortages of technical labor and since there is already a high rate of urban unemployment among the unskilled, this labor is not needed elsewhere. Higbee concludes: "Until the nation needs their land and labor, inefficient farmers may be better off where they are than if they were to head for the city's slums and welfare rolls."

Leon H. Keyserling, economist and former presidential adviser, directs a strong and persuasive argument in Agriculture and the Public Interest, by the Conference on Economic Progress. In Keyserling's view, the attempt to justify the move from smaller family-type farms to corporate, "agribusinesses" on the basis of the efficiency of the latter fails on four counts. First, except for farms whose land is sub-standard, there is no lack of efficiency or of increased productivity. Second, "there is no clnclusive and perhaps no respectable evidence that the

large giant-size farm is more efficient than the family-type farm, when the latter receives enough income to realize its full potential." Third, even if larger farms were more efficient, that economic benefit would be taken away by the rapid shrinkage in the number of farmers (who would presumably enter the depressed unskilled labor market of urban areas.) Fourth, productivity in agriculture and in the entire economy has become so great "that we need to become more deeply concerned about the quality of farm life, and not merely about the efficiency of farm production. This means that we should strive constantly for a more appropriate balance and distribution among farms of different sizes, with particular accent upon the family-type farm . . . The only hope for most of the sub-standard farmers is that they be accorded opportunity to operate family-type farms."

"Accorded opportunity." It is precisely this which present national agricultural, land, and credit policies fail to do in the cases of the South's rural poor, all Negro farmers, and marginal or sub-standard farmers of both races. What follows are some suggestions to accord opportunity in the rural South. Much of the South's poverty is common to all the poor, i.e., a lack of money for minimum expenses. While this lack must be made up by some new form of income maintenance, guaranteed income, or the like, there are many measures which would further alleviate problems in the rural South.

TOWARD OPTIONS AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE RURAL SOUTH

1) LAND AND CREDIT

(A) An obvious and basic problem in developing rural areas is the lack of land owned by Negroes and the unavailability of low interest, long-term financing to correct this. As cited perviously, the average farm size for whites is 249 acres, and for Negroes only 52 acres. The average value for farms owned by whites is $25,370 and that for Negroes is $6,240. This in turn, of course, reflects the amount of products sold, the amount of income and all other aspects of Negro, white comparisons. There is need for an entirely new and different approach to making long-term, low interest loans available to all persons in the region, but particularly to Negroes and poor whites for the ownership of land.

(B) Related to this is the poor use of land presently owned, poor management, poor marketing prodedures, and the like. Present USDA programs need to be much more concerned with this, particularly for the small Negro farmer, and entirely new imaginative programs need to be developed. For instance, the Franklinton Center in Bricks, North Carolina, has concluded a very successful experiment in which a relatively large plot of land was acquired and six farm families were settled on it. These farmers had been tenant farmers. Over a period of several years, this center

worked closely with these families in developing good agricultural and marketing techniques. A financial arrangement has not been made whereby each of these farmers are purchasing the land which they work. While small, the results of the project are that six former tenant farmers have now been settled on land, will in time own it, and have been trained in good farm management. We need a great many more experiments of this kind.

(C) In regard to the above two problems and opportunities, we need promptly a fare more detailed study than has heretofore been done on the opportunities for relatively small farm operations. We have been going on the assumption that there was need for less and less agricultural production and that there was every economic reasonsfor larger and fewer farm units. Both of these assumptions no longer seem correct and need to be reviewed in light of our recognition of the need for food throughout the entire world and our new encouragement of crop increases. We need, particularly, to know far more than we do at this time about the opportunities for at least partial income from the small farm unit. As this study is conducted, it must take into account the rapidly rising yields per acre and the possibilities that good farming techniques, expanding markets, and the the new opportunities for truck farming produce to be sold to nearby cities may well make it possible for

for feasible operation of farms heretofore considered too small for profitable operation.

(D) There is a need to change completely the base of our agriculture. The future role of southern rural people on land is to produce meat and food products for the anticipated 100 million increase in the population of the east, which will occur during the coming thirty years.

Alabama corn production averaging 20 bushels per acre twenty years ago increasing to 40 bushels per acre in 1966 is still an inadequate yield to compete with midwest corn yields at 80 to 100 bushels per acre. The pork form both areas will be needed. Alabama and Mississippi food crops, vegetables and fruits, will also be needed. Their production and processing may employ southern labor and help to stop excessive migration of southern families to northern cities. This beginning, plus all the investments of capital and housing, school rooms, hospitals, medical and school personnel and southern town building may create an adequate number of jobs -- and a tax recovery base -- to stabilize the southern rural population.

(E) In all of this there is an assumption that efforts need to be made to devise ways for many relatively small farms to become adequate income producing units for the families which run them. This should not, however,

preclude a strong interest in determining the extent to which a small farm can provide supplementary income to some other occupation away from the farm where the two together will provide total family unit with income beyond the minimum poverty level.

(F) Stanley Andrews in The Farmer's Dilemma, proposes "beneficial use" land grants to younger men who want to farm for a living but who lack land and/or capital. This idea has merit.

2) HOUSING

(A) A great need in the rural areas is adequate housing. This may be one of the simplest problems to meet if there is a national commitment to do so. Rural housing units of an adequate nature can be provided at a reasonable cost. Given an adequate structure under which low interest, long-term loans can be arranged it will be possible for home owners to meet this kind of a financial demand. The construction of such houses has the added advantages of contributing substantially to the economy of these regions, to providing jobs and to providing training experiences. A small amount of work in this area is allowed for under Title III B Funds. But the funds are very limited and they have at present all of the disadvantages of the operations of a cautious bureaucracy. (There are some indications that Title III B Funds may be even harder to come by soon.)

(B) Any programs concerned with housing cannot be approached

in a vaccuum. No housing programs should be undertaken without companion programs in economic development. It is also possibly a mistake to locate housing units close to present cities on the assumption owners may commute and thereby finance them. There are several projects, partly federally financed, now being discussed in Mississippi where new housing units would be placed within ten miles of medium sized cities on the assumption that the persons living in these new units would be able to find jobs in these towns. Given the present lack of job opportunities in the typical Deep South community, and the lack of training on the part of persons in need of housing, this may be an unsatisfactory idea.

(C) In developing programs for housing a minimum part of the funds, but considerable planning, should go into total community development. For instance, in practically every area where there is a serious need for more adequate housing there is a need also for community centers, for buildings to house day nurseries, and the like. These facilities should be developed and financed along with individual housing unit development.

3) INDUSTRY

(A) Quite obviously there is a need to get away from agriculture as the sole provider of income in rural areas even while we strengthen and support family farms for some. Much can be done in developing adequate housing, the small farm, and providing outside jobs.

(B) Programs must be encouraged that will assure that some industry goes to the rural areas where the people now are, although caution must be exercised so that non-exploitative, long-term commitments are made. Many variations of this have been suggested but there will likely be a need for public funds to encourage such moves. In recognition of the initial difference in productivity between an untrained labor force and that which may be available in the larger cities, training programs for that labor must also be provided.

(C) It goes without saying, of course, that quality industry must be brought in. At the present time, a great deal of industrial development in the rural and small town areas is of the fly-by-night type which provides an inadequate wage for the workers and nothing for the community. It is a long tradition of the federal government to provide public funds for such items as farm mechanization. We see nothing inconsistent with these recommendations of public funds for industrial development.

(D) The idea of industry in the rural areas has certain dangers that must be guarded against. This is no magic formula as is frequently believed and there are limitations that should be imposed on any such program. For instance, making rural areas more livable does not necessarily mean making them urban, i.e., industrialized. It makes sense to locate an industry large enough to provide incentives

to local people to stay in rural areas and to inject additional capital into the community. But beyond the population stability motive, further industrialization could be self-defeating.

(E) There are other protections which should be guaranteed by new industry. These would include guaranteed protection for labor unions, guaranteed minimum wages, guaranteed working conditions on a par with those in the nation as a whole. We believe great care will have to be taken and much deliberate planning done to avoid establishing sweatshops.

(F) Groups and agencies engaged in attracting industry must, in some way, begin to develop the ideas of less competition and more concern with the welfare of a large area. For instance, Atlanta now seeks industry without any concern for any other part of the state of Georgia. On a state, and perhaps regional basis, there is a need for planning where industry is most needed for the good of the whole economy and not on the basis of what particular locality can offer the most attractive package to new industry.

4. RURAL RECLAMATION

(A) Much needs to be done in the way of making rural areas more livable and more attractive. This is consistent with the current national policy on beautifucation and has in it implications for federally funded programs to employ large numbers of people and in the opportunities

for developing substantial toursit and recreation business. It has recently been announced that $1,500,000 in anti-poverty funds will be used in the project known as Green Thumb. This idea was developed by the outspokenly liberal National Farmers Union and that group has been chosen to run it. Many other such projects need to be developed. The Farmers Union hopes to realize from this program an expanded economy which will employ 325 or more retrained farmers. (See the Wall Street Journal, February 9, 1966.

(B) Any rural reclamation program should tie in directly with expansion of the recreation industry. There is now every reason to believe that this is one of our promising industries for employment for the future. Programs of reclamation and beautification should not be conducted in a vacuum but should be planned in relation to the availability of population, recreational areas that will attract tourists and the like.

(C) In this area, great care must be taken to see that poor rural people actually benefit on a reasonable basis. This is not necessarily happening in the present federal program in the Appalachian area. There, for instance, many small farmers (a large number of them poultry farmers) have been pushed from the land. Much of the land is going into speculation. In North Georgia, for instance, tens of thousands of acres are being bought for speculation purposes by wealthy individuals in the surrounding cities. This has hurt the small farmer and has shoved out

the very kind of people who should have benefitted as land values go up and new tourist possibilities open.

(D) Reclamation or beautification and recreation should not overlook the other substantial opportunities. These would include, for instance, perserving our timber supplies and greatly expanding them on a more planned and logical basis; giving needed attention to some of the natural resources in the region, particularly mineral deposits; developing the fishing industry and related industries along the coast. Attention, for instance, should be given to the oyster beds along the coast of South Carolina. SRC is now attempting to get federal assistance for this purpose for a group of persons in South Carolina who earn a seasonal income from the oyster beds.

5) ARTS AND CRAFTS

(A) There is substantial employment and economic potential in this area for the first time. In the past, a limited amount of work has been done in improving the skills of persons engaged in arts and crafts and finding a market for their products. Much of this has been done intthe Appalachian area, and in the Black Belt. This field offers a real potential if it is properly assisted and developed. Research is needed on what has been done and what is possible, and on the problems of quality control, marketing, and distribution.

(B) If there is real potential for substantial employment here it will require considerable assistance. One

thing needed is training. We have found many instances where there are commendable basic skills but still need for some training, particularly on quality control. Marketing, of course, is the other important area. At present there are only very limited marketing outlets and too much of this depends on a sympathy market.

6) PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

(A) There is quite clearly a need for over-all planning in attacking social and economic problems of the rural South; one cannot attack these problems in isolation. We must have state and regional planning in the coordination of a number of efforts if rural progress is to be achieved.

(B) Present reluctance to put funds into private agencies should be changed. Many groups are coming forward and asking for money to develop programs. This should be encouraged. Those who supply funds to such groups must be prepared for failures. We will have many failures if we embark on truly experimental programs. It should be realized too that some of these programs will be unorthodox, indeed radical. We should welcome this. Many of the ideas being developed around the region are radical in nature and will never be tried out successfully if we go through the conventional channels, the conventional local leadership, local agencies, and regular structure of the federal government. Above all else, we should realize that to restore the rural areas of the region

and to allow the people to remain in these areas under adequate circumstances will require truly radical changes, and anyone who brings forward a program that offers any opportunity of help in this regard should be encouraged and financed.

The Southern Regional Council has a strong interest in this whole problem. We would be happy to offer our resources in research, and the information we are now gathering under our community organization project to any persons, either public or private, who might wish to take advantage of them.

SANCTUARIES FOR ~~THE SOUTHERN WAY:~~ Tradition:

VIRGINIA'S NEW PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Mary Ellen Goodman

Southern Regional Council
November, 1960

WHY PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Under Virginia's "massive resistance" laws of 1956, its Governor was authorized to close any school ordered by the courts to ~~integrate.~~ desegregate. Governor J. Lindsay Almond first exercised this authority in September, 1958, when - by telegram to Warren County Superintendent of Schools Q. D. Gasque - he ordered Warren County High School to close its doors. This action triggered the Foundation School movement in Warren County, as subsequent school closings set off similar ~~chain~~ reactions in ~~the~~ Norfolk and Charlottesville ~~municipalities~~ and in Prince Edward County.

For four years the "threat" of integration had hung over these communities, and there had been endless talk of it. Yet few citizens, apparently, had been able to believe that legal action was imminent. Aside from the talk ~~and the organization of a state-wide protest organization (Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties),~~ there was apparently little local response to the 1954 Supreme Court decision (except in Prince Edward, where plans for private schools were laid as early as 1955.) When the blow fell elsewhere, "people were stunned for a few days." Then they rallied and, with emotion running high, organized emergency private schooling for white children, and did it with astonishing speed.

Events at this stage vary only in detail from one community to another. In each case self-selected leaders drew large numbers of excited people together for meetings and discussions. In Warren County the High School PTA assumed responsibility. From its emergency meeting came a "fact-finding committee" to review the situation and recommend action. The fact-finding - and a consultation with the Governor - led to establishment of the Front Royal Educational Foundation. A "Foundation" appeared in the other three communities too. As in Front Royal,

these organizations were led by determined, articulate, and uncompromising segregationists with prominent local lawyers, editors, and businessmen in key roles.

First ~~to~~ actually to open the doors of its school was the Foundation in Norfolk, followed in a few days by the Front Royal Academy in Warren County. ~~The Tidewater Academy opened "a matter of hours" after the re-opening of the Norfolk public schools in February, 1959.~~

The Foundations provided ~~for the private~~ schooling ~~of~~ for white children "because there were no {public} schools" for them in the Fall of 1958 {in Norfolk, Charlottesville, and Warren County}. But the public schools re-opened in the Spring of 1959. The no-school emergency ~~in these communities~~ had passed, yet the Foundation schools ~~did not go out of business. They~~ were continued, by and for people who "wouldn't send children to public schools which had been integrated.----" "But even more important," says one Foundation officer (and former PTA president): "We were dissatisfied with much that is sacrosanct in public education, and we had found it almost impossible to get public educators to listen to us." A former Foundation president asserts ~~points out~~ that, though public school teachers seemed to think so, "we were <u>never</u> out to destroy public education."

Leaders in the Foundations, and conservatives generally, now tend to these views. They admit that they "don't believe in integration," and that they certainly don't want their own children involved in "mixing." But they are not "opposed to public schools - just <u>for</u> private schools" and <u>for</u> education stripped of "frills."

Segregationists, in communities other than Prince Edward, now accept the fact that public education, with at least token integration,

the

is ~~however deplorable - a necessity~~ unavoidable. They therefore embrace the "freedom of choice" philosophy ~~so eloquently advanced by Leon Dure,~~ and concentrate on strengthening the Foundation schools.

insert 3A

In ~~these~~ the private schools, ~~they~~ supporters intend and expect to perpetuate both racial segregation and a mode of education focused on ~~the~~ "fundamentals" and conservative in content. Few will admit, as does one erstwhile Foundation leader, that of these two goals the first is crucial, and the second a justification, ~~which promises to be more defensible in the long run~~. And no doubt these goals are differently weighted in different communities. One headmaster reports that in his opinion "segregation is less important to most of these parents than is conservative - what they call 'traditional' - education." A Foundation president in another community, says that "the integration issue is still strong, but less so than it was. Now the real issue is the right to have for your children the kind of education you want."

Other views popular among Foundation school enthusiasts have to do with the over-all educational welfare of the community and with the traditional "Virginia gentleman's" preference for private schooling. It is argued that the whole community has benefitted and will benefit enormously by the "dual" school system; many leading citizens, some moderates included, are convinced that creating Foundation schools has reduced community tensions (the "safety valve" ~~or "pop-off valve"~~ principle) and probably averted open violence. A ~~significant~~ number, including middle-ground leaders and even some liberals, believe that "competition" in education is a good thing; that the existence of the private schools will serve - as it has already - to keep public school people "on their toes" and lead to improvements in the public schools. Crowding in

"Freedom of choice" is made possible by a system of tuition grants enacted by the state. A parent in Virginia may elect for his children to attend the public school in his district or any non-sectarian private school (anywhere in the country), or a public school not in his district. If the parent chooses a private or non-local public school, he can by right collect a grant for tuition up to $250 for elementary and $275 for high school students; the state and the local school district jointly pay the amount.

(said to be)

the public schools is relieved (in Charlottesville and Front Royal), Moreover, it is argued, public education in most Virginia localities has always fallen far short of national standards and the "best people" have always sent their children to private schools.

The people who are now sending their children to the Foundation private schools see themselves ~~as following a preferred and prestigeful pattern. They see themselves~~ simultaneously as community benefactors and as citizens alert to the hazards of "progressive education" and the "subversive ~~communist~~ ideas" ~~(learned by teachers at communist-infiltrated teachers' colleges) which may go with it.~~ In addition they are, as they see it, supporting and "fighting for" such sacred ~~and noble~~ principles as "freedom of association," "individual liberty," the "rights" of the individual, ~~the~~ community, and ~~the~~ state; and - underlying all others - the "purity" of their race.

The Foundation people, having ~~as they see it~~ worked out a solution which ~~at once~~ keeps community peace and ~~so admirably~~ serves their own ~~highest~~ causes, quite naturally enjoy a sense of triumph. This goes far to reduce their bitterness about the Supreme Court, ~~decision of 1954~~, the collapse of "massive resistance", ~~(foreseen by many segregationists),~~ and the existence of token integration in their own communities. "We're not too bitter now," says one ardent segregationist leader. "We once were - you can be sure; we felt our rights had been infringed and that we were imposed upon. This was true too. But we've done what people - the defeatists - said couldn't be done. ~~(build and operate a private school).~~ We're very proud of our school - so are the children - and of our product".

insert 4A

In Prince Edward County, ~~the~~ bitterness is not a thing of the past. Foundations leaders there remain adamant, uncompromising, and militant. With the passage of time their position becomes more difficult,

These are, then, the opinions of the private school supporters. They are proud of what they have achieved. Later pages of this report may help to determine whether this pride is justified.

however, because (1) they remain conspicuously isolated, no other Virginia community having followed ~~this radically conservative~~ their lead; (2) the County's people are becoming uncomfortable and less sure, ~~(under the spotlight at this exposed right-end position and under the inconveniences incident to two years without public schools)~~, and (yet) (3) to shift from a position so long, vehemently, and publicly defended is to risk some loss of "face".

Foundation leaders and supporters in Prince Edward admit to none of these - or any other - difficulties. Elsewhere some uneasiness is at least implicit, even as past achievements are recited. This is particularly true in Norfolk, where the Foundation school serves ~~so~~ only a small ~~a~~ proportion (about ~~one per cent~~ 10%) of the city's children ~~of~~ in grades seven through twelve. With present facilities the Tidewater Academy could accommodate no greatly enlarged enrollment; nevertheless, school officials would welcome greater evidence of public interest. The relatively large and cosmopolitan population of Norfolk offers the least advantageous context for Foundation schools (as ~~between~~ among the four communities) and the most competition from established independent schools.

insert 5A

direct or indirect public aid to private schools.

As the remainder of this report is read, certain controlling facts should be remembered:

a. There is a suit now pending in federal court, which seeks to require the re-opening of Prince Edward's public schools and the ending of all

b. Virginia during 1958-59 and 1959-60 spent $1,535,500 on 117,000 tuition grants. Unofficial reports indicate that 6,104 grants have been approved for 1960-61; assuming an average of $260, this would represent $1,587,040.

c. According to the latest survey (Richmond News-Leader, November 30, 1960) tuition grants in the following numbers have been approved in the four localities:

	Grants Approved		1960-61 Grants for	
	1959-60	1960-61	Public Schools	Private Sc
Charlottesville	628	557	2	555
Albemarle County*	237	315	29	286
Warren County	509	494	21	473
Prince Edward County	0	1,324	0	1,324
Norfolk	1,203	1,550	n.a.	n.a.

*Surrounds Charlottesville

THE COMMUNITY AND THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Impact of a School Crisis

The closing of public schools, the setting up of segregated private schools, the re-opening of public schools and the choosing between public and private - each of these steps is accompanied by upheavals, stress, and pain. Says the Mayor of one community which has been afflicted:

> "I would hate for any community to go through what we did. I would do anything to avoid it again.
>
> "Too many scars are left - - -. They're still with us - - -. I don't know how much we'll have to go through - or how many years it will take - before this feeling is gone.
>
> "After all the trouble over schools, and all the bitterness, people are edgy. Friendships of years have been smashed, parents and their children have come to swords points. It's gotten into every aspect of community life - social life, business and banking, politics, even the churches."
>
> "It's the biggest thing that's ever come in my lifetime."

Politics and the School Crisis

While the crisis is on, the career of every public office holder and every candidate for public office is affected. ~~by it.~~ Says a highly informed observer: "We have had sharp political division, and this school situation has fed into it. Also I suppose the school problem has been exploited to some extent for political advantage."

While segregationist sentiment is at its height, politicians court disaster if it becomes known - or even rumored - that they are less than extreme in their segregationist views. ~~In one community a leading~~

citizen and head of the local Foundation sought public office. His opponent was not a man to command respect or confidence, but he won. The reason: the voters heard that the Foundation officer's own daughter had registered at the public school. His evident qualifications for the office he sought counted for nothing in the fever heat generated by the school controversy.

But the temperature drops with remarkable speed. The "die-hard segregationist" is now unpopular with the electorate, at least in the communities whose public schools are open and whose worst school crisis is over. ~~In Norfolk, the "Liberal Democrats," though new to the political scene and led by the same people who fought to restore public schools, have scored surprising political successes.~~

Political implications extend beyond the local level. Throughout the controversy concerning schools, Senator Harry Byrd has once again proved his absolute adherence to an absolutely conservative position. His status as the hero of the ultra-conservatives has been enhanced. For people of this persuasion Governor J. Lindsay Almond, by his retreat from the "massive resistance" position, has become "Benedict Almond," the unforgiveable defector and prime target for the bitterness engendered by accumulated disappointments and frustrations. But to the many who saw the futility of massive resistance, ~~and to those weary of the years of Byrd control,~~ Almond may not be a hero but he is a hope. ~~"In the next election," as one segregationist leader points out, "we'll have the Byrd faction against the Almond faction in the Senate race."~~

Economics and the School Crisis

No one claims that the school situation was economically good for the community, and even some segregationists will admit that it "didn't do the community any good."

The economic effects when people move from the community, or decide not to move into it, are obvious and direct; every resident is a buyer of many goods and services. But it is not easy to prove that the school crisis was, in any given move, the reason or even the most important reason. It no doubt was, for some considerable numbers of families, at least one of the important reasons for moving out or not moving in. Such is the conviction of numerous informed observers, and some cases are provable.

For example: several faculty members have left the colleges in Prince Edward County primarily because of dissatisfaction with living conditions, and especially with the school problem. Moreover, it has been very difficult to replace these people, and the colleges as well as the community are adversely affected. Other ~~conspicuously able~~ faculty members - those who have young children - admit that they are staying "on a year-to-year basis." They are unlikely to stay much longer unless the school crisis dissolves.

Prince Edward County has undoubtedly suffered economic losses, though segregationist leaders will not admit it. ~~to specifics.~~ It is, however, unarguable that closed Negro schools have cost the County the buying power of its Negro teachers. In addition, an undetermined number of Negroes now quietly go out of the County to buy whenever they can. There is no organized boycott, but simply a natural reluctance to spend in a community which does not provide schools. Since more than half the population ~~of the County~~ is Negro, this shifting of patronage has no doubt been felt, as any significant emigration of Negroes ~~from the County~~ would be. However, since many ~~a large majority~~ of the rural Negro families own the farms on which they live, migration ~~mobility~~ is neither easy nor likely.

One prominent citizen in Prince Edward says that "the dollar volume of business is up here, not ~~i~~ withstanding adverse weather and general business conditions." Another argues that tobacco farming is the central economic activity of the County, and this activity isn't much affected - "It doesn't much matter whether schools are open or shut." Other Local businessmen privately disagree with these views.

It is said too that if new industry has not come into the County this has nothing to do with lack of public schools. ~~And in fact,~~ Segregationist leaders ~~add~~ claim, "the white children are now ~~(in the Foundation schools)~~ getting a better education than before," so lack of public schools can be no real deterrent. insert 9 A ~~Nevertheless the population of the County has declined since 1950, possibly~~ by ~~as much as 2,000 (13%).~~ 1500

p. 10.

In the other three communities, effects of the ~~school~~ crisis are diminishing economically as well as in other ways, and there is optimism - or hope, perhaps - that "we may have people moving into the community [Front Royal] because they know there's freedom of choice here, and a fine [Foundation] school, fully accredited, with a fine faculty. - - - Several families have moved in to send their children to the Academy. This might mean something to the community."

There is, however, another and more immediate side to the story. ~~of the Foundation school and its economic implications.~~ A ~~major~~ businessman and community leader (who is by no means opposed to the new private schools) reports:

> "The support of the private school ~~(by contributions, bond-buying, etc.)~~ has affected the community economically. When the drive started for school funds, we had a falling off in collections on our charge accounts. And we weren't the only ones - -. A doctor told me he had noticed it too. It even

But it is noteworthy that, in replying to a charge that closed public schools had discouraged new industry, the Farmville mayor on December 23, 1960 could only say: "An egg grading plant was established in this community and was successfully operated until the economic condition of the country caused its closing."

(Richmond News-Leader~~s~~, 12/24/60)

showed up in churches - a falling off in the collections. It shows in country club memberships --. Probably it will affect the United Fund Drive. All this is because people are putting money into the private school. These effects aren't great, but they add noticeably to what is an economically slow period anyway."

This comment was made about Front Royal. Norfolk - and probably Charlottesville ~~in lesser degree~~ - have not been so conspicuously affected. The Foundation movement in these two communities is small relative to their size and resources.

Front Royal differs too in that "it is a labor town; labor is strong here. It was union people - mostly salaried workers - who were most concerned about integration and who most wanted the private school." Union funds to the extent of nearly $50,000 went into the support of the private school movement in the 1959-'60 school year. This money was collected through a payroll deduction system authorized by management of the American Viscose Corporation, Front Royal's one big industry. (the deduction system has now been discontinued.) Ironically, some 150 of the union's then approximately 1,800 members were Negroes. The whole operation was challenged by the national union. The local has appealed the national's negative decision on bond-buying with another $8,000 of local funds, and decision on the appeal is pending. Future support by the union seems unlikely.

An informed citizen in Norfolk says: "I just don't see how there's enough money in most communities in the South to support private schools (and this assuming that tuition grants are continued). - - Money will be one of their big obstacles."

Government and the School Crisis

In the four communities there are demonstrated once more two well established principles of desegregation. They are: (1) people who are resistant to a change will predict physical violence and other dark evils if that change takes place; (2) the predictions will not be borne out if officials (of city government, of schools, etc.) having made clear in advance their positions, will vigorously support and enforce law and order.

Citizens in all four communities are justifiably proud that overt clashes have been avoided. There is particularly keen gratification because the opening of schools on an integrated basis was achieved without incident. Credit is given, in degrees varying between communities, to the mayor, the chief of police, the superintendent and the principals of schools being integrated. In Charlottesville, where the mayor is particularly praised for his wise and firm leadership, a thoughtful citizen observes that the community has learned how to solve its problems, and has done so well as to have earned a reputation as an "ideal community."

Religion and the School Crisis

Clergymen ~~Religious leaders~~, and their congregations, have espoused every shade of opinion on the school question. In each of the four communities a minority of them ~~the religious leaders~~ stood firmly and openly for public schools, with integration, in conformity with law. Fewer still were supported in this stand by even a majority of their congregations, and several left or were withdrawn from their pastorates as a result of the dissension. Says one observer: "The ministers who are still around didn't publicly play much of a role" in the controversy. There

~~is a~~ are two striking exceptions in Norfolk, one in Charlottesville, and another (non-white) in Prince Edward. With these exceptions the generalization holds.

Many segregationists probably agree with one of their number who deplores "Ministerial Association people getting into the (school) fight. -- It is," he argues, "none of their business. They shouldn't be in politics at all - -. Beside, you'll notice that they wind up sending their own children elsewhere than to the integrated public school."

A leading and highly respected elder statesman among ministers states a view not greatly different. "I am not a crusader," he declares. "I must leave this moral issue alone and concern myself with the many others. This one is a long-range spiritual thing."

Apparently a majority ~~of religious leaders~~ have taken some such view of the school crisis. A critic charges that "they have failed to present it as a moral issue" to their congregations and to the community.

There are some who clearly do not view it as a moral issue. One minister now teaches in a Foundation school, is a member of the Foundation Board, and gives religious sanction to the segregationists' position. Another candidly conforms to prevailing public opinion and to tradition. He as candidly admits that he found it "a very difficult question, even for a Christian minister," when a white child came asking for his counsel; this child had been meanly treated by white friends after they observed her in friendly conversation with a Negro classmate.

Few churches have refused their facilities as temporary havens for Foundation schools. The Unitarians of Norfolk, holding firm on this issue behind the conspicuous courage of their young pastor, refused the

N 35/2

use of their property by a private school on the ground that they could not be party to the circumventing of Federal law. The more usual response has been like that of an upper-middle class Presbyterian church in Prince Edward County. Here the deacons "voted overwhelmingly to let the Foundation come into the church, arguing that if the churches refused there would be no schools."

In Prince Edward there are, of course, no schools for the Negro children, who represent more than half the children of the County. "All church people are disturbed about the Negro schools being closed," a prominent minister explains. "But they see the Negroes as caught in this situation, and feel that the blame falls on the NAACP. - - - They [church people] are very sincere and not all consciously superior in their attitudes. They have convinced themselves that they're fighting for the integrity of the race."

For this minister and the majority of his congregation the "issue" behind the school crisis is neither law nor morality but rather the "integrity of the ~~(white)~~ race." And on some such grounds religion generally has made common cause with the moves to support and preserve segregation.

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FOUNDATION SCHOOLS OPERATING OCTOBER, 1960

LOCATION & NAME	GRADES	ENROLLMENT	PERSONNEL	FACILITIES
PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY *				
Pisgah (at Rice)	1 through 7		~~Mrs. Grace N. Bradshaw,~~ Headmistress, plus four teachers	Rooms in Pisgah Baptist Church ~~(Substantial modern brick building). Near public elementary school~~.
Liberty (Green Bay)	1 through 7		~~Mrs. Maude G. Wilson,~~ Headmistress, plus 3 teachers	Rooms in cement block addition behind Liberty Christian Church ~~(Modest frame building). Across street from public elementary school.~~
Spring Creek (Darlington Hts.)	1 through 7	374	~~Mrs. Dorothy S. Womack,~~ Headmistress, plus 2 teachers	Rooms in Spring Creek Baptist Church. ~~(New, substantial brick building). Not far from public elementary school.~~
Worsham Academy (Worsham)	1 through 7		~~J. Boyd Bagby,~~ Headmaster, plus four teachers	Rooms in cement block addition behind Worsham Baptist Church and in basement rooms of church ~~2. (Old frame building)~~
Patrick Henry (Prospect)	1 through 7		~~Mrs. H. T. Shannon,~~ Headmistress; plus 3 teachers	Rooms in Prospect Methodist Church ~~(New, large, handsome frame structure) Not far from public elementary school.~~
Prince Edward Academy - Lower School (Farmville)	Kindergarten through 7	527 (31 in kindergarten)	~~Miss Lucy G. Adams,~~ Headmistress, plus 18 teachers	Scattered through several buildings. (E.G., two 4th grades in the Woman's Club building; three 1st grades in the Methodist church.)
Prince Edward Academy - Upper School (Farmville)	8 through 12	474	~~R. C. Gilmer,~~ Headmaster (and coach); plus 26 teachers	As above; scattered through several buildings (especially churches, but also former stores and an old residence) and said to be only two or three minutes' walk apart.
	Total enrollment	1,375 3.		Prince Edward Foundation schools use a total of 10 buildings in the town of Farmville.
CHARLOTTESVILLE				
Robt. E. Lee School	1 through 7	225 4.	~~Mrs. George Bailey,~~ Principal, plus 12 ~~(?)~~ teachers	New, modern, well furnished and equipped (cinder block construction, said to be convertible to residences)
Rock Hill Academy	8 through 12	420 5.	~~Robert A. Wilson,~~ Headmaster; ~~William Harper,~~ Dean of Studies, plus 15 teachers	Offices, library and some classrooms in an old mansion. ~~excellently located and with fine grounds.~~ Most classrooms in four new brick buildings. Separate cafeteria building. All attractive, functional and closely grouped.
NORFOLK				
Tidewater Academy	7 through 12	192 6.	~~Col. R. A. Collins,~~ Principal, plus 12 teachers full-time and ~~plus~~ 2 part-time (music) teachers	Entirely housed in a 26-room "~~Fine old~~ mansion." ~~in older residential area. A substantial~~ building in adequate condition.
FRONT ROYAL				
Mosby Academy		483 7.	~~Glenn Sunderlin,~~ Principal, plus 21 teachers ~~(one is Vice Principal)~~	Housed in substantial new cinder block building ~~excellently located on large tract of land. Twenty-two~~ rooms and a cafeteria in use. Further classrooms may be added soon.

*. ~~See clipping and map attached.~~ Note that all facilities are temporary in Prince Edward County. Elsewhere all are permanent.

2. Interior here: Desks old discards of varied types, not painted (as are the used desks in schools in Farmville). Rooms here dingier, darker, generally less attractive and suitable, and with equally little (and shabby) equipment and supplies. This school structurally worse than others in the County; otherwise probably representative. None give external evidence of use as schools (e.g., no playground equipment) except for "school zone" street signs.

3. Total enrollment 1959-60: 1,446 (approximately the same number expected when enrollment is complete for '60-'61.)

4. Total enrollment 1959-60: 180

5. Total enrollment 1959-60: 312

6. Total enrollment 1959-60: 186

7. Total enrollment 1959-60: 425

THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS NOW

All Foundation school enthusiasts stress one central ~~tenet of an ideology about education. It is:~~ belief: To have a good school you don't need a "fancy building" or "fancy equipment"; what you do need - and little beside - is excellent teachers and eager, interested students.

Foundation leaders and supporters are emphatic and unanimous in their public statements about the excellence of Foundation teachers and the ~~remarkable~~ interest and willingness-to-work shown by the ~~Foundation~~ school children (and their parents). It is not difficult to find parents and children who ~~wholeheartedly~~ agree, nor is it difficult to appreciate the unusual efforts exerted since the Autumn of 1958 to bring about the functioning Foundation schools of today.

4 space

~~Accreditation - Consistent with their premise about the necessities is the assertion by Foundation people that their schools do in fact meet State standards for accreditation.~~ All are accredited by the state, and most achieved this status "right away." But In Front Royal, for example, this meant that emergency schools newly opened in temporary quarters were judged satisfactory for such facilities as a library - because "the town library was made available," and a laboratory - because the Randolph-Macon Academy "made its laboratory facilities available." Moreover, "the fire marshals worked with us."

New Para

~~When made in good faith, the assertion about Foundation schools reflects a special interpretation of State standards, and this must be said of even the best organized and equipped. As critics are quick to point out,~~ The Foundation schools do not accord with the "letter of the

(None of the schools ~~that~~ has, at this date, been accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges & Secondary Schools.)

law" in all respects. However, they are accredited, so presumably they accord with the "spirit of the law" as interpreted by its agents. Accreditation Standards in Virginia are evidently flexible, ~~as applied to public as well as private schools,~~ and ~~they~~ define minimum requirements. ~~The superb plant and sophisticated educational practices of the Warren County High School, for example, far exceed the minima.~~

4 spaces

Buildings and Equipment - Discrepancies between the "letter" and the "spirit" of the State standards are most conspicuous in physical equipment and facilities. In Prince Edward County ~~Where~~ schools are still operating in such ~~temporary quarters~~ as church buildings, erstwhile stores, and clubrooms. A new high school building is now being constructed. ~~(notably in Prince Edward County) classrooms and their furnishings are inevitably quite different than in structures built and furnished as schools~~. Libraries, science laboratories, and physical education facilities of ~~the~~ Foundation schools tend to be makeshift, minimal, or entirely lacking. There are exceptions to this generalization; Rock Hill Academy in Charlottesville has fine science laboratory facilities, and even a language laboratory. Physically, this school, and its partner elementary school (Robert E. Lee) represent the best in Foundation schools to date. Both schools ~~occupy buildings constructed by the Foundation in Charlottesville, and both~~ give evidence of more adequate financial support ~~more adequate~~ than has apparently been available to Foundations elsewhere. However, the new Mosby Academy in Front Royal ~~building~~ is substantial and in process of becoming better equipped; and the "old mansion" converted for use by the Tidewater Academy in Norfolk provides a physical setting adequate for the school at its present enrollment.

4 spaces

Personnel - Quality of school personnel is less easily evaluated. ~~For example~~ Foundation school administrators tend to differ

markedly in background and experience from their public school counterparts, but this fact does not in itself provide a reliable basis for evaluation. It does, however, provide an important clue to "philosophic" differences between Foundation and public schools.

Foundation enthusiasts tend to be highly critical of teachers' colleges, and of conventional teacher training requirements (as Foundation people understand both). ~~It is felt~~ They feel maintain that teachers' colleges stress theory and method too much and subject matter too little, that their graduates tend to be weak in inclination or ability to discipline students as well as to drive home the "fundamentals," (an opinion strongly held by some Foundation leaders), that they tend toward "dangerous" ideas, ~~having a dangerously socialistic - if not communistic - tinge.~~ → insert 16A

In view of these convictions it is not surprising that most Foundation schools are headed by people whose background is not that of the usual professional educator. Business, the armed services, and athletics ~~coaching~~ loom large in the experience of Foundation school heads. The Principal of Mosby Academy is a notable exception; in this case a public school man of many years experience has joined the Foundation school. However, since ~~this Principal~~ he is now in his seventies, the exception may prove temporary.

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Teachers seem to differ little in training and experience as between public and Foundation schools. Critics of the latter report that the majority of teachers willing to go to Foundation schools are near or even past retirement age, that they are former teachers who have come out of a retirement into which they went as housewives and mothers, or that they are people who do not hold valid teaching credentials. The facts partially support the criticism, ~~to only a limited extent and~~

Same PP

On the other hand, it may not be unfair to cite the bulletin of the Rock Hill Academy as an indication that the private school people are not themselves thoroughly grounded in the "fundamentals"; this nicely printed booklet is replete with grammatical slips and awkward syntax. A recent and elaborate brochure of the Prince Edward Academy has the same characteristics.

Beginning July 1, 1961 another professional school administrator will direct one of the operations. The Charlottesville Educational Foundation has created a new post, that of superintendent of all its schools, and appointed to it the present superintendent of public schools in South Norfolk. The choice has added interest because the appointee is, of all the professional schoolmen of Virginia, the one most prominently identified with [redacted] belief in segregation. He is at present also a member of the State Board of Education and of the Board of Rock Hill Academy.

but they do not ~~would not in any case~~ conclusively prove that Foundation teachers are on the average less competent.

But these facts do provide another illustration of practices which are in accord with Foundation philosophy. From the Foundation point of view classroom performance far outweighs any other basis for evaluating teachers, and such formal criteria as age or professional training and experience are of secondary importance. Moreover, attitudes and opinions about integration, states' rights, and related issues ~~views~~ inevitably play a part in determining who shall teach in Foundation schools. An advocate of integration, or even a person skeptical of the purpose or future of the Foundation school movement, would be unlikely to seek such employment or to be regarded as a congenial potential colleague if he did.

Public school people ~~generally~~ have shown considerable reluctance to cast their lot with the Foundations. In view of this, and of the teacher shortage general ~~to~~ in the country, it must be supposed that Foundation schools have not had unlimited choice of teachers. Prince Edward is of course an exception, since there are no public schools and the ~~majority of~~ white teachers ~~in the County~~ have themselves had no choice if they wished to remain in their profession and in the county.

~~Teacher reluctance toward Foundation schools might be explained in job security terms alone. However, Foundation officials report that their teachers are in these terms exactly on a par with public school teachers.~~ Salary scales (though not divulged) and fringe benefits are ~~said~~ represented ~~to be~~ as being the same as or better than the public schools'. ~~(one Foundation~~

anticipates a "merit" based scale); fringe benefits (health and retirement) are said to be identical and transferable; and one-year contracts (without tenure guarantees) are public as well as Foundation school practice.

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Guidance counseling is provided in Foundation secondary schools, in accord with State recommendations. Training and experience of persons carrying these responsibilities ~~is~~ are said to meet State standards, as is the time allowed for guidance and counseling.

4 spaces

Curriculum - Curriculum meets at least minimal State standards and is much like that of the public schools (though with fewer electives). So the Foundation school officials report. Admittedly, however, physical education, the arts, and (in all but Rock Hill Academy) the sciences must be offered on a basis adjusted to minimal physical facilities or to none at all. "Calisthenics" must suffice where there is no gymnasium; "history of the arts" must take the place of the practical arts when there are no rooms equipped for drawing, painting, modeling, band, etc.; discussions (and perhaps some demonstration) must substitute where there is no "science laboratory - - - installed in a suitable room" and including "tables in sufficient number to permit effective individual work" - as specified by the State Board of Education.

~~The facility shortages and their effects on curriculum are not, in the view of Foundation people, a serious matter (at least on a temporary basis). They~~ The schools do not advocate nor intend to offer physical education as offered in public schools, but football teams are already thriving and enthusiastically supported at all of the ~~Foundation~~ secondary

schools, and other team sports are or soon will be available. Science laboratories are being supplied as rapidly as possible, but there is little concern with provision for the arts or for such "crafts" as shop and home economics. At Mosby, however, home economics is being taught (adjusted to limited facilities) and shop is planned when the Academy building has been completed. Prince Edward teaches shop and agriculture. Rock Hill, on the contrary, has no intention of teaching shop; its ambition is to have a ~~and moves toward the~~ "good" Independent School type of curriculum, whereas Mosby (particularly) aspires to ~~moves to approximate~~ a "good" public school curriculum.

It is an explicit and widely held tenet of Foundation educators that curriculum should be centered on the "fundamentals" - the "tool subjects" plus science and languages - to the near exclusion of all else. Rock Hill Academy gives "a five-year math program, with algebra in ninth grade, -- a five-year science program, a four-year language program - which may include Russian by next year and now includes Latin, French and Spanish." In Rock Hill's partner elementary school, "French is started in second or third grade for those who can also keep up with the fundamental work."

It is believed that music, drama, sports, journalism, etc., should be handled on an extra-curricular basis and on this basis alone. At Tidewater Academy the policy is: no extra-curricular activities except those which are wanted by a ~~significant~~ number of students, ~~in a given year,~~ and wanted enough so that the interested students themselves will - with some help from faculty and parents - organize and carry through to get what they want.

said to be

All Foundation secondary schools stress college preparation, with "business education," and "distributive education" as secondary interests. One school hopes in time to move away from even the vocationalism implied in "business education," but another (Tidewater) is expanding curriculum in this area. All report that their graduates ~~(one class for each)~~ seem to have met no unusual difficulties in qualifying for admission to college. Percentage of graduates going on ~~continuing~~ to some type of higher education is "more than half" ~~to colleges (e.g., VMI, VPI, Univ. Va., William & Mary and small colleges for women)~~ from Tidewater, the same proportion from Rock Hill and from Prince Edward. The latter boasts that "one or two" of its graduates "received competitive scholarships on a national basis." It must be remembered that these schools have operated too short a time to be either credited or blamed for most of the academic preparation of their students.

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Do the Foundation schools deliberately teach the conservative social-economic-political views characteristic of Foundation members generally? Considerable differences ~~between schools~~ appear. ~~in answer to this question~~. For Tidewater Academy and Prince Edward the answer seems to be at least a qualified affirmative. At Mosby the answer seems to be an almost unqualified negative, and the Rock Hill policy is similar. The following statements bearing on this question were made by Foundation or school officials:

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"The Academy offers emphasis on the American heritage through study of our history and of the Constitution and through observance of important historical holidays. We seek no sectarianism but can put emphasis on Bible teachings. We do not approve of the 'gradualism' through which, by one legal move and then another, religion is being put out of American schools."

(Norfolk Foundation officer)

"We've stopped arguing integration-segregation. Our emphasis is on education - especially the fundamentals - the three Rs, and on Americanism and the Constitution."

"We hope that these things [religion, regional history, traditions, etc.] are explored to the fullest by our excellent teachers. Opening the day with prayers or bible reading is optional with them."

(Prince Edward Foundation officers)

"We want our school to emphasize expression, - - foreign Languages, -- government - -. I don't know how the teachers feel [i.e., on social and political issues], but they

haven't been instructed to teach any particular point of view. - - And as long as I'm associated with the Foundation, the children will be taught all sides [of an issue]. Their conclusions will be their own."

"We have no bible readings or prayers, and our point of view toward race relations is not discussed in school, and I'd prefer that it not be. Other controversial subjects - political for instance - can and should be discussed."

(Front Royal Foundation officers)

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"Our teachers are anti-integration. This we make sure, both because we ourselves don't believe in integration and - more important - because we can't have teachers here who'll be making speeches and flag waving. However, we're not teaching prejudice."

"We do not teach religion nor is there any unusual emphasis on Virginia tradition."

(Charlottesville Foundation educator and officer)

Critics of the Foundation schools hold that their students are inevitably being taught conservative, anti-democratic, and prejudiced points of view. They argue that, even if these views are not taught explicitly they are certainly taught implicitly. Since such views are the premises on which the Foundation movement is built, since they are shared by all adults connected with Foundation schools, the "atmosphere" of these schools cannot fail to convey such

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ideas to the children. ~~Therefore, the critics conclude, a "broad" education, such as young people need in preparation for the modern world, is impossible in Foundation schools. In this sense, if in no other, these schools offer an inferior brand of education. They should not exist, because "they contribute to the weakening of America."~~

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Schedule - Foundation schools meet or slightly exceed the State requirement for a school year of 180 days of at least five ~~forty-five~~ 45 minute periods. ~~each day.~~ The ~~Foundation~~ school year follows the same pattern - or one similar - to that of the public schools. To achieve the prescribed daily schedules presents a ~~major~~ problem only in Prince Edward where lunching facilities are entirely lacking. There students may have a drink and sandwich or other snack begun between classes and finished during a class. A real lunch must be postponed until the school day ends at 1:30 P.M.

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Academic Standards - Academic standards are a matter of intense concern to Foundation officers and the administrators of their schools. ~~"We intend to push academic standards to the highest possible level," says one principal. (And, commenting on the importance of incentive, he notes that the school is soon to receive a charter from a national students' "honor society.")~~

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One of the critics has stated his objections publicly; he is a person whose opinions command respect, both because of his professional position and his close familiarity with the situation. Dr. Gordon Moss, Dean of Longwood Teachers College in Farmville has said (as quoted in Newsday, December 23, 1960):

> I wouldn't let my son go to it [Prince Edward Academy] for anything in the world. Maybe the kids are doing all right in French and math and English - after all, they have the same teachers they had in the public schools - but they are learning principles that are far from what I would call proper education. How, in a government class, can they teach democracy in such an undemocratic school?

Foundation officials are "proud of the educational job we're doing," and feel that "education now ~~(in Foundation schools)~~ is as good as or better than in the public schools." In what ways better? one asks, and the answer is (from a Prince Edward Foundation official): "There's a wonderful esprit de corps in the school; the students study harder. They know their parents have sacrificed to get this school for them and have them in it; they know they're paying and want to get their dollar's worth, quite different than in the 'free' public schools - which aren't really free. And in our schools 'problem children' have found themselves. Partly this is because they know the law doesn't keep them in school, and it's either learn or else."

~~(Prince Edward Foundation official)~~ says the father of a Prince Edward Foundation school child remarks: "Any honest parent would have to say the education is a little better now than before [in the public schools]". He attributes this improvement to the enthusiastic "spirit" now existing among parents and teachers. Though it might be easier to raise academic standards if students were carefully selected, a selective admissions policy is not anticipated at most of the schools. They anticipate ~~rather~~ that, should applications rise, the schools would expand ~~to accommodate the larger student body.~~ At but one school is there talk of a possible selective policy in the future, and even here such policy has by no means been set. A move toward making the school "exclusive" is likely to meet stiff opposition and be insupportable for financial as well as other reasons.

Individual Attention - ~~Foundation school enthusiasts stress the advantages enjoyed by their students because of small classes and much individual attention (even special tutoring.)~~ Teacher-pupil ra-

tios of 1 to 22 or thereabouts are ~~general~~ usual ~~in these schools,~~ though Tidewater boasts a 1 to 14 ratio. However, not all classes are small. At Mosby, for example, they range from ~~8~~ eight students (in Spanish, French, Physics, and Geometry) to 35 (the upper limit set by State law) in some other subjects. Other schools report much the same range.

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The Students - The abilities of students and of their achievements in Foundation schools are even more difficult to assess than the quality of teachers. Objective tests ~~of achievement~~ are either lacking or results ~~are~~ not divulged, or it is plausibly argued that, since all but a fraction of the students' education had been accomplished before the Foundation schools existed, tests must reflect largely that earlier training. Headmasters and principals ~~of Foundation schools~~ are unanimous in voicing their impression that their students "run the gamut" and are, on the average, in no way notably different - in capacity to learn - from public school students. Public school administrators will not comment on the quality of students who have withdrawn ~~to Foundation schools~~ except to note that, while superior students often withdraw to conventional private schools, this selective factor does not appear to operate with the new private schools.

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Foundation spokesmen are unanimous in the view that their students are more highly motivated~~, that they work harder,~~ and that disciplinary problems are fewer. ~~in the Foundation schools.~~ Parents of students now in these schools seem to agree, and students are said to "just love the school", and to be deeply "interested in making the school a success. - - - The students are more interested in school, and the parents more interested in them. ~~(than when the children were in public schools)."~~

Most Foundation leaders and educators say that their students ~~"cover the gamut" with respect to~~ represent all socio-economic backgrounds. "Some are wealthy - some are poor -- it's about the same as in the [public] high school," says a Front Royal leader. His counterpart in Charlottesville also asserts that a "cross-section" of community families are represented. But he adds that these are, after all, families who "don't believe in integrated schools," and "the working people feel stronger than do the prosperous about this." ~~(integration).~~

That ~~the observation~~ this may be true ~~- presently if not in the past -~~ seems likely in view of certain ~~trends.~~ observations. ~~For example,~~ Among Foundation officers the "FFV" types seem to be less well represented than in the first year of Foundation activity. Differences of opinion have inevitably appeared (e.g., on questions of fund raising, policies affecting the future of the Foundation schools, etc.), and in two of the communities erstwhile top leadership - "aristocratic" in lineage and following the law by profession - has quietly eased out, to be supplanted by businessmen and others of less distinguished antecedents. ~~This generalization as yet applies, however,~~

and for family-neighborhood background averaging low in educational attainment). A few make the "honor roll," a few just "make the grade." Most do average work in their new schools. Responses of their white classmates are said to range from sympathetic interest to indifference to coldness. Where the last response exists there is likely to be occasional provocative behavior, but "non-violence" is a philosophy and a technique learned early and necessarily by Negro children generally, and by these Negro children particularly.

Whites in Integrated Schools

Apparently most white children who might have objected to integrated classes have withdrawn to private schools (a fact which leads some public school people to feel grateful that the private schools exist). However, some students unenthusiastic about integration have stayed with public schools, because of attachment to friends, athletics, extra-curricular activities, teachers and administrators, or other feature of the public schools.

A school administrator wonders whether it is, on the whole, the students who make the choice of one of the new private schools, or whether it is more often a choice made for them by their parents. Observing that Virginia's current school philosophy rests on the premise that "freedom of choice" is a sacred right, he raises the interesting question: "whose freedom? whose choice?" Is it for the parents that this right is being safeguarded, or for their children? Another school man reports: "There are children whose parents wouldn't let them attend the public schools which were their choice."

The students who have worked in integrated classrooms "have profited," says a school administrator who is himself a Virginian and

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~~in but two of the four communities.~~

In one community marked by this trend there is ~~great~~ emphasis (by a present Foundation officer) upon the democratic character of the Foundation school student body, and upon its lack of a "caste system" with an "élite" such as is said to dominate the student body in the public high school. In the Foundation school, says this officer, the children have formed new friendships and there have been opportunities for "the rural child" - and others not of the high school "élite" - to "come forward as never before."

In the other ~~of the~~ communit~~ies~~y which ~~have~~ has experienced a change in Foundation officers a parent makes much the same point, speaking ~~with vast enthusiasm~~ of the leadership opportunities her children enjoy in the Foundation school. Her emphasis, however, is on the advantages of a small school, where children who would otherwise have been "lost in the crowd" can be important in student activities (football, cheerleading, ~~on the~~ yearbook staff, etc.), and their parents too feel "~~needed~~ and wanted." While the size factor is undoubtedly important, it is also ~~significant~~ noteworthy that as the "élite" have left Foundation leadership their children have left the Foundation schools.

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Community Support - The four communities differ markedly with respect to attitudes toward the Foundations and their schools. Community awareness and interest vary from ~~minimal~~ low in Norfolk to ~~maximal~~ high in Prince Edward County, and an observer is tempted to the over-simple conclusion that size of community is the one crucial factor.

While there are other important factors, these do tend to be associated with size. Norfolk, for example, has grown not only large, but also heterogeneous; its native Virginians do not

alone determine now what happens in Norfolk, and the non-native and semi-transient part of the population weakens the solid front required to hold the line when there are pressures toward change. The newcomers lack "bred in the bone" adherence to Virginia traditions. What is equally important, they lack those multiple and years-long interpersonal ties in the community which so reinforce adherence to its traditions.

Prince Edward is the other face of the Norfolk coin. Its population is small and relatively homogeneous. Its natives do emphatically determine what happens - or so it has been in the school crisis at any rate. And it is extremely difficult or hazardous, psychologically and even socially and economically, for natives to break with or even question native leadership. Breaking with tradition is not a comfortable business at best, and it can become extremely painful when "everybody" who means something to you, "always" has and presumably always will, turns his back - or does worse - the moment your dedication to tradition is observed to waver. And observation is constant and keen in the small community; freedom from surveillance is as rare as freedom to differ, as some few who have met privately to discuss ways of reopening the public schools have discovered.

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With these facts in mind it is not difficult to understand why ~~the~~ Norfolk's Tidewater Academy, though operating in the largest of the four communities, is the smallest of the four Foundation secondary schools. But those responsible for Tidewater quite naturally fail to see their community in perspective or indeed to see that their own devotion to tradition leaves them on a shrinking island eroding in the rapid tides of change around

~~*Moreover, there is growing under way an effort to start a rival new private school~~

28

The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties are strong in the county. This is the Virginia organization which shares the same general opinions and purposes as the Citizens Councils of the lower South. Farmville, in fact, was the place of origin for the Defenders in 1954, and the state president resides in the town. There is, reportedly, much overlapping of membership between the Defenders and the Foundation; the former group has undoubtedly used its influence to enforce solid support for the private school, and to discourage any public disagreements.

them. They observe - correctly - a widespread indifference or even resistance to what they conceive as their heroic stand against a disaster. They ~~quite naturally~~ expected both appreciation of their ~~truly herculean~~ efforts and a rallying round in support. Instead they discover a "lack of cooperation with our school - a lack of support - a lack of gratitude" - - and they say: "We don't understand - -."

In Prince Edward County, ~~conditions are still optional for support of the Foundation movement.~~ A crisis atmosphere still prevails because the public schools remain closed. Since the fight on this level is not yet lost, public emotion can be sustained - via the press and a tight network of personal relations, and with it the belief that it can be won.

The wall of resistance to change shows no breaks, but ~~small~~ cracks are apparent. A heavy legal blow will open these ~~incipient~~ fractures which are now kept carefully covered. "The people of the County are still behind us," says the Foundation's president, and "we have full cooperation - without it our program could never have worked. - - - There is the barest minimum of opposition. It centers in Longwood [the State Teacher's College in Farmville], aided by a handful of people in the County." Insert 29A

active

However, "opposition" may in the long run prove to be one of the weaker of the several hidden forces slowly eroding that "full cooperation." Emotions will cool, the "cause" lose its glamour, and peace, prosperity, and public schools begin to look like an attractive package deal. Out in the County even now the question, "How do folks around here like the new schools?" gets answers notably low in enthusiasm or militancy. A general store

The opposition is, however, considerably more than "minimum," and if community pressures have so far kept it largely underground it is all the more notable that it has taken root.

(, enacted by the state in March, 1959)

clerk replies tersely: "Better'n none." The owner of a cross-roads filling station observes thoughtfully that private schools are for people with money, "the rest of us got to have public schools. Besides, not educating the colored folks is bad business; we got to get along, and it's hard to get along with a man has no education."

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Financing - Foundation schools have many problems to meet but none comparable in importance, from an immediate point of view, at least, to those of financing. The system of tuition grants represents their financial life blood, but all capital needs must still be supplied through gifts and contributions and through fund-raising projects.

By March, of 1959, following State and Federal court decisions in January which struck down "massive resistance," the Virginia legislature had responded to Governor Almond's request for repeal of the state's compulsory attendance laws and for enactment of tuition grant provisions. Under that "Freedome of Choice" plan, ~~implemented by the legislature~~ "Virginia offers to every child - black child or white child, rich or poor - the individual option of attendance at a public school or a scholarship for use in any qualified private (i.e., non-sectarian and accredited) or public school (outside own community) in the entire world" (as the Atlanta Constitution reported).

The tuition grant measure (as it now operates after revisions) provides that elementary pupils may receive up to $250 and high school students (grades 8 through 12) up to $275 annually.

State funds are invested to the extent of $~~215~~ 125 annually for an elementary and $150 for a high school pupil. Additional amounts are provided from local funds, and these amounts vary between communities because they are adjusted to per capita cost of public schooling in each community.

Though grants are paid to parents, rather than to the schools, the practice still amounts to public subsidy of private education and may be judged an intent to thwart the law. ~~Nevertheless,~~ With the GI Bill of Rights as a precedent, some lawyers seem optimistic about the survival of the program. Most, however, agree that, - until completion of the legal tests, ~~which will surely develop sooner or later -~~ no one can be certain that the grant system has a long future.

Most Foundation officers, members and enthusiasts speak optimistically about the future in spite of this uncertainty. It is said that the schools would survive, though tuition grants were stopped, because most of the parents could afford to pay an equivalent amount. ~~They would, if necessary, make a special effort to do so because of their high regard for the schools. Other informants admit that loss of tuition grants would mean some loss of students from the Foundation schools~~. A few Foundation leaders frankly say that ~~Foundation~~ the schools would lose their less affluent families, and hence become - with respect to socio-economic level of the families served - more like conventional private schools.

This possibility is vigorously rejected by a "faith can move mountains" segment among Foundation school leaders. These

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people argue that a system of scholarships could and would be set up so that "no child who wanted it would be denied an education of the Foundation school type." It is believed that local fund drives, and possibly the jettisoning of all other fund drives in the community, along with solicitation of gifts from "Freedom of Choice" enthusiasts elsewhere, could be counted upon to supply needs for "scholarship" money.

There are many observers, however, who ~~Opponents of the Foundation schools~~ predict that ~~they~~ the schools will not survive without tuition grants. These predictions are based on the assumption that interest ~~in these schools~~ will gradually decline as communities become accustomed to desegregation; that parents will find that public schools are better schools; and that ~~they~~ parents will not make sacrifices to keep their children in private schools unless these are clearly superior. ~~as some of the conventional private schools are widely believed to be.~~

It is true ~~as enthusiasts claim~~ that money in surprising amounts has already been given for Foundation schools.

The Prince Edward School Foundation reported nearly $250,000 of a $300,000 goal raised between July 1~~st~~ and late September, ~~of~~ 1960. ~~Of the amount raised~~ only $21,000 is reported to have come from sources outside the County, and some 1,610 individual donors are said to be represented. Both facts are notable in view of the County's limited population (about 14,000) and its predominantly agricultural economy. Nearly ~~four-fifths~~ 4/5 of this amount ~~raised~~ was ~~in the status of~~ "pledges" rather than cash, however, and all of it was earmarked as capital funds for buildings and ~~permanent~~ facilities. ~~which are not yet under construction.~~

The Prince Edward Foundation reports that during the 1959-60

~~to '60~~ school year, when tuition grants were not accepted (due to fear of legal complications), and capital outlays were small, over $300,000 in contributions were collected and the operation is said to have closed the year "in the black." But contributions during that year were relatively painless because county taxes were reduced due to "savings" in costs of public education (since no public schools were operating.) Taxes now are higher than before, and returns on fund campaigns ~~can be expected to~~ may slow for this and other reasons, despite a generous tax offset allowed for contributions to the Foundation.

Elsewhere the story is similar, though tuition grants were utilized in '59-'60 and hence operating costs were covered. In Charlottesville some $350,000 (about $200,000 in cash and pledges, the rest in loans) has gone into capital outlay. ~~for permanent buildings and equipment.~~ The Foundation there went in the red for '59-'60. For its new permanent building and equipment, the Front Royal school used $110,000 raised from the sale of unsecured debenture bonds, and erected the building on a $20,000 tract given by ~~twenty~~ 20 men. Gifts amounting to another $75,000 needed to complete its building and equipment are being sought. The Tidewater Academy in Norfolk operates in a 26-room "mansion" said to have cost the Foundation $75,000. Yields from its fund-raising efforts have been disappointing. New and continuing solicitations are being made, but meanwhile resources are meager.

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Almost all families with children in Foundation schools - and a good many whose children are in other private schools or even out-of-county public schools - apply for tuition grants (whether or not they "need the money"). Most Foundations ~~schools~~

In December, 1960 the Foundations in Charlottesville and Front Royal received from an anonymous donor or donors gifts of $20,000 and $30,000 respectively; the Front Royal group stated that it did not know the source.

levy small additional charges (for example, at Tidewater: membership and registration fees of $26.00 per family per year, plus $6.00 per month; at Prince Edward: $15.00 per year; at Front Royal: small fees for materials; at Rock Hill: about $15.00 per year). ~~These conspicuous costs are not heavy, but critics point to hidden costs to these families and to the community as a whole.~~

Foundation people argue that their schools cost the average taxpayer nothing and at the same time relieve him of the costs of educating part of the community's children. But other ~~critics~~ contend that public school expenditures do not go down ~~or not significantly~~ when only a fraction of the children are drawn out of public schools. Therefore, the community as a whole is ~~being taxed~~ paying twice, or approximately so, for the education of that fraction of its children. During 1959 ~~to~~ 60, over 1,200 tuition grants were made to Norfolk residents at a total cost of $275,000. Fifty-eight per cent of this amount came from city funds, but the city's school load was not reduced by 1,200 children. Many of these would ordinarily have been in private schools and paying their own way. Tidewater Academy enrollment accounted for fewer than 200.

It can be argued too that those who make gifts for Foundation schools are paying again after taxes. Certainly it is not only the ~~Foundation~~ enthusiasts who contribute to the Foundations; businessmen with their own children in public schools, like others concerned to safeguard their relations with Foundation leaders, make ~~generous~~ contributions. Moreover, purchase of Foundation ~~school~~

bonds may be in effect a contribution, since even friends of the Foundations admit there is no assurance that they will ever be paid off.

Most citizens seem as yet but little aware of or concerned with the tuition grant question. Opponents of the system feel that it should be brought to public attention and its "unfairness" discussed.

4 spaces

Transportation - Transportation to and from school, never a simple matter, must be unusually complicated when the school population is not determined on a residence area basis. For the Foundation schools other than in Prince Edward County the problem does have this unusual dimension. Yet it is seldom discussed, and there is little evidence that attendance at Foundation schools is at all affected by transportation considerations.

Foundation school students, other than those in walking or biking distance of their schools, ~~either~~ use public transportation, school buses, or private conveyances. In Norfolk, the Virginia Transit Company has instituted special service to the Academy from several areas, and a similar arrangement has been worked out in Front Royal and in Charlottesville.

Prince Edward alone has developed a school bus service. "Patrons, Inc.," a parents' organization, owns and operates ~~fifteen~~ 15 regulation school buses (with a ~~sixteenth~~ 16th in reserve for emergencies). A "contribution" of $1.00 a week is asked for this service, and parents are expected to pay (since the fixed costs to Patrons, Inc., go on in any case) whether or not they use it. Some dissatisfaction

for each child

In November, 1960 the county Board of Supervisors voted $35.00 reimbursement for transportation charges to parents living one-half mile or more from school.

with this principle arises among parents. ~~On the whole, however, transportation problems seem well under control.~~

4 spaces

Organizational Structure - Behind the Foundation schools stands an organizational pattern which is complicated, and deliberately so; it obviously "has a purpose." Should legal assaults be made, it would be more difficult to strike down three or four organizations than one. Hence in Warren County the structure has four distinct though interlocking parts: (1) the Front Royal Academy, which owns the land on which the school stands and the building in which it is housed; (2) The Front Royal Foundation, which operates the school and pays rent to the Academy for the building; (3) the Mosby Service Organization, which is equivalent to a PTA; (4) the Mosby Academy, which is the people - administrators and faculty - who make up the school.

In Charlottesville the Foundation effort works through three corporations and a parents' "Auxiliary." The corporations are: (1) the Charlottesville Educational Foundation, which owns the school properties; (2) the Rock Hill Academy, which operates the secondary school; and (3) the Robert E. Lee School, which operates the elementary unit.

In Prince Edward and Norfolk the structures have three parts: (1) the Foundation organizations; (2) the school organizations; and (3) the parents' (PTA or, in Norfolk, PTSA) organization. Also in Prince Edward there is Patrons, Inc., the ~~transportation~~ organization.

FUTURE OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

"The uproar is quieting and they're settling down to run a good school." - - - This capsule observation on the present and hopeful prediction for the future seems as appropriate to Front Royal and Norfolk as to Charlottesville (about which it was made). For Prince Edward the story is of course different; the "uproar" will not be over until after keys are turned, and doors thrown open in those public school buildings which now stand forsaken, with blinds drawn, in their weed-choked yards.

The Future in Prince Edward

"The Prince Edward Story - -" (~~reviewed~~ told in pamphlet form by the Farmville Herald in late 1959) has not yet reached its crucial chapter. An uncertain equilibrium prevails in the County, while people wait for something to happen, - something to upset the precarious balance.

Foundation leaders ~~in Prince Edward~~ declared that "private education is here to stay whether the public schools open on an integrated basis or not." And, they add, "there will always be private [segregated] schools available to all - regardless of economic status." The Foundation's legal counsel admits that there is now "no other way segregated schools can be maintained except by operating private schools for whites." He predicts, however, that though public schools might become legally integrated "you are not going to have an integrated system here factually. You might have a legally integrated system attended only by Negroes." ~~The best thing (for all the people of the County) is to have a completely segregated system."~~

delete italics

Complaints concerning non-operation of public schools ~~in Prince Edward~~ are now pending before a U. S. District Court. Should the resulting judgments require re-opening, ~~of public schools, as seems inevitable~~

this already over-due event might still be delayed until the fall of 1961. When public schools do re-open, a ~~significant~~ sizeable proportion of the white children may stay in Foundation schools.

The crucial question is: how large will that proportion be? In view of past events, it is to be expected that every effort will be made by Foundation leaders to maintain absolute solidarity among whites, and to discourage return to public schools by so much as a single white child. While it seems unlikely that such complete conformity can be achieved, an episode of intense - ~~1~~ even if largely covert - struggle may be building up.

By Autumn '61 or earlier, the Foundation ~~will presumably~~ may be operating its high school in ~~substantial~~ permanent quarters. ~~(Construction of these buildings was to have begun in late summer 1960).~~ Permanent quarters for ~~a Foundation~~ an elementary school in Farmville, and several more in the County, are also ~~in the Foundation's~~ planned. It had been hoped that public school buildings and facilities could be purchased. ~~for Foundation use.~~ That hope was frustrated by the former school board. The present board is unlikely to move now that federal court action on the property disposal question is pending.

insert 38A

If by Fall of 1961 the malady of Prince Edward is past its crisis and the "uproar {is} quieting - - ," then perhaps both County and Foundation will "settle down to run good schools." It will be high time, after two long years of one of the strangest aberrations in the history of American public education, and two years of almost ~~totally empty of~~ non-existent education for one-half of the County's children.

Class Differences and the Future of the Private Schools

A Prince Edward segregationist observes that "the poor whites might send their children to the ~~(integrated)~~ public schools." And, he

The old school board ~~xxx~~ resigned in April, 1960. When it ~~xx~~ did, it released a 14-page statement. The excerpt from it which follows is long, but it states well and authoritatively some of the causes for concern about a Prince Edward type operation:

(quote pp 10-12 as marked)

adds, this would ~~strengthen~~ be a return to the kind of class differentiation familiar in pre-public school days, when "poor whites" did not send their children to school at all.

If only the "poor whites" and the Negroes attended public schools, and if school taxes and appropriations were controlled (as in Prince Edward in the past) by a white élite become indifferent or hostile to public education, then low-quality public schools might be expected. This is a possibility in the future of Prince Edward County; it is not a likely development in the other three communities.

Just discernible trends in these other communities suggest a quite different course. The "élite" shows a tendency to gravitate back to the public schools or to conventional private schools. Just as they abandoned the massive resistance posture without much creaking and groaning so they seem now in process of abandoning - in act if not in word - the movement associated with "freedom of choice." They show a flexibility markedly more developed than is common among the "best people" of Prince Edward or, indeed, among many people in their own communities.

Realism and the Growing Middle Ground

"It is a matter of realism," says one community leader, explaining how his own course differs from that of a friend prominent in the Foundation movement. "I suppose I'm just as much a segregationist as he is, but I'm a realist. Things have changed - we have integration now. Several more counties have been integrated even this fall, and one of these days only Southside Virginia will be left. Once you have integration, you can't go back. It's too late to go back."

Except in Prince Edward the "realists" have swung the balance of power. In the other ~~three~~ communities it has perhaps been easier for them to speak out.

MA - add

The future of the Foundation school movement will be seriously affected by the extent to which "realism" develops in a community. ~~This~~ middle-ground position seems to be nourished by wide reading, by travel and wide acquaintance, and by the related ability to see local events in the perspective of the nation and its history. It is the "University people" (as in Prince Edward and Charlottesville) who are most likely to be "realists," as are the more educated generally. Occupational interests and economic considerations also affect opinions and attitudes concerning the school situation. The career public school man, for example, has a professional commitment as well as an economic motivation holding him loyal to the public schools, integrated if need be. The businessman will support public schools when the lack or weakening of them threatens the economic welfare of the community.

It is not the "realists" who give to the Foundation movement a passionate "all or nothing" devotion and support. And such support it must have in order to meet the extraordinary tasks of organization and financing involved in creating new private schools, operating them, and building them into sound educational institutions. The ~~Foundation~~ schools are in fact, as their ardent supporters point out, the ~~remarkable~~ results of intense effort, dedication, and even sacrifice. No large proportion of the citizens in any of the four communities has participated wholeheartedly in this effort, and the proportion willing and able to carry on the struggle indefinitely is even smaller.

Time quenches the fires of indignation while the achievement of integration without catastrophe teaches its own lesson. Intransigence

perhaps

melts away and increasing numbers of people find themselves on a middle ground - still opposed to integration in principle, but no longer caring enough to fling themselves and their children on the altar of a lost cause.

Office file copy

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1966: THE SLOW UNDOING

December 1966

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1966: THE SLOW UNDOING

I. INTRODUCTION: THE GENUINE ISSUE

The school year 1966-67 arrived amid controversy over the implementation of school desegregation guidelines and amid still successful avoidance of an end in the South to racially separated schools as ordered by the Supreme Court in 1954. Some southern public officials had launched an at least partially successful campaign to persuade the nation that the United States Office of Education (U.S.O.E.) had "gone beyond the law" in enforcing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Public and even congressional debate had been focused both on a charge that excessive administrative zeal had been put into enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and on a question of the intent of Congress when it passed the act.

One might question the appropriateness of these concerns in the context of the wording of Section 601 of Title VI:

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to, discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financal assistance.

Given this language of Title VI and the weight of the nation's highest judicial opinion on equal protection under the

Constitution, it can be asked whether in fact the U.S.O.E. had gone far enough in carrying out the mandate given in Section 602 of Title VI "to effectuate the provisions of Section 601 [cited above] . . . by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability . . . ."

Indeed, it seems clear that by accepting gradualism in its guidelines the U.S.O.E. took a conservative approach to carrying out its mandate from Congress. Thus, complaints about the degree of zeal put into enforcement of an essentially conservative policy may be seen in proper perspective.

No amount of qualification of intent by Congress could stand the test of constitutionality if its effect was to deny equal protection of the law by allowing segregated dual school systems to continue under an assumed name -- freedom of choice schools -- subsidized by federal funds. Only repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment could achieve what some southern officials have attempted through amendments to annual appropriations and through complaints about the "unreasonableness" of federal examiners.

The study which follows attempts to provide more facts. The premise on which it does so is that the body politic needs to be confronted with a clearer choice about itself on the desegregation issue. Will it allow the *prima facie* intent of Title VI and the Supreme Court decision

of 1954 to be circumvented? Will it, despite John Kennedy's words, both witness and permit "the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed"?

II. THE 1966 GUIDELINES: THE END OF INNOCENCE

1965 RECONSIDERED

In 1965, the United States Office of Education seemed to assume good faith on the part of southern school officials in complying with desegregation guidelines. In view of the long history of attempted evasion of court orders since 1954 on the part of many of these same officials and on the part of governors and other public office holders, this assumption was questioned by many interested in obedience of the law. A special report of the Southern Regional Council stated at that time:

> The most rigid checks are needed -- and have been from the beginning -- to be sure at every step of the administrative process that plans for "voluntary" action comply with all requirements of the law, and that the plans are carried out so as to meet all requirements of the law. Any other course in the South in this matter risks criticism as naive and encourages the kind of winking at the law that has been for too long a serious fault of southern society.

The performance on school desegregation in the South during 1965-66 was not reassuring. This was the first year that the Office of Education had the duty of enforcing Title VI in the schools. A decade of litigation over the 1954 school decision of the Supreme Court had by September, 1966,

resulted in a pitifully small amount of desegregation. Approximately two percent of the 2,896,100 Negro children in the eleven southern states were in desegregated schools in 1964-65. The number was increased to about six percent during 1965-66, a disappointing result considering the fanfare for Title VI, and what might have been achieved under it.

Late in January, 1966, Harold Howe, II, the new U. S. Commissioner of Education, requested suggestions for changing the 1965 guidelines for 1966. Wall Street Journal columnist Jonathan Spivak commiserated with the federal agency's "almost impossible assignment: Strengthening the standards sufficiently to satisfy its civil rights critics and yet not so much as to provoke explosive southern resistance, sacrificing the integration gains already achieved. /6.01% of Negro pupils in school with whites in the South in 1965./ 'In this business, any decision is wrong; that's why no one wants to make them, frets one school desegregation specialist.'"

Shortly after Mr. Howe's request, representatives of eight civil rights and human relations organizations attacked the U.S.O.E.'s school desegregation program for 1965 as "too weakly drawn and too timidly enforced." They planned meetings in five southern states to try to persuade the federal government to carry out a "massive school desegregation program."

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights advocated a

"federal law to protect Negro students who attend white schools from intimidation and harassment." It also declared that freedom of choice plans "should not be permitted as a device for perpetuation of dual school systems." The Commission said its own studies showed that states which made the most use of freedom of choice plans had the lowest percentage of Negroes going to school with whites. The plans placed all initiative on Negroes, and often with no protection from resultant physical and economic intimidation. The Commission recommended that the Office of Education adopt policies and procedures which "will assure adequate evaluation and monitoring of desegregation plans for the 5,000 school districts in the southern and border states. This would require on-the-spot inspection of some school districts and the Office of Education should seek more funds if needed for personnel to do such investigation." The Commission also repeated a recommendation of civil rights organizations that school districts operating under court order be required to file plans complying with federal guidelines.

Many suggestions centered on intimidation, a quite serious problem in school desegregation as in most other areas of civil rights law enforcement. (The proposed 1966 civil rights legislation would have made a major step toward remedying the situation with a provision making it a federal offense to interfere with attempts of persons seeking to

exercise their civil rights, and another reforming jury selection procedures. Defeat of the bill in what seemed a reaction against civil rights progress in 1966 was a major setback to the South.)

Meanwhile, the U.S.O.E. in early 1966 was drafting new school desegregation guidelines. There was candid admission at the Office of Education that something stronger than new guidelines would be needed to break segregation patterns in school systems outside the South. By this time, many of those seeking implementation of the law were convinced the same was true for the South.

THE NEW GUIDELINES: ACCEPTANCE AND REJECTION

On March 7, the new guidelines were issued. They included many revisions recommended by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Where desegregation of four grades had been required the year before, more grades were required this time, and all grades by 1967 would be expected to desegregate. The beginning of faculty desegregation where it had not occurred was also required. All of this was consistent with court orders in school cases saying that faculty desegregation was a necessary element of school desegregation,- that free-choice plans must be fair, and that school boards have an obligation to work affirmatively to achieve desegregation.

Probably the most serious criticism of the previous year's guidelines had been that many of the freedom of choice

plans had not been fair. They put all of the burden for compliance on Negroes, and allowed school officials, local police, and white society in general to shirk responsibility. The new guidelines tried to shift the responsibility more nearly to where it belonged -- on the local officials, and particularly those in charge of schools. The new guidelines stated:

> Each school system is responsible for the effective implementation of its desegregation plan. Within their authority, school officials are responsible for the protection of persons exercising rights under, or otherwise affected by, the plan. They must take appropriate action with regard to any student or staff member who interferes with the successful operation of the plan, whether or not on school grounds. If officials of the school system are not able to provide sufficient protection, they must seek whatever assistance is necessary from other appropriate officials.

Criteria were established in the guidelines for determining whether a given free-choice (or other type) desegregation plan was actually working. A plausible criterion was whether or not the plan resulted in "substantial achievement" of desegregation. Mr. Howe indicated the following measures of "substantial achievement" would be used by his office:

(1) If a system had transferred eight to nine percent of its Negro pupils from a segregated school in 1965, at least twice that number would "normally be expected" to be trans-

ferred in September of 1966.

(2) In the cases where four to five percent had transferred, the percentage would be expected to triple next term.

(3) Where the transfer percentage was lower than four percent, "then the rate of increase in total transfers for the 1966-67 school year would normally be expected to be proportionately greater than under (2) above," according to the regulations. This would seem to mean it would have to quadruple or reach an approximate minimum of ten percent.*

States whose records, according to Southern Education Reporting Service figures, had been lower than four percent in 1965-66 were: Alabama, 0.43%; Georgia, 2.66%; Louisiana, 0.69%; Mississippi, 0.59%, and South Carolina, 1.46%.

Two weeks after the guidelines were issued, the Southern Education Reporting Service noted that there had been "little immediate reaction from most southern states, except an indication of reluctant acceptance." The Nashville-based private organization indicated that strongest opposition had come from Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

...

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*Excessively expressed exasperation was a mark of much of the criticism by southern schoolmen of the guidelines. How much of it was generated needlessly by such expression as this in ten closely printed pages of guidelines?

Georgia Governor Carl Sanders termed the guidelines "another illustration of government by bureau," and Congressman Phil Landrum (D-Ga.), said the Office of Education was "pushing too hard, too fast." Alabama Governor George Wallace declared, "We must obey the laws, just and unjust, but we should not have to obey the edicts of bureaucratic officials which go beyond the law."

In Mississippi, a school district which had led the state in voluntary compliance the first year was reported unwilling to comply with the new set of guidelines.

"Shock" and "surprise," expressed plaintively in other statements, were predictable as pro forma responses in some southern political situations. They were not taken as indicative of the scope and depth of recalcitrance which later was to develop.

Meanwhile, Attorney General Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, speaking at the University of South Carolina, called the guidelines "moderate, perhaps even tardy benchmarks . . . They contain no sudden surprises nor do they in themselves break new ground."

COMPLIANCE DEADLINE NUMBER 1

Under the complicated regulations of enforcement, school districts considered still to be operating dual systems were required to file plans for desegregation compliance (Form 441-B). Of the approximately 5,000 districts in the

17 southern and border states, some 1,900 (most of them in the 11 southern states) were required to file the form. On April 4, Mr. Howe announced that those which had not filed them by an April 15 deadline would be notified that they faced loss of federal aid. It was also made clear that these forms would be subject to future tests of performance and were not sufficient evidence of actual compliance. Compliance forms trickled in slowly. Jack Nix, Georgia's state school superintendent, reported that only 20 of the state's 196 systems had signed Form 441-B. Alabama superintendents voted 76 to 4 to adopt a resolution urging their congressional delegation to seek a modification of the guidelines, adding, "We cannot follow directives." (At a statewide meeting held by U.S.O.E. staff in Birmingham reported by the Los Angeles Times, one school official asked, "Where'd you leave your carpetbags, you dirty Commies?" Another asked, "What if I can't find a Negro teacher qualified to teach in a white school?" The Office of Education representative, Wallace McBain, a Marquette University professor, responded, "If she isn't qualified, what is she doing in your system? . . . The 'separate but equal' ruling was made in 1894 . . . You aren't even willing to go that far.")

Administrative procedures for the drastic act of cutting off funds under Title VI were made deliberately slow. No one wants to cut off vitally needed education funds; the approach appears designed to make maximum use of the threat

of loss of funds, with the act of cutting them off held in abeyance as long as possible, an ultimate weapon. Then there are two significantly different procedures here, too, often lumped together as "fund cut-offs" in reportage. Funds for new programs may be deferred -- that is, held up -- until a school system corrects its non-compliance. This approach has been frequently used in compelling the systems to sign compliance forms. And funds may be terminated -- a more drastic act which means no federal support as long as a system is not in compliance.

By mid-April of 1966, no funds had been terminated under the first guidelines covering the 1965-66 school year. Examiners had held hearings on 65 school systems, with recommendations that aid be terminated for 41. By the fall of 1966, indications were 39 systems actually had the funds terminated.

This slow-grinding process, as described in such newspapers as the Los Angeles Times, should have helped the nation to put into perspective the cries of alarm growing louder in the South over the 1966-67 guidelines.

For all their outcries, southern officials must have been aware of this basic reasonableness of Title VI enforcement procedures, and of the U.S.O.E.'s difficulties with the role of enforcement agency. The Los Angeles Times quoted a Georgia school board attorney as saying, "We are going to tell them we intend to comply. Then we are going to tell them, 'Make us.'"

In contrast to the immediate reaction of routine expression of dismay over the new guidelines, a more specific and more vehement response set in as the deadline approached. There were widespread charges, quoted considerably in the southern press, that the guidelines imposed a formula for racial balance and demanded instant desegregation of teaching staffs. On April 11, Secretary Gardner sent letters to governors, congressmen, and state school officials denying these two specific accusations. It should be noted at this point that the latter action, full desegregation of faculties, might well have been demanded under the law at the outset. The fact is that full desegregation of faculties was not required even in the second year of enforcement. Only a beginning was required.

Mr. Gardner answered the "racial balance" argument by pointing out that percentages were an "administrative guide" for measuring progress under free-choice plans. His point was that of the civil rights critics of the previous year's plan: There had to be standards.

H.E.W. officials insisted that their denials of these charges were not a softening of the guidelines. They were, however, generally viewed as an attempt to head off a full-scale revolt by southern school districts. And whether rightly or wrongly, an impression was gained that not only were the percentage requirements highly flexible but that they would bend in proportion to amounts of resistance and political pressure mustered against them.

Resistance continued. Boycotts were urged in some school districts to protest the guidelines. By the 19th of April, only one Louisiana school system had filed a compliance form; only four in Alabama had done so.

The deadline had been April 15. By the end of April, only 1,193 of the 1,900 school systems required to file the compliance forms had done so. The United States Office of Education extended its deadline to May 6.

COMPLIANCE DEADLINE NUMBER 2

On May 5, the Office of Education ordered that payment of federal funds be deferred for new school projects in districts which had not filed compliance forms by May 6. As of May 7, the number of these was 255. In the language of the regulations, it will be remembered, deferment of funds is less drastic than termination. And only new projects were involved. By far the most of federal aid to a school system would of course be in programs previously in effect.

Directors of eight southern state Councils on Human Relations (private biracial organizations) at about this time wrote to Commissioner Howe, urging the withholding of all funds from districts that "flagrantly disobey the guidelines." A few such actions in each state "would open the opportunity for real headway this year toward the final goal," they said.

By mid-May, 1,475 of the 1,893 school districts required to submit the compliance form were judged to have acceptable desegregation plans. Others were being studied.

More than 200 districts were still refusing to file. A few weeks later, 21 of these school districts were reported flatly refusing to follow the guidelines, and others had still not filed their forms.

Meanwhile, the House of Representatives in early May had, in Mr. Gardner's words, "dealt a real blow to H.E.W.'s plans for compliance." The House cut a budget request for compliance programs for 1966. The budget had proposed 348 staff members, and the House had cut this by 70.

Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, had said back in March that the "guidelines' effectiveness in desegregating public schools will depend fundamentally on whether the Administration is willing to make a powerful political commitment on manpower and funds to achieve desegregation. We have had no encouragement in this area. Enforcing the guidelines, even with a great commitment of appropriations and manpower, will nevertheless be difficult because of their complexity, permissiveness in many areas, and wide scope of exceptions."

In late May, Commissioner Howe spoke with about two dozen southern congressmen who were of the opinion that the guidelines were illegal. Gubernatorial candidate James Martin, a Republican congressman from Alabama, came away from this meeting claiming that the commissioner of education had been "shaken," for whatever such opinion was worth.

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

Eighteen southern senators sent a letter, dated May 2 but released to the press May 13, to President Johnson. The letter, which was, according to news stories, written by Georgia's Senator Richard Russell and distributed for signatures by Mississippi's Senator John Stennis, was labeled a "Most Solemn Petition." It said in part:

> We come to you as Chief Executive of the nation to protest vigorously the abuse of power involved in the bureaucratic imposition of the guidelines and we earnestly beseech your personal intervention to right this wrong and have this order revoked . . . In our efforts to protect our schools and the children who will direct the destinies of our states tomorrow, we earnestly appeal to you to intervene and prevent illegal, unfair, and unrealistic action by the Office of Education.

The letter was signed by Alabama's Lister Hill and John Sparkman; Arkansas's J. William Fulbright and John L. McCellan; Florida's Spessard Holland and George A. Smathers; Georgia's Richard Russell and Herman Talmadge; Louisiana's Allen Ellender and Russell B. Long; Mississippi's John C. Stennis and James O. Eastland, North Carolina's B. Everett Jordan and Sam J. Ervin, Jr.; South Carolina's Donald Russell and J. Strom Thurmond; Virginia's Harry Flood Byrd, Jr., and A. Willis Robertson. The senators from Tennessee and Texas did not sign.

Newspapers subsequently reported that President Johnson had responded to Senator Russell, but the letter itself

was not made public. President Johnson was reported to have replied that he considered the guidelines "fair." "Percentage requirements in the guidelines were for administrative procedure," he was quoted as saying. He pointed out that the regulations permitted continuation of "freedom of choice" plans and did not require racial balance or busing.

SUMMER MANEUVERS: RETRENCHMENT AND RETREAT

Over the summer, there were other rumblings from powerful southern political forces. At the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Education Board (a creature of a 15-state compact) in Miami Beach, Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama sought to line up unified opposition to the guidelines. Governors and educators in attendance rejected open defiance, but many agreed with Governor Wallace that the guidelines went too far.

In South Carolina, Attorney General Daniel R. McLeod met with H.E.W. officials to determine "how they justify the requirements of the guidelines." He was accompanied by Robert Alexander, federal coordinator for the governor's office. South Carolina Governor Robert McNair had said that the state attorney general's office would make its services available to any school district bringing court action against the guidelines in the event of loss of federal funds.

Further evidence that integration was far from realized accumulated. On July 1, the Office of Education

had issued a preliminary report on the progress of school desegregation required by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Office estimated that as of the 1965-66 school year, almost 80% of all white public school pupils in the United States in the first and twelfth grades attended schools that were from 90-100% white, and at least 97% in the first grade and 99% in the twelfth grade went to schools that were more than 50% white. The report also stated that more than 65% of all Negro pupils in the first grade attended schools that were between 90 and 100% Negro. Furthermore, 87% of Negro pupils at grade one and 66% at grade twelve attended schools that were 50% or more Negro.

In the South, the report added, "most students attend schools that are 100 percent white or Negro." A complete 400 page report was to be issued later.

It was becoming apparent that concessions which weakened the guidelines were being won from the U.S.O.E. by local school officials. The pattern seemed to be complaints to Washington backed by pressure from southern congressmen.

The case of W. Stanley Kruger, compliance officer for South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia, attracted considerable attention.

Mr. Kruger became embroiled in exchanges in the press with superintendents of two Atlanta-area systems, Fulton County, which administers the schools outside the city limits of its county seat, Atlanta, and DeKalb County, a residential

suburb. Both areas are generally conservative. In both instances, Mr. Kruger pressed these superintendents on what seemed to him weak points in their compliance with the guidelines. Both argued that they were trying to be cooperative and complained of the manner as well as the substance of Mr. Kruger's dealings with them. In both instances, the superintendents, DeKalb with help from Representative James Mackay, and Fulton with support from state school officials, complained to Washington and appeared to have been sustained. Certainly, there was no clear-cut backing of Mr. Kruger, and no effective action about the matters complained of.

The handling of the DeKalb case called forth a searing memorandum to Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Gardner from H.E.W.'s Atlanta regional director, William Page. Not intended for publication but somehow released to the press, the memorandum warned against the undermining of regional enforcement efforts by Washington officials. Said Mr. Page in a seeming reference to Superintendent Jim Cherry of DeKalb: "If any of the 2,000 school superintendents can negotiate his case with Commissioner Howe, why should 10,000 hospital administrators not have direct access to the surgeon-general?"

Some Georgia school officials met in Washington with Mr. Howe on August 4. They demanded that he transfer Mr. Kruger. Congressmen and other political figures echoed the demand. The educators called Mr. Kruger the "hatchet man"

for the Office of Education, charging that he had been "disruptive." South Carolina officials were saying at the time that Mr. Kruger had been enforcing the 1966 guidelines to the extent that only five of South Carolina's 108 school districts had had their plans approved. Mr. Howe assured the delegation that he "would review the Kruger situation."

On September 9, the Atlanta Constitution reported that W. Stanley Kruger had been transferred to another job. Commissioner Howe announced the move in conjunction with a change to locating compliance personnel in regional offices rather than Washington. H.E.W. officials pointed out that all other compliance officers had previously been transferred. But whether intended so or not, the move was interpreted by Southerners for and against school desegregation as a yielding to local pressure against enforcement of the law.

THE COMING OF FALL

As fall arrived and schools opened, the Wall Street Journal of September 12 reported that some school districts, mostly in the Deep South, had decided to forego federal funds rather than desegregate. The largest increases in desegregation were coming in large cities which already had been under court orders to integrate. Some courts have accelerated the required pace of desegregation. For example, in New Orleans where some frenzied white women howled at the court-ordered desegregation of two schools in 1960, the number of Negro students attending schools with whites increased from 1,800

to 5,752. Faculty desegregation also began. Disturbances over desegregation in St. Bernard Parish near New Orleans in the fall, 1966, suggested that protest, like many well-to-do whites, had moved to the suburbs. In Atlanta, where desegregation began peacefully in 1961, the number of Negro students in interracial schools was expected to increase substantially over the 6,000 mark of the previous year but precise numbers could not be obtained. In both these cities and others, however, there were indications that officials included in totals of "desegregated" Negroes students from predominantly Negro schools which had only token white attendance.

In Alabama, the state legislature passed an anti-guidelines bill prohibiting compliance agreements. Most compliant (and this was no more than half) school officials seemed to have ignored this law, however. In Mississippi, shocking assaults by grown men armed with chains and clubs on Negro children entering desegregated schools occurred in Grenada. This probably ugliest spectacle of all school desegregation brutalities suggested a realistic perspective for those who had become complacent about southern "progress."

In Louisiana, Leander Perez, president of the official Plaquemines Parish Council, reacted to desegregation of public schools of Plaquemines Parish under federal court order by aiding the establishment of private schools. The Times-Picayune reported that public school buses were being used to

transport white pupils to the private school at the Perez family plantation. In Bogalusa, limited violence broke out at the junior high school and a larger clash was narrowly averted.

THE COMPLIANCE SITUATION: FALL, 1966

U.S.O.E. statistics reported in the Wall Street Journal on September 12 indicated that as of mid-September, 2,669 of the 4,600 school districts in the 17 southern and border states were desegregated satisfactorily according to standards of U.S.O.E., and therefore were not covered by the guidelines. Another 168 districts were desegregating under court order. Another 1,900 districts operating dual school systems were told to submit plans of compliance with U.S.O.E. guidelines. A total of 1,500 did so by the May deadline and were judged acceptable.

Of the 400 remaining districts, 250 had proposed plans that were still being reviewed for acceptability. Another 150 had not turned in acceptable guarantees of compliance. Federal funds were terminated for 39 of these. Action to terminate funds of 64 others was begun. Such action was anticipated for 47 more.

In short, enforcement of Title VI had not touched most southern school systems with financial sanctions. And southern schools were far short of Title VI's demand for the elimination of discrimination.

Statistics on the amount of desegregation, never easy to compile, were virtually impossible to obtain during the three months after schools opened in September of 1966. Fairly elaborate arrangements were made by the Southern Regional Council prior to school opening to get reports from newspaper reporters and other reliable sources in each of the eleven southern states on the amount of desegregation. As of mid-November only three of these sources, and they included some of the best newsmen in the South, were able to obtain full statewide data. (These sources reported 9,127 or 2.9% in Louisiana; 20,436 or 5.7% in Georgia. For Mississippi, where admittance of fewer than 2,000 Negro pupils to formerly all-white schools in 1965 had been termed "massive desegregation" by the local press, the estimate was 6,244, or 2%, of the Negro school enrollment in 1966.) This unavailability to citizens of each state of the statistics of desegregation performance seemed in itself a mark of the attitude of southern education officials.

The Office of Education was compiling figures through the fall and promised a full public report. As the time for release of the federal report approached, some statewide figures began to appear in the press. Examination of Office of Education figures, once they have become available, would have to be made in terms of whether they reflect continued attendance of Negroes in desegregated schools, or merely the number of Negro children who reported to such schools the

first day. Sad reports came from many parts of the South of the discouragement in various ways, most of them unkind and illegal, of many such children from continuing in their freely chosen new schools.

In an Atlanta speech, David Seeley gave the following general estimates:

South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana (the most vocal of those complaining of over-zealousness) had right around 95% or more of Negro pupils still in segregated schools. The six other states of the South had less than 90% of Negroes in segregated schools. The estimate did not state the range under 90%, but it would probably not go below 70%. In some of the border states, by contrast, at least 80% of Negro children were in integrated schools. Almost all the border states had at least 50% of Negro students in such schools. Office of Education spokesmen promised strengthened enforcement (cutting off of funds) in the five Deep South states. Of 636 school districts in those five states, 428 were required to submit desegregation plans. (The others were either under court order or had achieved elimination of dual systems.) Approximately 200 of the 428 plans were in trouble -- some having resulted in termination of funds, most under review for termination. And these, the officials made clear, were systems with the most flagrant violations. They were ones with no faculty desegregation and/or 0 to 2% of Negro pupils in desegregated schools.

The pattern in the eleven southern states seemed clear. Performance in five of them was far below any reasonable standard for achieving the abolishment of dual school systems, for achieving the law's demand that discrimination based on race cease. Performance in the other six was better, but by no means fully in compliance with the constitutional requirement to end dual school systems.

THE SOUTHERN OFFENSIVE IN CONGRESS

The very limited effect of H.E.W. Title VI enforcement was not the only development that encouraged the avoidance of Title VI's mandate in the South. Three events reflected the success of an effort in Congress to emasculate the guidelines and dilute Title VI.

First, on September 26, the Senate Appropriations Committee attached a report to the 1967 H.E.W. appropriation bill saying that the 1966 guidelines might be illegal and asking Secretary Gardner to re-examine them. The report noted that a transcript of debate on the 1964 Civil Rights Act quoted the then Senator Hubert Humphrey as saying that Title IV of the bill precluded the Office of Education's using Title VI to require an end to racial imbalance. The report also said the committee members had received many complaints about "harassment" of school officials by compliance officers.

Second, on October 10, Democratic floor leaders in

both houses struck from the $6.4 billion school aid bill a provision giving special aid to schools desiring to correct racial imbalance. This move was described in the press as an attempt to appease congressmen fearful of the so-called "backlash."

Third, the same day, led by southern representatives, the House voted to amend the school aid bill by requiring a full hearing before the U.S.O.E. could withhold funds from a school district considered to be in violation of the guidelines. This amendment was later changed in conference with the Senate to say that funds may still be deferred provided a hearing is held within 60 days and a decision on complete termination reached within another 30 days. Nevertheless, the initial adoption of the amendment reflected the hostile climate of opinion and/or the degree of confusion in the House.

On October 7, at his press conference, President Johnson commented on the enforcement situation, and the issue of alleged "harassment" of southern school officials by U.S.O.E. compliance officers. His statement that in some instances there had been harassment, mistakes and "enthusiastic" people was seized upon as perhaps having ominous portent for the hopes of those who believe in full enforcement. But in context, the question and answer, as recorded in the Washington Post's transcript, would seem to assert also what southern critics of the guidelines fear most -- continued determination to enforce the law.

Q: . . . There seems to be a dispute developing between those who feel that the federal government should merely strike down legal barriers to equality and those who feel that the government should play a more positive role in encouraging integration in various facets of life.

I wonder if we could get your thinking on these two and where you stand on that argument?

A: Yes, I think the federal government must be a leader in this field and I have -- the three years I have been President -- tried, by word and action, to do everything I could to bring about equality among the races in this country and to see that the Brown decision affecting the integration of our schools was carried forward expeditiously and in accordance with the law -- to see that the civil rights acts passed in the late 50's and 60's and more recently in my Administration were carried out in accordance with the intent of Congress; that the law was fully adhered to and fully enforced at all times.

I realize that in some instances there has been some harassment, some mistakes perhaps have been made, some people have been enthusiastic, and differences have developed.

But where those mistakes have been made I think Mr. Gardner and the Commissioner of Education have been willing to always listen to any protests that might come, and to carry out the law as Congress intended it should be.

That will be the policy of our Administration: To continue to promote and to expedite the observance of the law of the land, and to see that all citizens of this country are treated equally without discrimination.

III. CONGRESSIONAL INTENT, ADMINISTRATIVE GUIDELINES AND THE CONSTITUTION

CONGRESSIONAL INTENT

The Senate Appropriations Committee, having eight southern members with great seniority and influence out of a total membership of 23, had officially raised the argument in September [in the report it attached to the H.E.W. appropriation bill] that U.S.O.E. enforcement was exceeding congressional intent. This argument had been repeatedly advanced by conservative newspaper columnists long before the Committee report. The Committee report noted then Senator Humphrey's linking of Title IV's prohibition of forced racial balances to application of Title VI. The Committee questioned whether U.S.O.E.'s use of percentages to measure progress toward ending discriminatory dual school systems was a violation of Title IV.

The interpretation of Title IV in relation to Title VI becomes crucial. Title VI, quoted earlier in this paper, clearly prohibits any discrimination subsidized by federal funds. The real question then is the meaning of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

When the definition of desegregation in Title IV is considered as a whole rather than in part, it seems hard to question its meaning.

Title IV, Section 401 (b):

> "Desegregation" means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but "desegregation" shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

This definition seems aimed primarily at de jure segregation in the South, and the imbalance provision seems an obvious attempt to win legislative support among northern congressmen by proscribing one form of federal pressure against de facto segregation in northern cities. That so-called "forced busing" is the precise measure being prevented here becomes explicit in Section 407 (a) of Title IV:

> . . . nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States . . . to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another.

The appeal of southern officials to Title IV can be seen as really only an appeal to a relatively minor qualification of the whole thrust of Title IV in an effort to win northern support once again. In Title IV, the intent of Congress is clear according to Justice Department and U.S.O.E. attorneys. The major thrust of Title IV is toward "assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race," i.e., the complete and total end of segregated dual school systems. This thrust presupposes a prior de jure discrimination. For this thrust to be achieved successfully

requires the reorganization and reconstitution of segregated school patterns in the South which have not just arisen de facto but have been established by state law and official educational policy. The same states and local governments (and indeed some of the same officials) which perpetuated these patterns now ask that they be legitimized under "free choice plans" without their making structural changes in those patterns. The same pattern of activity that was called separate but equal before is now often passed off as free choice.

U.S.O.E. guidelines, by enforcing Title VI, attempted also to fulfill the intent of Title IV to end school assignment based on race. Statements by Secretary Gardner on April 9 and Commissioner Howe on September 30 have cited opinions of H.E.W. and Justice Department attorneys that the guidelines are consistent with court decisions and with the intent of Congress. The guidelines insisted that gradual steps be taken to eliminate assignment of pupils on the basis of race. They tried to guard against many reported instances of intimidation and violence against Negroes who exercised their right to an education free from racial discrimination by requiring local boards to assure genuine freedom of choice. Thus, the guidelines are, according to government attorneys, consistent with the obvious intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Moreover, they require only token and preliminary steps toward fulfilling that intent. They do not fulfill it.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The guidelines also seem to be in harmony with judicial interpretations of constitutional protections since 1954. While there has been no direct judgment on the guidelines, recent court comments cited below indicate their consistency with the Constitution and judicial opinion. The Constitution and decisions of the judiciary are also "the law" and the guidelines hardly go beyond them. In fact, the guidelines both lag behind some court orders and exceed others in specific items though not in the basic aim to end dual schools. The inconsistencies between court orders and guidelines on specific points have led to the following developments.

In April, the Office of Education requested federal courts to change school desegregation orders to conform with the new guidelines. The fact that the bulk of city school districts in the South, including Atlanta, New Orleans, Miami, Jackson, Montgomery, Birmingham, Nashville, Charleston, Little Rock, and Richmond, were operating under court-approved desegregation plans made the request important.

The New Orleans Times-Picayune reported on April 27 that the Justice Department made a formal proposal for a uniform school desegregation order for federal courts and asked the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans to adopt it as a model in all regional cases. The proposed order generally followed the guidelines, calling for desegregation of all

public school grades by the fall of 1967 under genuine "freedom-of-choice" plans which protect students and their families from intimidation. John Doar, head of the civil rights division of the Justice Department, submitted this proposal to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. In emphasizing the need for a uniform plan, the Department of Justice cited 99 plans approved by district courts in the past ten years that then fell below federal requirements in the guidelines. This, it was argued, was unfair to districts complying voluntarily in that it rewarded with slower desegregation rate those who had resorted to litigation.

On August 16, the Fifth Circuit Court ruled that Alabama's Mobile County school desegregation plan had to be revised so that complete desegregation would be accomplished by the fall of 1967. In so doing the court held the plan approved by the federal district court to be "far short of the requirements of the law . . . Even as to those grades which, under the plan, have actually become desegregated, there is no true substance in the alleged desegregation. Less than two-tenths of one percent of the Negro children in the system are attending white schools." In the decision the court called attention to the guidelines, adding, "This appeal . . . points up, among other things, the utter impracticability of a continued exercise by the courts of the responsibility for supervising the manner in which segregated school systems break out of the policy of complete segregation into gradual

steps of compliance . . . During the past 18 months pronouncements of this court have interpreted the Supreme Court's interim decisions as requiring considerably greater measures of desegregation. Thus a decision by a trial court 18 months ago is not likely to reflect the current law on the subject."

This court action and others since 1954 would seem to underscore the consistency of the guidelines with constitutional protection. Whether the guidelines implement that protection extensively enough and rapidly enough is a question suggested by this opinion of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. This question is central to evaluation of the guidelines.

THE GUIDELINES: AN EVALUATION

The guidelines must be evaluated relative to the basic goal of ending dual school systems; do they achieve the goal effectively?

In the fall of 1965, the Southern Regional Council published a report which included details of widespread harassment of Negro students who had exercised freedom of choice. That report made clear that the 1965 guidelines were inadequate to end dual school systems and to protect Negro students from violence and intimidation. The elaborate debate of the alleged excesses of the 1966 guidelines has tended to obscure the fact of continuing inadequacy of the guidelines to end dual systems this year. It has obscured the persistent attacks by terrorists

and the cruel infliction of economic intimidation on Negro students and their families once again in fall, 1966. An appendix to this report documents the problem in the words of letters from Negro parents. Harassment of children in schools is another growing problem.

The following samples indicate the day in, day out ordeal of low-grade terror that is the actuality of desegregation for Negro children in some desegregated schools, not all, of course, but enough to suggest a new national scandal brewing out of the South.

In one rural Alabama county, Negro children, beaten by whites on the first day of school, refused to get off a school bus until school authorities granted them protection. Denied this protection, they remained on the bus and were suspended for staging a sit-in demonstration. A rural county system suspends for three days any student involved in a fight, regardless of who starts the fight. Four suspensions constitute expulsion and the student may not return to any school for one year. A certain faction of the student body agrees to take three-day suspensions in rotation: Four students start four fights with one Negro student. Each will be suspended for three days. The Negro gets four suspensions and is expelled, whether or not he defends himself. The Negro students, none of whom have ever been involved in a fight in ten school years, realizing what was happening after receiving three suspensions would sign a "lost and gain slip." The "lost" status withdraws the

student permanently from the school but allows him to attend a Negro school with permission of the school board. To date that permission has not been granted.

The persistence of the various forms of terror against school desegregation raises in stark form the question of the adequacy of the entire guidelines approach. It may be granted that, as noted earlier, enforcement of the guidelines has been severely obstructed. The Congress not only refused to provide sufficient funds and staff but it also had southern members who supported pressure to limit the enforcement staff which was allowed. But even if they had been allowed to operate fully as planned, the guidelines tolerate practices which are far short of the intent of the law.

First, the guidelines in both 1965 and 1966 did <u>not</u> attempt actually to end the dual school system. They have tried only to make a beginning. In short, they accept a pattern of tokenism and gradualism. Elements in the South eagerly await a change in national pressure and policy on segregation which will allow the old ways to be reasserted. The disaffection of the 1966 Congress with rigorous enforcement is a case in point. The emergence of racism among northern white mobs has given encouragement to the advocates of resistance. Many southern segregationists believe that the rest of the country has come to agree with them on racial matters and that it will not be long before federal pressure

for desegregation will dissolve.

Second, the use of percentages has been questioned by civil rights proponents. Rightly, the U.S.O.E. insisted upon substantial progress toward ending dual schools. But the percentages of desegregation which it suggested in an effort to avoid being vague about what was "substantial" left the way open for the irrelevant charges of arbitrarily forced racial balance. By building gradualism into its guidelines by the use of minimum percentages, the U.S.O.E. perhaps unwittingly allowed attention to shift from the illegitimacy of dual schools and the need to end them. Instead, southern officials haggle over whether "ten percent is too much," while continuing segregated patterns.

Third, the U.S.O.E. has at best raised doubt of whether it stands behind effective compliance officers.

Fourth, the sanction implied in Title VI, the cutoff of funds, has been extremely limited in application by the U.S.O.E. The Wall Street Journal report, cited earlier, told precisely how few defiant districts had funds terminated or deferred for "new projects." Failure even to begin action against all but the most defiant districts has been noted. These are part of a pattern which amounts to a failure to end dual schools.

Fifth, another difficulty with the whole guidelines concept is the practice of making each school district responsible for its own fate. A superintendent wishing to comply

with the law is a lonely individual in the South. His predicament is made more painful by the fact that he is often under direct pressure from his constituents. The plight of one such schoolman was reported by his wife:

> Because of our relationship I have shared the deep pit of despair with him, the obscene telephone calls, and calls at four in the morning when no one would say a word . . . The verbal abuse of a few, that glint of hate in the eyes of some not willing to speak out. Letters filled with venom, some signed, some unsigned.
>
> It has been a long and lonely vigil, filled with great stress and anxiety. One would think we had passed the Civil Rights Act and were in sole charge of its implementation . . . .
>
> Civil rights workers have been active in this county. They have made charges, but never were they able to say, "The Negro schools are not accredited, the teachers unqualified," or that the buildings and equipment were inadequate. Caught between this group and the unreasonable segregationists, you realize how hopeless at times the situation appeared.
>
> I think even the two groups have wondered how much longer the superintendent, my husband, could hold out. I myself have wondered . . . .
>
> For political expediency the popular thing is not to support the superintendent and his efforts . . . We know. . . .

The best example of political expediency and pressure at the state level was in Alabama where schoolmen were threatened by Governor George Wallace with a personal visit to their districts "to bring the issue to the people." The

problem may be serious enough to suggest the drastic revision of Title VI enforcement policy to allow withholding federal school funds from an entire state whose officials exert overt pressure on local school boards. The issue would be this: Should federal funds go to a state which discriminates? The Civil Rights Act of 1964 says: "Compliance with any requirement adopted pursuant to this section may be effected . . . by the termination of or refusal to grant or to continue assistance under such program or activity to any recipient as to whom there has been an express finding on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure to comply with such requirements, but such termination shall be limited to the particular political entity . . . ."

Sixth, another fundamental problem reflected in the guidelines controversy lies in the fact that the Office of Education was set up to coordinate national educational programs, not to be the instrument of enforcing the Civil Rights Act. It is not staffed for such duties and all the effort to wring compliance from southern schools is, of necessity, taking people and money and time away from the original purpose of the office.

Seventh, the guidelines still presuppose a dual system of schools, drawn as they are from the prevailing notion of allowing Negro children to attend white schools. One possible solution to the dual system concept, advanced by some

civil rights leaders, is to require all schools in all districts that have <u>any</u> Negro population to have faculties consisting of 50% white and 50% Negro teachers. Only in this way, it is argued, can any real beginning be made toward eliminating the racial designations of the schools. Proponents further argue that the method might well be a partial wedge in the solution of housing problems as they pertain to the concept of neighborhood schools. For if racially motivated white parents were faced with fleeing one transitional neighborhood school with a 50-50 faculty to another with the same instructional make-up the decision to move might not be so easily made.

Finally, the guidelines themselves and as administered constitute a modification of federal policy. Whereas Title VI clearly requires that federal funds must not subsidize discrimination, the guidelines allow precisely such subsidies to continue over a period during which racial discrimination is theoretically being abolished gradually. Insofar as it has allowed time for "adjustment," the U.S.O.E. has allowed time for opposition, defiance, and evasion.

What a thorough program of enforcement (which, one suspects, would elicit the respect, however grudging, of southern officials) might be like is suggested in the following from a letter by a spokesman for the American Friends Service Committee and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund to the Office of Education. The following section is one of seventeen, each with similar thoroughgoing questions:

<u>What does your data reveal about the adequacy of freedom of choice plans to effectuate Title VI?</u> In how many school districts have freedom of choice plans resulted in the elimination of dual school systems since 1964? Where, and under what conditions? In 1966, how many school districts came up to the percentages suggested in the guidelines? In how many districts and by what criteria was the performance under freedom of choice plans determined inadequate by HEW? How many districts were required to improve their performance? What kinds of suggestions for additional steps were made to them; what did they actually do, and what were the results? Where a second transfer period was held, were the results significantly increased? What has HEW done where additional efforts to implement freedom of choice plans have been ineffective? Where freedom of choice plans have not worked, how have HEW and/or local school officials determined what would work?

What has HEW learned this year about the actual operation of freedom of choice procedures? Do your data corroborate our staff experience that there continue to be considerable violations of the procedures required by the guidelines, such as inadequate notice to parents, abbreviated transfer periods, etc.? How many districts have been cited for noncompliance for those violations? The guidelines require that pupils who did not make a choice during the spring registration period should be assigned during the first week of school to the nearest school regardless of race. What happened to these students? In how many districts did this result in an increase in nonracial enrollment?

Where formerly all-white schools have become overcrowded as the result of the

exercise of free choice, what has happened? How has HEW determined whether the criteria for overcrowding were uniform throughout the district? What has HEW done when Negro students have been sent back to Negro schools because of the overcrowding of desegregated schools? What has happened to white pupils where desegregated schools have become overcrowded? In how many cases, and where, has overcrowding resulted in the enrollment of white pupils in formerly all-Negro schools, either through assignment, school pairing, or some other action by school officials.

In how many school districts desegregating fewer than 12 grades did Negro pupils request transfer under the provisions enumerated in 181.71 of the guidelines? Where they were rejected, in how many cases did HEW investigate the reasons? Has much desegregation occurred as a result of these provisions?

What has been your experience with the regulation that choices are binding? How many Negro pupils sought to return to Negro schools after registering to attend desegregated schools? What happened to them?

There are clearly two schools of thought about whether freedom of choice plans should continue to be approved as acceptable devices for eliminating dual school systems. Some hold that the emphasis should be on making these plans truly free and on liberalizing the process, such as extending the choice period from 30 days to six months.

Others, and they would include the overwhelming majority of civil rights workers, have become increasingly convinced that the most honest freedom of choice plans cannot abolish dual school systems in Deep South communities. What do your findings reveal?

IV. CONCLUSIONS

1. Segments of the southern educational and political establishment successfully avoided significant desegregation in 1966. They did so in part by diverting attention in Congress from their failure in ending segregated dual systems to fears of forced racial balance.

2. The guidelines would not have ended dual schools even if perfectly applied and accepted; they were intended only as instruments for a significant beginning toward the goal of no racial discrimination. They would have made such a beginning if implemented to their 10% minimum for the Deep South. Desegregation only ranged from 2.4% to 35% of Negroes in schools with whites in the South and 2.4% to 6.6% in the Deep South. The guidelines were not fully implemented. Obviously, if "free choice" is to be effective, it must be genuinely free of intimidation and reprisal.

3. This poor performance of the South in the second year of enforcement of Title VI for school desegregation remains the strongest

rebuttal of the southern complaint that the Office of Education has been overzealous in the matter. A more proper question might be whether it has been diligent enough.

4. Congress intended to end the discrimination inherent in dual school systems in Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, despite a prohibition of imposed racial balances. This prohibition presupposed de facto, not de jure segregation. Hence it is not relevant in the South until the pattern established by de jure segregation has been ended. In effect, Congress has ordered an end to one form of segregation while perpetuating another.

5. Political pressure on administrators, fear of white backlash, and confusion about the intent of Congress in Title IV have all weakened pressures for strong enforcement. Lack of enthusiasm for the guidelines by civil rights groups who thought them too weak must also be considered. Considering the confusion, disillusionment and detriment to effective desegregation attendant on argument about congressional intent, there would seem to be considerable need for Congress to clarify this intent.

6. The situation is retrievable if attention can be returned to the proper focus: the end of discriminatory dual school systems.

7. In December, 1966, southern schools continue to be overwhelmingly segregated. Force and violence confront many Negro students entering formerly white schools under freedom of choice plans.

More than one decade ago, the U. S. Supreme Court held that dual public school systems discriminating by race were unconstitutional on their face. The record of many southern school and public officials and the publics they serve has been one of avoiding and evading this clear-cut dictum of the basic law of the nation. Such mistreatment of the legal system by these "best people" has been far more a national disgrace and scandal than the notorious lawlessness of violent racist gangs comprised of the "worst people" of the area.

Those school and public officials who have attempted in good conscience to comply with the law as propounded by the court, reinforced by the Congress of the United States, and administered by the Office of Education deserve the praise and gratefulness of a nation whose very existence depends on a good-faith acceptance of its system of law and order. There have been many instances of beautiful and profoundly genuine acceptance of the humanity of all children in the South's school desegregation struggle. The good derived by children of both races in these situations where law has been cherished

and humanity respected may prove to be among the highest achievements in the South of these traumatic years.

The tragic consequences of the continued failure of a great many southern school and public officials to live up to the basic duties of American citizenship and the common decencies observed by all mankind in the rearing of children cannot be counted. The patience of Negro Southerners (in stark counterpoint to the riotous impatience of their fellows in the North) cannot be expected to continue under intolerable conditions. The schools in the South by all statistical standards are the worst in the nation. Part of the reason for this is the extravagant waste of dual systems of segregated schools. Another part is the waste of administrative and executive energy on attempts to preserve these systems that might better be spent in improving the education of a generation which faces the complexity of a new and baffling era of the scientific age.

The difficulties of the Office of Education center on the necessity for it to enforce on a region of eleven states a law which those states ought to obey -- and indeed enforce -- as a matter of course. It is an agency not equipped or intended to enforce laws, like policemen. Far from having been overzealous, this agency has -- if the law has any meaning at all -- so far failed to achieve what the law demanded. Much of this failure has its roots in the correct assumption by the Office of Education that it must encourage and, indeed,

cajole the South into assuming the responsibility that it should have shown from the beginning and must take if law in the nation is to continue to have meaning.

Announcement of stepped-up enforcement procedures by the [illegible] - the pressing of fund termination in the most recalcitrant of southern school systems -- is, far from overzealous action, a positive and praiseworthy step, taken remarkably late. But the implications inherent in prosecution of only the most flagrant cases can only lead artful law-dodgers among southern officialdom to assume that they can continue to get by with tokenism and a show of a "cooperative" spirit.

Guidelines more closely aligned with the law's demand (perhaps a single guideline -- the abolishment of dual systems) and enforcement designed to alleviate any hope of continued contempt for the law of the land would seem the only consistent course for the future of enforcement. If this should even ultimately bring the South to a political victory that overturns the law of the land -- if the rest of the nation is that weak or that far-gone in its backlash versions of racism -- then so be it. Even that would be preferable to the continued flouting of the Constitution and the law in the schools where children learn their first lessons of citizenship and contemporary history. Already a vocal segment of the Negro movement has retreated to a demand not for integrated schools but the never-realized mandate of the "old" law --

equal separate ones. What we are talking about is the education of children -- black and white. The record to date is one of shameful disservice to them, which is to say, our nation's future.

...

APPENDIX

PERCENTAGE OF DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN SCHOOLS

1965 and 1966

	Negro School Enrollment: 1965+	Percent of Negroes in School with Whites: 1965	Percent of Negroes in School with Whites: 1966 Office of Education	Percent of Negroes in School with Whites: SRC++
ALABAMA	295,848**	0.25	2.4	
ARKANSAS	111,952**	2.5	15.9	14.7
FLORIDA	256,063*	5.9	14.7	
GEORGIA	355,950*	1.3	6.6	5.7
LOUISIANA	318,651	0.68	3.6	2.9
MISSISSIPPI	296,834	0.34	3.2	2.0
N. CAROLINA	349,282	2.1	12.8	
S. CAROLINA	263,983	1.5	4.9	
TENNESSEE	176,541*	9.1	21.9	
TEXAS	349,192*	20.0	34.6	
VIRGINIA	239,729**	11.3	20.0	
TOTAL SOUTH	3,014,025	5.23		

*Estimated

**1964-65

+ 1966 figures unavailable

++ Only percentages different from the Office of Education's are given

SEP 30 1966

Dear Mrs

I am still waiting for a fair hearing since the local welfare people said they wouldn't put me on welfare.

Some white kids poured ink on my daughter at school and they cut my nephew face. Other than that, the white kids have been calling our children niggers and all that.

The welfare people here don't want to help me, but I hope to get put back on.

Thank you for all your help.

3-26.66

MR.

DEAR SIR . THIS IS FROM . I WANT SOME INFORMATION FROM YOU ABOUT THE 1966 COTTON PROGRAM. WE HAD 26 ACARES OF Cotton last year. adn this year the man we live with told ym husband that he couldn,t use him this year. he gave gave all the peoples crops but us. and another man on the saem place he didn,t give him a crop. but i heard that he said he didn,t want a crop. he is a old man. so we have two childrens in the white school. and we do feel and believe that is the reason he didn,t give us a crop. we have 11 childrens to support. and it nothing around here to do to make a living. and i am asking you if you know where i can write to too turn that in will you please send me the addreaa. i dene to the ASCS officers to get some information. and they told me that it was mr. (land and he could do what he want to with his land. weihh i no that was not so. that was not what the government said. we worked 26 acares last year. and made 36 bales of cotton and a little over. we been where we is since march in 1945. so any information you need i will be glad to give it to you. and any information you can give me i will be to glad to get it. so please let me hear from you as soon as possible.we do beleave the to kids we have in the white school is the reason he didn,t give us a crop. and he told which is my husband. that he didn,t have enouhg acares to give him a crop.but since he told him that. he have been back to the peoples that he did give crops to and tried to get them to take some more acares. but they refuse to take them. so any information that you can give me i will be to glad to get it. if you don,t have any info. and know where i can get it. please send me the name and address so i can write them. your truly ( )

JUL 28 1966

July 25 '66

Dear miss
Your letter have been recived

Preasure so
~~[illegible]~~ hard here. seem like we can't
do anything at all here. I were talking
about the men miss sent up
here they said they were going to ~~[illegible]~~
try an raise some ~~[illegible]~~ money.
that we need money for to get a house.
and he were going to raise us some to
help on the house. no the man from
have not come by. I don't
no if he been to or not. Peoples
around here are so afraid. of the
Preasure. and some are afraid they may get
kill. I don't thank to no and will get
kill. and if a lots of kids would go

JUL 28 1966

July 25 '66

Dear miss
Your letter have been recived

Preasure so
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Around here. are so afraid. of the
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kill. and if a lots of kids would go

July 1, 1966

Mr. Harold Howe
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

My name is [redacted] and I am Seventeen years of age. During the previous year I attended an all white school here in [redacted] along with my two sisters, brother and a friend. Regretfully I say that during this year we have had many obstacles in our way. I feel if more Negroes attend the obstacles we overcome would not be as great. I have tried in all respect to encourage more young negroes my age and under to attend but fear has caused them to back out. Most of them because of jobs, they fear their parents will be fired as well as their parents.

Will you please investigate this situation?

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

Freedom of Choice will not work in County as long as there is fear.

Sincerely.

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

7-12 66

Dear Orin i seise Jaw mae Kine
and welcome letter and so glade was i
to hear from Jaw it found me and all of my
family we and daine fine so far thank to the
Jood mastr. and i am glode that Jaw enjoy
Jaw self at my home and i no i enjoy
Jaw we all was happy to see Jaw and
do hop that when Jaw come to (mississ)
agan Jaw will have time to stop in and
see us all agan. i am still waitin at Redgtas
and still like it. and i am still stoken up for
i wont i am daine fine in my new home
and i still want to see a Brighter day and i
want my Children to take an and stand up
for a Better education and what ever i can do
i am goin to that little as much. i am daine
this with what ever i got to facen no
matter how hard it may be i just no i
can make it some how. i am not afrad
to stan up for my origen. and i am holdin
my Children on behine me i got to
stand up befor them so they can no
what it mean and how they got to stand up

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

to i just Keep on talkin to them letin
them no what they need and what it
take to get what they need that is a
Better education and where they can
get it that is in the integrated school
so i am faine to push, work, fight, watch and
Pray for them i mean for them to go if they
have to go By this stuff i ant faine to stop
not untill i get them in. and then i am fain
fight to Keep them in. for that case i mean
to stand up untill i cant stand and i am
fain to stan anyno. so that will mean
me stand up to the in at my life
nothin shall turn me around. i dont care
how dark the day mat be rain or shine
sleet or snow me and my family is fain
to stan up, so all sent love to Jay. mrs.
Jat a side Boat home he made
it Boat just fine, i am writin (
to day to, i tald her Jay Ben to my home
so By mat God Keep Jay and Bless
untill we meat again
from (mrs. & mrs.
and family.)
freedom is what i want
and freedom is what i am fain to get
freedom freedom

PERCENTAGE OF DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN SCHOOLS

1965 and 1966

	Negro School Enrollment: 1965+	Percent of Negroes in School with Whites: 1965	Percent of Negroes in School with Whites: 1966 Office of Education	Percent of Negroes in School with Whites: SRC++
ALABAMA	295,848**	0.25	2.4	
ARKANSAS	111,952**	2.5	15.9	14.7
FLORIDA	256,063*	5.9	14.7	
GEORGIA	355,950*	1.3	6.6	5.7
LOUISIANA	318,651	0.68	3.6	2.9
MISSISSIPPI	296,834	0.34	3.2	2.0
N. CAROLINA	349,282	2.1	12.8	
S. CAROLINA	263,983	1.5	4.9	
TENNESSEE	176,541*	9.1	21.9	
TEXAS	349,192*	20.0	34.6	
VIRGINIA	239,729**	11.3	20.0	
TOTAL SOUTH	3,014,025	5.23		

*Estimated

**1964-65

+ 1966 figures unavailable

++ Only percentages different from the Office of Education's are given

Their Draft

(outside the sumter county jail in americus, ga. last summer, six negro pickets walked slowly under a july sun. inside the jail were four negro women, each of them arrested for a crime which they thought no longer existed -- standing in a "white women only" voting line. outside, the pickets were protesting. "is there any justice?" asked one sign. "justice where are you?" asked another.

(they were valid questions, not only for americus but for the south as a region.) if the public could ever plead ignorance to the double standards of justice in the south -- one brand of justice for the white man, another for the negro -- that time is past. on television and on the front pages of newspapers, the stories have come. an fbi informant testifies that he is in the same car with ku klux klansmen as they murder Mrs. viola liuzzo, the detroit housewife, on an alabama highway. the jury is deadlocked (not on the question of murder -- that seems never to have been considered seriously -- but on the question of manslaughter). while waiting for a new

trial the klansmen rush off to a klan rally in north carolina to sign autographs, openly confident that any new trial will end the same way. the liuzzo case was not an isolated incident. from the sit-in demonstrations of 1960 throught the spring of 1965, at least 26 negroes and white civil rights workers died at the hands of racists in the south. only one of the assailants was sentenced to prison, and he for 10 years. during the same period, "justice" was dispensed in double measure when white men were slain by negroes. two white segregationists died in the aftermath of racial demonstrations. four negroes went to prison, one of them for life.

the danger today is not that the public will fail to know about the double standard of justice, but that the public will think it limited only to civil rights cases, or will fail to act. if the problem were confined only to civil rights cases perhaps it could be solved with nothing more than a stern law making it a federal crime to kill a civil rights worker. the problem, however, goes far deeper.

in many areas of the south, dual justice is a standing abuse to all negroes -- the maid, the undertaker, the fieldhand, the schoolteacher, the minister. it exists from birth to death and the knowledge of it comes so early that a man may think he received it in his genes. it exists in the day to day brushes with "the law": the policeman on his beat, at traffic court, in civil cases. it exists in the more awesome confrontations with judges and juries in rape and murder cases. when it exists, it provokes desperation among negroes, shakes their faith in democracy, causes

Point about settling things in courts?

them to shun the policemen and the courts as enemies. more than any other factor it is responsible for what the white south views as increasing "radicalism" and "anarchy" in the civil rights movement.

Why is it possible under the American judicial system for a white man to murder a Negro without fear of serious retribution? How widespread is dual justice and what is its impact?

The malignancy probably is far more prevalent than most white people, north and south, realize. (It does not seem to be as severe as five years ago,) but it still flourishes in many places. Why that is so is one of the chief internal political problems of this country. There may be many reasons for the continued existence of dual justice, but these must surely be among them:

Dual justice survives because presidents continue to treat federal judgeships as political rewards and pacifiers. It survives because the Justice Department fails to exercise the power that it has to correct abuses. It survives because the judicial network, federal, and state, and municipal, is still one of the most segregated institutions in America. It survives through a built-in discrimination in the selection of juries, state and federal, and through the ill-concealed contempt of prosecutors and police officers for the rights of Negro citizens. (Most of all,) it survives because the Negro lacks the political power to do anything about it, and it seems a fair estimate that it will continue to prosper, no matter how shrill the outrage in the distant pulpits and editorial towers of the North, until the Negro gains adequate political power and until a sufficient number of white southerners insist on equal rights for the minority.)

Default of the bar...

many ?

until the South + the nation finds the will to basic administrative and procedural reform.

Dual justice takes many forms, some merely disgusting and others so quietly terrifying that they balk the scrutiny of rational men.

Consider the case of Andrew Wansley at Lynchburg, Va. In the winter of 1963, when he was 19 years old, he was accused of raping two women, one white and the other Japanese, and of stealing $1.36 from one of the victims. [redacted] ~~is a Negro.~~

~~from one of the victims~~ the white woman was unable to identify Wansley -- A Negro -- as her assailant. police, however, after a private talk with wansley succeeded in getting a confession. the japanese woman positively identified wansley. the youth admitted to having sexual relations with the japanese not once but on several occasions. all-white juries deliberated, and handed down two death sentences for the rapes and a 20-year prison term for the $1.36 robbery. wansley, who had only one life to give, must have reflected a bit ruefully on the knowledge that three months before in the same courtroom, a white man had received only a five year sentence for raping an 11-year-old negro girl. Was this an isolated incident? Statistics amassed by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons answer "no." despite the fact that more than half of all convicted rapists are white, 87 per cent of all the persons executed for rape between 1930 and 1963 were negroes convicted and sentenced by southern courts. [redacted]

the wrath of southern judges and juries also falls on negroes who are convicted of night-time burglaries and robberies. between 1930 and 1961, 34 people were executed for (this offense.) Twenty-nine of them were negro and all but one were put to death in a southern or border state.

? three offenses.

at first glance, Bureau of Prisons statistics would indicate that the negro charged with murder receives better than equal treatment at the bar of justice. negroes account for more than half of the murder arrests throughout the nation, but between 1930 and 1962 accounted for slightly less than half (49 per cent) of the executions. more detailed, if somewhat old, studies show, however, that the statistics conceal a double standard as menacing as any imposed for rape or burglary. southern white juries are reluctant to hand down a stiff penalty to a negro who kills a negro, but are quick to exact the maximum penalty when a negro kills a white person. because most negro murders are within the race, the execution statistics are relatively low. the nature of the problem is shown in a study published by H. Garfinkel in a 1949 issue of social forces. Garfinkel examined murder convictions over a 11 year period in 10 north carolina counties. he discovered that 26.6 per cent of all negroes accused of killing white men received the death penalty. most of the others received long sentences. negroes accused of killing other negroes fared far better. Only four per cent were executed; only five per cent received terms of 30 years or longer. Whites accused of killing negroes had relatively little to fear at the hands of the court. none received life or death sentences.

Needs work

negroes accused of minor crimes also have reason to fear their day in court. on the [redacted] surface, the negro would appear to receive equal justice in the traffic courts of many cities. a white man and a negro stand before the traffic judge. both are first offenders and both are found guilty of driving under the influence of intoxicating beverages. the judge pronounces a standard prescription for the malady: 12 months or $150. [redacted] It [redacted] appeared equal, but was it? the negro earns [redacted] $1.25 an hour when he can find work. he cannot raise the equavalent of three weeks salary. he goes to jail for a year. the white man earns $250 a week as a certified public accountant, hands over three days pay eagerly, and walks from court praising a benevolent judge.

"cash register justice" is widespread in the south. [redacted] the poor of both races suffer from it, but the negro, being the poorest, suffers most frequently. in a 12 months period ending in june of 1962, [redacted] 2,341 persons served terms in georgia's state prisons system for their inability to pay [redacted] small fines. seventy per cent of these were negro. a georgia judge sentenced a [redacted] a 35-year-old negro to "a fine of $25 or four months imprisonment" for driving without a driver's license. [redacted] The court had no provision for installment plan fines. the negro was unable to raise $25 "on the spot." He went to [redacted] prison for four months. another judge sentenced a negro woman to "$35 or [redacted] 12 months in prison" for public drunkeness. She entered prison on july 12, 1963 and, with time off for good behavior, emerged

a "free" woman on May 24, 1964. an 18-year-old negro was sentenced to "$85 or 12 months" for petty larceny. the same poverty that encouraged him to steal also forced him to serve the term.

"cash register justice" is by no means limited to the backwoods counties in the south. the practice flourishes in atlanta. in 1961 and 1962, 40 per cent of all of the misdemeanants in georgia prisons were sent there by atlanta-based courts. in an attempt to curb the practice, the georgia paroles board recently sought and won legislation making it more difficult for cities and counties to send the indigent to the state prisons. However, many courts in Georgia and in other SOUTHERN STATES continue the practice of alternative sentences (a cash fine or a jail sentence) and when the state refuses to take the indigent prisoners, the courts jail them in city or county jails.

experts in the field of criminal correction have cried out for years against the widespread use of alternative sentences, but (much of Georgia and, indeed) much of the south, hasn't listened. "the festering malignancy which eats at the administration of justice in misdemeanor courts is in evidence every day in those courts when fines are imposed," said a panel of experts in the book, the law of criminal correction. "in many of them no effort is made to ascertain whether the offender is able to pay." the panel adds: "a modest fine with an alternative prison term imposed upon a man who has not the ability to pay is in fact a sentence to prison, while a very substanial fine imposed on one of ample financial resources is inconsequential punishment."

(more)

why ga? The worst? No

as serious as they sometimes become, fines are only a small part of the problem faced by the indigent negro before the bar of justice. the problem of finding and hiring an attorney can be an acute one for negroes. often the negro accused of a major crime is forced to accept a court appointed white attorney with little enthusiasm for his case. take, for example, the case of preston cobb jr., a penniless 15-year-old negro who lived with his mother on a farm near monticello, ga. in june of 1961, cobb was charged with slaying his white landlord, coleman dumas sr., as the man sat reading in his home. after interrogation, cobb confessed to the slaying. "an all white jury found the youth guilty," wrote claude sitton of the new york times. "his court appointed attorney had made no request for mercy and none was recommended by the jurors. the jury had no choice but to send the 15-year-old cobb to the electric chair." once alerted to the case, the national association for the advancement of colored people retained an atlanta attorney, donlad l. hollowell, to appeal cobb's case. in the appeal mr. hollowell charged that the white attorney neglected to bring up the question of negro exclusion from juries in the county. "he would have felt it not to be in his best interest as a white lawyer practicing in and around jasper county to have raised said issue," hollowell said.

Make point of his age: 15 at the time!

even when then they have the money, negroes may find it difficult to find an attorney to represent them. in the deep south negro attorneys are rare (mississippi has only four), — ? and white attorneys are sometimes reluctant to accept controversial ~~cases. [illegible] established attorney [illegible] and~~

cases. they can cost an Attorney his law practice and result, even in ~~xxxx~~ almost ostracism by his community. In the spring of 1965 warren c. fortson, an established attorney in americus, ga. and brother of georgia secretary of state ben fortson, agreed to defend two negro teenagers against morals charges and touched off a storm of protest that ultimately forced him to leave the city. One of the teenagers was a negro girl who had been among the first negroes to desegregate americus' previously all-white schools. she was was charged with participating in sexual intercourse with another teenager, the son of prominent negro parents. one patrolman testified in detail to lurid acts which he said he witnessed. Under cross examination, another law enforcement officer conceded he was standing beside the patrolman and saw nothing more than heavy petting. the two teenagers were convicted by the court and sentenced to reform school. fortson for his role in the case, was convicted by the public and forced to leave the city. He deemed his future effectiveness as an attorney destroyed. "how could i pick 12 men for the jury box so at least one wouldn't gut me just because I'm me?" forston asked. "We have made great progress in desegregation and rade relations but the courthouse crowd has done everything they could to harrass. The oppression of the courts and law enforcement are negroes major grievances nows" Warren Fortson's story, of course, is not unique. in 1963, Charles Morgan, who had already aroused hostility in birmingham for his willingness to repepent negroes in controversial cases, lost his law practice for urging Birmingham to rexamine itself in the wake of a church bombing in which four negro children were killed. he left Birmingham to become a staff counsel for the american civil liberties Union

other identified with race issue?

Responsibility of the bar of Pollitt?

and is now waging a legal fight against white juries, For integrated proportionate to population.

two years after morgan left birmingham, another attorney, paul johnston, agreed to defend a government undercover agent against the ku klux klan. his decision, which he made at the urging of U.S. attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, cost him his membership in one of Birmingham's most prosperous law firms. daniel h. politt, a professor of law at the University of North Carolina, had earlier observed: "the small band of southern attorneys who undertake 'racial' litigation often find the common courtesies of the bench and bar denied them."

with or without adequate counsel, the negro must often face a hostile judge. many southern judges are, of course, scrupulously fair. others view themselves less as impartial umpires and dispensers of justice than as defenders of white supremacy. in birmingham in 1962, lonnie ellis, a 25-year-old negro, was summoned from his jail cell to the courtroom of judge william conway. judge conway had received complaints that ellis, while serving on a prison work gang, had failed to say "yes, sir" to a foreman with the birmingham park and recreation board and had "scuffled" with an assistant jail warden. ellis contended that the assistant warden had attacked him as part of a lesson in "politeness." ellis asked permission to go to a hospital for treatment for sore ribs. "no," said judge conway as he ordered ellis to pay a $55 fine. "until you learn to say 'yes sir" to white people you can stay in jail."

the view of negroes as second class citizens sometimes extends to the federal bench. in jackson, mississippi, federal judge harold cox once referred to negroes as "chimpanzees."

judges are often inclined to be lenient with whites who are charged with offenses against negroes and harsh with Negroes accused of crimes against whites. in newbern, north carolina in june of 1965, three white men -- one of them an exalted cyclops in the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ku klux klanx -- admitted bombing a negro funeral home and two cars which were parked outside a negro church. they have yet to serve a day in prison. A superior court judge [redacted] (judge?) handed down suspended sentences. in georgia, [redacted] a 75 year old white woman, [redacted] jaywalking after being warned repeatedly by police, walked into the side of a car driven by a negro and was killed. officials were reluctant to file charges against the negro, but ultlimately did so after pressure from the womans family rather than face an all white jury, the negro elected to appear directly before the judge. he lost his gamble. [redacted] the judge sentenced him to five years in prison. a police offical called the sentence a "raw deal" and sermed the woman's death "strictly" accidental, but the words didn't help the negro.

despite the outrageous outcome of his case, the negro may have been wise to prefer a judge rather than a jury. southern juries tend to be all-white and, all to often, inclined to support other whites in legal clashes with negroes. Take, for example, the killing of clinton melton, in glendora, missisippi, in the delta, by a white man named elmer kendall, a close friend of the man who had been acquitted of the mudrer of (emmet) till, robert penn warren wrote in his book, Segregation. "When the Lions Club met three days after the event, a resolution was drawn and signed by all members present: 'we consider the taking of the life of clinton melton an outrage against all of the people of glendora, against him, against the people of mississipi as well as against the human family...,' And the town began to raise a fund to realize the ambition of the dead man, to send his children to college..." warren added, "but, in that division between man and man, the jury that tried elmer kimbell acquitted him."

awk wand

not one of man's sanest achievements - the right of trial by jury - is indicative of the danger of allowing the jury system to operate in crippled fashion. For

the record of southern juries in racial cases is so depressingly anti-negro that some observers have come to question the fairness of the jury system itself. such sweeping criticism is unjust, in our mind, but there is no doubt that the jury system as it now operates in most parts of the south--and, it should be said, in many parts of the united states--is grossly unfair. it is unfair not only to negroes but to poor whites, as well.

For contrast: Not recent statement on Colorado jurisdiction: Juries to pay for jury system ?

the problem is in the selection of jurors. in almost no courts are jurors picked by thoroughly objective means to ensure a true cross-section of the community.

charles morgan, in a suit attacking the jury system of jefferson county (birmingham), alabama, makes the point that ~~jurors there, as in most places, are selected subjectively. the jury commissioners choose from lists of names~~ most courts in the country use selection methods that work against obtaining a cross section.

The ACLU ?

mr. morgan said in his brief, "selection techniques now differ from state to state and within states from court to court. the federal system differs from the state system. qualifications differ from state to state. federal qualifications differ from state qualifications. indeed former assistant attorney general burke marshall recently noted: 'a justice dept survey in 1961 showed that the 92 federal district courts had 92 different systems of selecting juries.'

"one jury commissioner's telephone book is another's city directory. a third may try voter registration lists. the junior chamber of commerce, church membership lists (regardless of the first amendment), lists of school teachers, american

legion posts or labor unions, lists of industrialists and lists of automobile owners, lists of householders or pta members or registered voters or real prop rty tax payers--all are used."

mr. morgan pointed out that many of the federal courts rely on the "key man" system. persons well known to the court--usually men of substance--are tapped and they in turn suggest their friends.

mr. morgan said, "one clear light shines through the forest of lists--the united states in almost every one of its courts tries its citizens before Literary Digest juries."

that was an allusion to the old literary digest method of polling national issues and elections. the magazine went out of business after a spectacular polling failure in 1936 when it predicted that landon would defeat roosevelt. subsequent evaluation of the digest techniques indicated the reason for the failure: the magazine based its predictions on the opinions of middle and upper class americans and paid no attention to the poor. mr. morgan concluded that present-day juries are seledted by the same discredited method, ignoring the welfare and relief rolls and all other lists that would give the poor a voice on juries.

governor robert mcnair of South Carolina was quoted recently as saying that the real threat of increased negro voters not so much at the polls as on juries. he said that adding large numbers of negroes to the electorate would put more and more illiterates on juries, and he saw that as unfortunate.

if it is proper for a middle class public official charged

with embezzlement to be tried by a jury of his peers--other members of the middle class--why is it improper for a penniless negro to have his fate decided by a jury that includes his peers?

in the system of justice portrayed by franz kafka, an innocent man could be accused of an unspecified crime by a faceless court. the court was corrupted almost absolutely, so that by manipulation and tribute the accused could ~~ex~~ ~~escape~~ avoid ~~going to~~ prison. but the freedom he enjoyed was perhaps worse than imprisonment. he could never win definite acquittal of his unstated charge; he could only choose between ostensible acquittal and indefinite postponement. under the first, the accused and his representatives might cajole and manipulate a sufficient number of judges to have the case informally set aside and forgotten. the drawback was that a new judge in another part of the hierarchy might rediscover the charge sometime in the future and order the accused arrested again, thus starting the process over. if the accused selected indefinite postponement, his case could never be ~~xi~~ disposed of decisively but, through the same use of influence, it could be kept always in its early stages, never moving toward trial and sentencing so long as the accused unflaggingly minded his attentions to the judges and their functionaries.

it can be said without unconscionable exaggeration that the southern system of justice suspends the negro in just such a state of torment and obligation. because he is black he is continually subject to caprice. in a manner of speaking, there is no such thing as "definite acquittal" for the negro. his

color carries with it a presumption of hard luck in the white man's courts; a given negro is automatically a poorer risk than a white man at the bar of justice. that is a statistical certainty that hovers over every

negro and makes him never quite free.

But, like Kafka's accused innocent, the negro is not without a fretful, worrisome kind of hope. [redacted] he is reminded constantly that he can buy insurance against the harshness of the system. one thing that most negroes learn early is that a "good nigger" fares better in times of trouble than a "no 'count nigger." by debasing himself systematically, a negro can earn a reputation as a "good nigger" and assure himself of favored treatment should he be called to account in a court of law. it is common knowledge that many a southern jury, in deciding the fate of a negro charged with a crime against another negro, temper its verdict if [redacted] the accused has a white man to vouch for him or [redacted] he stands well in the white community. if a negro has been scrupulous in cultivating the goodwill of white men of standing, he is safer from the caprices of the system. the unfounded criminal charge is more likely to be dropped and the justified charge is less likely to result in a heavy penalty.

a negro who neglects his reputation [redacted] is always at the threshold of trouble with the law. if a crime is committed, all the "bad niggers" are rounded up routinely. a negro who takes the liberty of speaking assertively to a policeman is much more likely to go to jail on a trumped-up charge than a white man who speaks the same way. even when an honest mistake is made in charging a man with a crime, the accused negro who has no white patron has greater difficulty in extricating himself from the white man's jail.

. . . once the negro is under arrest, he enters a world that is almost totally white, and every person he encounters could mean trouble.

attorney morgan, defending a negro charged with murder in 1963, filed a motion to quash the indictment in which he outlined his client's prospect. he wrote of the man's being arrested by white policemen, carried off in a segregated paddy wagon driven by a white man and locked up in a segregated jail staffed solely by whites. He was to be brought to trial in a courthouse inhabited by whites, in a segregated courtroom run by white officials, before a jury that almost certainly would be solidly white.

"if he receives the death penalty," mr. morgan wrote, "he will then be given a last meal by his white guards, visited by a white chaplain, shaved by a white barber, and taken by white guards to a yellow electric chair in Kilby Prison...the chair being the only facility in alabama justice which is and has always been desegregated...

"a button or switch will be pressed or pulled by a white man, before white witnesses, and the condemned will die. being in indigent circumstances, he will thereafter be buried in a potter's grave in a racially segregated cemetery, provided by the state of alabama."

(it might be protested that mr. morgan has been unduly harsh. but note the findings of the united states civil rights commission in a recent survey: 87 per cent of county jails and 93 per cent of state penitentiaries in the southern and border states are segregated; 63 per cent of the courthouse have segregated restrooms; 17 per cent have segregated courtrooms.

Describe a court house here?

jack nelson, writing on jim crow justice in the los angeles times, concluded, "in some areas of the south the system is so loaded against the negro that his only choice may be to throw himself on the mercy of the courts."

what the south is faced with is a monstrous corruption. ~~the corruption is~~ no different in any essential way from ~~the classic case of political corruption~~ other classic cases of political corruption. the system has been tampered with to give one group a social, political and economic advantage at the expense of another group. ~~typically, the advantaged group is a powerful majority and the disadvantaged group is a minority too weak to fight back.~~

the nation, for some reason, has not yet learned ~~how~~ to deal with the corruption of ~~[illegible]~~ justice by racism in other, more pedestrian ~~[illegible]~~ shortcomings, america ~~[illegible]~~ has been able to call on its tradition of pragmatism and produce ~~a~~ reform, and ~~[illegible]~~ the reform always has been within the liberal democratic ~~[illegible]~~ framework. now, with the nation seemingly unable to ~~[illegible]~~ abolish this new corruption pragmatically, ~~[illegible]~~ a new mode of reform is ~~[illegible]~~ arising. it is a radical reform ~~that~~ whose adherents ~~[illegible]~~ are uncommitted to liberal democracy ~~or [illegible]~~ and the american tradition of pragmatism. these new reformers, who proudly wear the name of radical, ~~[illegible]~~ move at the fringes of the civil rights movement, ~~and [illegible]~~ working ~~[illegible]~~ frankly at the total destruction of the system that ~~[illegible]~~ deals unjustly. ~~[illegible]~~ Occasionaly, one can hear a bitter young ~~[illegible]~~ civil rights worker call openly for a riot, on the theory that only through violence can the white majority be persuaded to take its foot off the neck of the oppressed minority.

~~negroes now shoot back; deacons, etc.~~

Now, with the nation so far?

cry for?

they can demonstrate?

is this strong enough example?

[redacted] convinced that the full force of the law was being directed against them, they assembled in a negro church afterward to air their grievances. willie ricks, a sncc field worker [redacted] took the podium and told the negroes that that they could expect no justice from the "[redacted] mr. charlie's courts." and he said, the situation would be little better in federal courts. hadn't president johnson just appointed J.P. coleman to the fifth circuit court of appeals? as a result, Mr Ricks said, the [redacted] negro would have to protect him. fully "when the spirit say shoot," he said, "we're going to shoot. When the spirt say throw rocks and bottles, we're going to throw rocks and bottles."

(Identify Coleman)

in bogalusa, la., [redacted] in july, the police stood by smiling [redacted] while a [redacted] barber turned a waterhose on a civil rights worker. "I almost hit him," the civil rights worker said later -- I really believed it as [redacted] a philosophy" - "a year ago I was non-violent, and everyone I knew in the movement was non-violent, but now it's nothing more than a tactic. Almost no one talks of non-violence as a philosophy any more."

[redacted] a negro lieutenant was brutally beated in canton, miss., and the police made no arrests. soon after, [redacted] civil rights workers brought a shotgun into the freedom house at canton for protection.

[redacted]

Of all the forces that urge the Negro away from the American democracy, none is more vicious or more effective than the dual system of justice. ~~It is~~ his ingrained knowledge of the dual system ~~that~~ causes a Negro instinctively to dodge a policeman. ~~Ixxix~~ The same wretched awareness leads him to think of the courts as a white man's game, and, since to the Negro in poverty the court is one of the most visible arms of the government, it tempts him to consider the entire governing system as a device for maintaining the white man in charge and the Negro in "his place." The duality is so successfully pernicious that multitudes of Negroes have gone to their graves without doubting the rightness of the scheme.

But now the scheme is being doubted, and voices are being raised against it.

In June, the police at Jackson, Miss., arrested more than 800 Negroes for demonstrating in opposition to what they considered the "illegally constituted legislature" in mississippi. they were herded into displayx halls at the Mississippi State fairgrounds.

the white officials of several southern states have expressed alarm at the growth of the deacons for defense and justice, a negro protective league that advocates carrying arms and shooting back when white racists attack. the dismayed officials miss an important point. of all the reasons for the popularity of the deacons among negroes--and they are complex--the one that stands as an incontrovertible rebuke to the people who govern the south is the negro's experience with the white man's justice. in too many places, the negro cannot depend on the police for protection, and, when an occasional terrorist is arrested and brought to trial, the negro can be confident that the white court will turn the offender loose or punish him so lightly that the penalty is interpreted as quiet approval of terrorism.

the negro's loss of confidence in the white man's system of justice does not have to traced to the more drastic failings. a murderous bombing is terrifying in its impact, but perhaps just as damaging to the negro's faith in his government is the unspectacular, continuous erosion produced by his day-to-day contact with the system. the demoralizing nature of this contact is summed up in a negro's encounter with two southern policemen as recounted by claude sittion in the new york times. the encounter, shy of brutality, might be called routine intimidation, the kind that every southern negro dreads.

Put here same effect from Justice's unwillingness to push losing cases: its acquiescence, the delay on state patrol indictment at school etc.

"the negro watched anxiously as the two whites in uniform jumped out and approached him," mr. sitton wrote.

"'where're you going, nigger?' demanded the driver.

"'home,' replied the man.

"'let me see your identification.'

"he fished out a longshoreman's card and handed it to the policeman.

"'take off your hat, nigger,' ordered the policeman, still looking at the card. before the command could be carried out, he snatched the hat from the man's head and threw it to the pavement.

"'what's that in your pocket?'

"'nothing.'"

"the policeman thrust a lighted match into the lapel pocket of the man's coat. striking a second match, he held it to the card, which curled and blackened in the yellow flame.

"'you go on now, nigger,' said the policeman. and he and his partner strode back to the police car and drove away."

there are no easy solutions to the negro's problems anywhere and that is particularly true in the area of equal justice. but it is clear that several steps must be taken before any real progress can be expected.

to begin at the top, the president of the United States needs to find men for federal judgeships who do not owe their political careers to the same corrupt system that perpetuates dual justice. some of the most notorious appointments to the bench have been made by liberal democratic presidents, simply because a president is loathe to violate the tradition of letting these appointments be made, in fact if not in name, by the ruling democratic apparatus in the one-party states of the south.

not all judicial appointments have been as unfortunate as that of william [redacted] HAROLD cox in mississippi, and in fact many have been thoroughly laudatory. [redacted] but even the "good" judges have added to the negro's woes. [redacted] the 28 court clerks and the 109 jury commissioners attached to the federal courts of the 11 states of the old confederacy are solidly white--all appointed by the 65 white district judges. through these appointments, the [redacted] judges build higher the walls of segregated justice.

despairing of any immediate end to [redacted] dual justice in the south, negroes [redacted] are turning increasingly to the u. s. department of justice, demanding that "it do something." often the negroes are disappointed. although systematic exclusion of negroes from juries is at the root of dual justice, not once during this century has the justice deparmtnet prosecuted anyone for the practice. this, despite a specific law -- passed in 1875 -- which makes jury discimination a crime punishable by a fine of up to $5,000.

? action from the south itself

other failings?
Rush cases through knowtail —
Arrests of civil rights violations
Separate police force question.

nothing less than a public outcry against dual justice is needed, coupled with a specific program to eliminate some of the most flagrant abuses. ~~the first logical step~~ One step of the program ~~is to insist on~~ must be a jury system that ~~would~~ will not include just "token juries" but a completely representative crosssection of an entire judicial district -- whites as well as negroes. Attorney morgan recommends the kraft-rosenbluth system of jury selection. by the use of racial, population density, sex economic and other census date, john f. kraft, a specialist in public opinion surveys, and leon rosenbluth, a consulting statistician, have devised a system for the random selection of jurors' names. it would abolish all subjective standards of [redacted] juror selection and would not require "the use of judgment by a jury commissioner or key man", ~~as and would eliminate~~ It also "literary digests" ~~lists~~ jury lists taken from phone books, [redacted] voter registration lists, etc. [redacted]

eliminating jury discrimination is only a step, however. the cases of [redacted] preston cobb jr. and countless other negroes illustrate the need for a public defender system, one in which the attorneys would be hired on a career basis and thus be free of

public pressure. to eliminate CASH register justice, the use of the installment plan method of paying fines should come into widespread use. and, indeed, judges should determine the ability of a defendant to pay, before he hands down a fine.

Need to go beyond present concept of courts as punishers of poor and find ways for the poor to use them to get justice against those who exploit them — And legal aid in all the minutae of bureaucratic

to reduce the possibility overly harsh sentences, some penologists have suggested that legislatures pass laws making it mandatory for the judge to receive a complete pre-sentencing report from court investigators before handing down a sentence of more than two years. the report should include an assessment of the defendant's prospects of rehabilitation, his general character and reputation, his previous court record, his record as a parent, etc. this, could have the effect of making the judge see the defendant as a person, rather than as another criminal standing before the bar of justice. it would also result in a delay in sentenning and give the judge a chance to reflect on the sentence before he hands it down.

finally, the people of the south must not be allowed to forget that they have this sickness among them. white people sometimes complain that they are weary of being constantly reminded of the negro revolution. their weariness is nothing compared to the negro's.

ROUGH DRAFT

Southern Justice: An Indictment

Our

~~Outside the Sumter County jail in Americus, Georgia, last summer, six Negro pickets walked slowly under a July sun. Inside the jail were four Negro women, each of them arrested for a crime which they thought no longer existed -- standing in a "white women only" voting line. Outside, the pickets were protesting. "Is there any justice?" asked one sign. "Justice where are you?" asked another.~~

~~They were valid questions, not only for Americus but for the South as a region.~~ If the public could ever plead ignorance to the double standard of justice in the South -- one brand of justice for the white man, another for the Negro -- that time is past. On television and on the front pages of newspapers, the stories have come. An FBI informant testifies that he is in the same car with three Ku Klux Klansmen as they shoot to death ~~murder~~ Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a ~~the~~ Detroit housewife, on an Alabama highway. ~~The~~ jury does not convict the first defendant ~~is deadlocked (not on the question of murder -- that [illegible] never to have been considered seriously -- but on the question of manslaughter).~~ charged in the crime - not even of manslaughter.

While waiting for a new trial the Klansmen rush off to a Klan rally in North Carolina to sign autographs, openly

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confident that any new trial will end the same way.

a hayneville, ala., community leader named tom coleman shoots down two civil rights workers at midday. jonathan daniels, a seminarian, dies at once and the rev. richard morrisroe, a priest, is critically wounded. The trial, simply into a circus, with mr. coleman not acquitted but almost proclaimed a hero.

the liuzzo and daniels cases were not isolated incidents, and negroes can only reflect bitterly when white men — southerners and northerners alike — advise them, as they often do, to stop street demonstrations and take their grievances into the courts.

The Liuzzo case was not an isolated incident. From the sit-in demonstrations of 1960 through the spring of 1965, at least 26 Negroes and white civil rights workers died at the hands of racists in the South. Only one of the assailants was sentenced to prison, and he for 10 years. During the same period, "justice" was dispensed in double measure when white men were slain by Negroes. Two white segregationists died in the aftermath of racial demonstrations. Four Negroes went to prison, one of them for life.

The danger today is not that the public will fail to know about the double standard of justice, but that the public will think it limited only to civil rights cases, or will fail to act. If the problem were confined only to civil rights cases perhaps it could be solved with nothing more than a stern law making it a federal crime to kill a civil rights worker. The problem, however, goes far deeper.

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

In many areas of the South, dual justice is a standing abuse to all Negroes -- the maid, the undertaker, the field hand, the school teacher, the minister. It exists from birth to death and the knowledge of it comes so early that a man may think he received it in his genes. It exists in the day to day brushes with "the law":

the policeman on his beat, at traffic court, in

the policeman on his beat, at traffic court, in civil cases. It exists in the more awesome confrontations with judges and juries in rape and murder cases. To the extent that it exists, it provokes desperation among Negroes, shakes their faith in democracy, causes them to shun the policemen and the courts as enemies. More than any other factor it is responsible for what the white South views as increasing "radicalism" and "anarchy" in the civil rights movement.

WHY IS IT POSSIBLE?

Double space

Why is it possible under the American judicial system for a white man to murder a Negro without fear of serious retribution? How widespread is dual justice and what is its impact?

The malignancy probably is far more prevalent than most white people, North and South, realize. [redacted]. Why that is so is one of the chief internal political problems of this country. There may be many reasons for the continued existence of dual justice, but these must surely be among them:

Dual justice survives because Presidents continue to treat federal judgeships as political rewards and pacifiers. It survives because the Justice Department fails to exercise the power that it has to correct abuses. It survives because the judicial network, federal, state,

and municipal, is still one of the most segregated institutions in America. It survives through a built-in discrimination in the selection of juries, state and federal, and through the ill-concealed contempt of many ~~prosecutors~~ court and police officers for the rights of Negro citizens. ~~Most of all, it survives because the Negro lacks the political power to do anything about it, and~~ it seems a fair estimate that it will continue to prosper, no matter how shrill the outrage in the distant pulpits and editorial towers ~~of the North~~, until the Negro gains adequate political power and until a sufficient number of white Southerners insist on equal rights for the minority.

Dual justice takes many forms, some merely disgusting and others so quietly terrifying that they balk the scrutiny of rational men.

[CAPITAL CASES]

Consider the case of Andrew Wansley at Lynchburg, Virginia. In the winter of 1963, when he was 19 years old, he was accused of raping two women, one white and the other Japanese, and of stealing $1.36 from one of the victims.

The white woman was unable to identify Wansley -- a Negro -- as her assailant. Police, however, after a private talk with Wansley succeeded in getting a confession. The Japanese woman positively identified Wansley. The youth admitted to having sexual relations with the Japanese woman -- not once but on several occasions.

4

All-white juries deliberated, and handed down two death sentences for rape and a 20-year prison term for the $1.36 robbery.

Wansley, who had only one life to give, must have reflected bitterly on the knowledge that three months before in the same court room, a white man had received only a five-year sentence for raping an 11-year-old Negro girl.

Was this an isolated incident? Statistics amassed by the U. S. Bureau of Prisons answer, "no," despite the fact that more than half of all convicted rapists are white, 87 per cent of all the persons executed for rape between 1930 and 1963 were Negroes convicted and sentenced by southern courts.

The wrath of southern judges and juries also falls on Negroes who are convicted of night-time burglaries and robberies. Between 1930 and 1961, 34 people were executed for this capital offense. Twenty-nine of them were Negroes and all but one were put to death in a southern or border state.

At first glance, Bureau of Prisons statistics would indicate that the Negro charged with murder receives better than equal treatment at the bar of justice. Negroes account for more than half of the murder arrests throughout the nation, but between 1930 and 1962 accounted

for slightly less than half (49 per cent) of the executions. More detailed, if somewhat old, studies show, however, that the statistics conceal a double standard as menacing as any imposed for rape or burglary. Southern white juries are reluctant to hand down a stiff penalty to a Negro who kills a Negro, but are quick to exact the maximum penalty when a Negro kills a white person. Because most Negro murders are within the race, the execution statistics are relatively low. The nature of the problem is shown in a study published by H. Garfinkel in a 1949 issue of Social Forces. Garfinkel examined murder convictions over a 11-year period in 10 North Carolina counties. He discovered that 26.6 per cent of all Negroes accused of killing white men received the death penalty. Most of the others received long sentences. Negroes accused of killing other Negroes fared far better. Only four per cent were executed; only five per cent received terms of 30 years or longer. Whites accused of killing Negroes had relatively little to fear at the hands of the court. None received life or death sentences.[21]

"CASH REGISTER JUSTICE" —

Negroes accused of minor crimes also have reason to fear their day in court. On the surface, the Negro would appear to receive equal justice in the traffic courts of many cities. A white man and a Negro stand

before the traffic judge. Both are first offenders and both are found guilty of driving under the influence of intoxicating beverages. The judge pronounces a standard prescription for the malady: twelve months or $150. It appeared equal, but was it? The Negro earns $1.25 an hour when he can find work. He cannot raise the equivalent of three weeks salary. He goes to jail for a year. The white man earns $250 a week as a certified public accountant, hands over three days pay eagerly, and walks from court praising a benevolent judge. when the perscription isn't standard, the defendant who has his charge reduced so as not to lose his driver's license is more likely ~~to be white than~~ Negro.

"Cash register justice" is widespread in the South. The poor of both races suffer from it, but the Negro, being the poorest, suffers most frequently. In a 12 months period ending in June of 1962, 2,341 persons served terms in Georgia's state prison system for their inability to pay small fines. Seventy per cent of these were Negro.

A Georgia judge sentenced a 35-year-old Negro to "a fine of $25 or four months imprisonment" for driving without a driver's license. The court had no provision for installment plan fines. The Negro was unable to raise $25 "on the spot." He went to prison for four months.

Another judge sentenced a Negro woman to "$35 or 12

months in prison for public drunkeness. She entered prison on July 12, 1963, and with time off for good behavior, emerged a "free" woman on May 24, 1964.

An 18-year old Negro youth was sentenced to "$85 or 12 months" for petty larceny. The same poverty that encouraged him to steal also forced him to serve the term.

"Cash register justice" is by no means limited to the backwoods counties in the South. The practice flourishes in a city like Atlanta. In 1961 and 1962, 40 per cent of all of the misdemeants in Georgia prisons were sent there by Atlanta-based courts. In an attempt to curb the practice, the Georgia Parole Board recently sought and won legislation making it more difficult for cities and counties to send the indigent to the state prisons. However, many courts in Georgia and in other southern states continue the practice of alternative sentences (a cash fine or a jail sentence) and when the state refuses to take the indigent prisoners, the courts jail them in city or county jails.

Experts in the field of criminal correction have cried out for years against the widespread use of alternative sentences, but [redacted] much of the South hasn't listened. "The festering malignancy which eats at the administration of justice in misdemeanor courts is in evidence every day in those courts when fines are imposed," said a panel of experts

in the book, The Law of Criminal Correction. "In many of them no effort is made to ascertain whether the offender is able to pay." The panel adds: "A modest fine with an alternative prison term imposed upon a man who has not the ability to pay is in fact a sentence to prison, while a substantial fine imposed on one of ample financial resources is inconsequential punishment."

setting of bail, the same amount assuring the well-off the right to freedom before trial, sending the impoverished to jail.

Just as uneven is the

As serious as they sometimes become, fines and bail are only small parts of the problem faced by the indigent Negro before the bar of justice. The problem of finding and hiring an attorney can be an acute one for Negroes. Often the Negro accused of a major crime is forced to accept a court-appointed white attorney with little enthusiasm for his case.

FINDING A LAWYER

Take, for example, the case of Preston Cobb, Jr., a penniless 15-year-old Negro who lived with his mother on a farm near Monticello, Georgia. In June of 1961, Cobb was charged with slaying his white landlord, Coleman Dumas, Sr., as the man sat reading in his home. After interrogation, Cobb confessed to the slaying. "An all white jury found the youth guilty," wrote Claude Sitton of the New York Times. "His court-appointed attorney had made no request for mercy and none was recommended by the jurors. The jury had no choice but to send Cobb to the

electric chair." Once alerted to the case, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People retained an Atlanta attorney, Donald L. Hollowell, to appeal Cobb's case. In the appeal Mr. Hollowell charged that the white attorney neglected to bring up the question of Negro exclusion from juries in the county. "He would have felt it not to be in his best interest as a white lawyer practicing in and around Jasper County to have raised said issue," Hollowell said.

Even when they have the money, Negroes may find it difficult to find an attorney to represent them. In the Deep South, Negro attorneys are rare (Mississippi has only four), and white attorneys are sometimes reluctant to accept controversial cases. They can cost an attorney his law practice and result even in ostracism by his community.

In the spring of 1965, Warren C. Fortson, an established attorney in Americus, Georgia, and brother of Georgia Secretary of State Ben Fortson, agreed to defend two Negro teenagers identified with civil rights against ~~[illegible]~~ charges of Fornication and touched off a storm of protest that along with miller resentment of his role in calling for a biracial committee, ultimately forced him to leave the city. ~~One of the teenagers was a Negro girl who had been among the first Negroes to desegregate Americus' previously all white schools. She was charged with participating in an immoral act, [illegible] with another teenager, the son of prominent Negro parents.~~ In the trial, one patrol-

man testified in detail to lurid acts which he said he witnessed. Under cross examination, another law enforcement officer conceded he was standing beside the patrolman and saw nothing more than heavy petting. The two teenagers were convicted by the court and sentenced to reform school. Fortson, for his role in the case, was convicted by the public and forced to leave the city. He deemed his future effectiveness as an attorney destroyed. "How could I pick 12 men for the jury box so at least one wouldn't gut me just because I'm me?" Fortson asked. "We have made great progress in desegregation and race relations but the courthouse crowd has done everything they could to harrass. The oppression of the courts and law enforcement are Negroes' major grievances now."

Warren Fortson's story, of course, is not unique. In 1963, Charles Morgan, who had already aroused hostility in Birmingham for his willingness to represent Negroes in controversial cases, lost his law practice for urging Birmingham to re-examine itself in the wake of a church bombing in which four Negro children were killed. He left Birmingham to become a staff counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union and is now waging a legal fight for integrated white juries, proportionate to population.

Two years after Morgan left Birmingham, another

attorney, Paul Johnston, agreed to defend a government undercover agent against a Ku Klux Klan attorney. His decision, which he made at the urging of U. S. Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, cost him his membership in one of Birmingham's most prosperous law firms, a firm which still includes his father and a brother. Daniel H. Politt, a professor of law at the University of North Carolina, had earlier observed: "The small band of southern attorneys who undertake 'racial' litigation often find the common courtesies of the bench and bar denied them."

WHITE-SUPREMACY ON THE BENCH

With or without adequate counsel, the Negro must often face a hostile judge. Many southern judges are, of course, scrupulously fair. Others seem to view themselves less as impartial umpires and dispensers of justice than as defenders of white supremacy. In ~~Birmingham~~ one large southern city in 1962, ~~Lonnie Ellis~~, a 25-year-old Negro, was summoned from his jail cell to ~~the~~ a municipal court room ~~of Judge William Conway.~~ The Judge ~~Conway~~ had received complaints that ~~Ellis~~ the defendant, while serving on a prison work gang, had failed to say, "yes, sir" to a foreman with the Birmingham Park and Recreation Board and had "scuffled" with an assistant jail warden. ~~Ellis~~ The Negro man contended that the assistant warden had attacked him as part of a lesson in "politeness." ~~Ellis~~ He asked permission to go to a hospital for treatment for sore ribs. "No," said the Judge ~~Conway~~ as he ordered ~~Ellis~~ him to pay a $55 fine. "Until you learn to say 'yes, sir' to white people you can stay in jail."

The view of Negroes as second class citizens sometimes extends to the federal bench. In Jackson, Mississippi, federal judge Harold Cox once referred to Negroes as "chimpanzees," criticising their voter registration activities.

Judges are often inclined to be lenient with whites who are charged with offenses against Negroes and harsh with Negroes accused of crimes against whites. In New Bern, North Carolina, in June of 1965, three white men -- one of them an exalted Cyclops in the Ku Klux Klan -- admitted bombing a Negro funeral home and two cars which were parked outside a Negro church. They have yet to serve a day in prison. A superior court judge handed down suspended sentences. In Georgia, a 75-year-old white woman, jaywalking after being warned repeatedly by police, walked into the side of a car driven by a Negro and was killed. Officials were reluctant to file charges against the Negro, but ultimately did so after pressure from the woman's family. Rather than face an an all-white jury, the Negro elected to appear directly before the judge. He lost his gamble. The judge sentenced him to five years in prison. A police official called the sentence a "raw deal" and termed the woman's death "strictly" accidental, but the words didn't help the Negro.

THE JURY PROBLEM

Double space

Despite the outrageous outcome of his case, the Negro may have been wise to prefer a judge rather than a jury. Southern juries tend to be all-white and, all too

often, inclined to support other whites in legal clashes with Negroes. "Take for example, the killing of Clinton Melton, in Glendora, Mississippi, in the Delta, by a white man named Elmer Kimbell, a close friend of the man who had been acquitted of the murder of Emmett Till," Robert Penn Warren wrote in his book, Segregation. "When the Lions Club met three days after the event, a resolution was drawn and signed by all members present: 'We consider the taking of the life of Clinton Melton an outrage against him, against all of the people of Glendora, against the people of Mississippi, as well as against the human family . . .' And the town began to raise a fund to realize the ambition of the dead man, to send his children to college . . ." Warren added, "but, in that division between man and man, the jury that tried Elmer Kimbell acquitted him."

The record of southern juries in racial cases is so depressingly anti-Negro that some observers have come to question the fairness of the jury system itself. Such sweeping criticism of one of man's sanest achievements -- the right of trial by jury -- is indicative of the danger of allowing the jury system to operate in crippled fashion.

It is not merely a matter in the South of a rare, occaional miscarriage of justice growing out of the nature of the jury system at its best. "This is the price we have to pay for the jury system," Attorney General Katzenbach was quoted as saying after the Coleman acquittal in Hayneville, though not talking directly about that trial. The price is being paid for the crippled condition of the jury system.

For there is no doubt that the jury system as it now operates in most parts of the South -- and, it should be said, in many parts of the United States -- is grossly unfair. It is unfair not only to Negroes but to poor whites, as well.

Much of the problem is in the selection of jurors. In almost no courts are jurors picked by thoroughly objective means to ensure a true cross-section of the community.

Charles Morgan, in a suit attacking the jury system of Jefferson County (Birmingham), Alabama, makes the point that most courts in the country use selection methods that work against obtaining a cross section.

Mr. Morgan said in his brief, "Selection techniques now differ from state to state and within states from court to court. The federal system differs from the state system. Qualifications differ from state to state. Federal qualifications differ from state qualifications. Indeed, former Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall recently noted: 'A justice department survey in 1961 showed that the 92 federal district courts had 92 different systems of selecting juries.'

"One jury commissioner's telephone book is another's city directory. A third may try voter registration lists. The Junior Chamber of Commerce; church membership lists (regardless of the First Amendment); lists of school teachers; American Legion posts or labor unions; lists of industrialists and lists of automobile owners; lists of householders or PTA members, or registered voters or real property tax payers -- all are used."

Mr. Morgan pointed out that many of the federal courts rely on the "key man" system. Persons well known to the court -- usually men of substance -- are tapped and they in turn suggest their friends.

Mr. Morgan said, "One clear light shines through the forest of lists -- the United States in almost every one of its courts tries its citizens before Literary Digest juries."

That was an allusion to the old Literary Digest method of polling national issues and elections. The magazine went out of business after a spectacular polling failure in 1936 when it predicted that Landon would defeat Roosevelt. Subsequent evaluation of the Digest techniques indicated the reason for the failure: The magazine based its predictions on the opinions of middle and upper class Americans and paid no attention to the poor. Mr. Morgan concluded that present-day juries are selected by the same discredited method, ignoring the welfare and relief rolls and all other lists that would give the poor a voice on juries.

Governor Robert McNair of South Carolina was quoted recently as saying that the real threat of increased Negro votes is not so much at the polls as on juries. He said that adding large numbers of Negroes to the electorate would put more and more illiterates on juries, and he saw that as unfortunate.

If it is proper for a middle class public official charged with embezzlement to be tried by a jury of his peers -- other members of the middle class -- why is it improper for a penniless Negro to have his fate decided by a jury that included his peers?

INSTRUMENT OF OPPRESSION

In the system of justice portrayed by Franz Kafka, an innocent man could be accused of an unspecified crime by a faceless court. The court was corrupted almost absolutely, so that by manipulation and tribute the accused could avoid prison. But the freedom he enjoyed was perhaps worse than imprisonment. He could never win definite acquittal of his unstated charge; he could only choose between ostensible acquittal and indefinite postponement. Under the first, the accused and his representatives might cajole and manipulate a sufficient number of judges to have the case informally set aside and forgotten. The drawback was that a new judge in another part of the hierachy might rediscover the charge sometime in the future and order the accused arrested again, thus starting the process over. If the accused selected indefinite postponement, his case could never be disposed of decisively but, through the same use of influence, it could be kept always in its early stages, never moving toward trial and sentencing so long as the accused unflaggingly minded his attentions to the judges and their functionaires.

It can be said without unconscionable exaggeration that the southern system of justice suspends the Negro in just such a state of torment and obligation. Because he is black he is continually subject to caprice. In a manner of speaking, there is no such thing as "definite acquittal" for the Negro. His color carries with it a presumption of hard luck in the white man's courts; a given Negro is automatically a poorer risk than a white man at the bar of justice. That is a statistical certainty that hovers over every Negro and makes him never quite free.

But, like Kafka's accused innocent, the Negro is not without a fretful, worrisome kind of hope. He is reminded constantly that he can buy insurance against the harshness of the system. One thing that most Negroes learn early is that a "good nigger" fares better in times of trouble than a "no 'count nigger." By debasing himself systematically, a Negro can earn a reputation as a "good nigger" and assure himself of favored treatment should he be called to account in a court of law. It is common knowledge that many a southern jury, in deciding the fate of a Negro charged with a crime against another Negro, tempers its verdict if the accused has a white man to vouch for him or if he stands well in the white community. If a Negro has been scrupulous in cultivating the goodwill of white men of standing, he is safer from the caprices of the system. The unfounded criminal charge

is more likely to be dropped and the justified charge is less likely to result in a heavy penalty.

A Negro who neglects his reputation is always at the threshold of trouble with the law. If a crime is committed, all the "bad niggers" are rounded up routinely. A Negro man who takes the liberty of speaking assertively to a policeman is much more likely to go to jail on a trumped-up charge than a white man who speaks the same way. Even when an honest mistake is made in charging a man with a crime, the accused Negro who has no white patron has greater difficulty in extricating himself from the white man's jail.

JALL-WHITE JUSTICE

Once the Negro is under arrest, he enters a world that is almost totally white, and every person he encounters could mean trouble.

Attorney Morgan, defending a Negro charged with murder in 1963, filed a motion to quash the indictment in which he outlined his client's prospect. He wrote of the man's being arrested by white policemen, carried off in a segregated paddy wagon driven by a white man and locked up in a segregated jail staffed solely by whites. He was to be brought to trial in a courthouse inhabited by whites, in a segregated court room run by white officials, before a jury that almost certainly would be solidly white.

"If he receives the death penalty," Mr. Morgan wrote, "he will then be given a last meal by his white guards,

visited by a white chaplain, shaved by a white barber, and taken by white guards to a yellow electric chair in Kilby Prison . . . the chair being the only facility in Alabama justice which is and has always been desegregated. . ."

"A button or switch will be pressed or pulled by a white man, before white witnesses, and the condemned will die. Being in indigent circumstances, he will thereafter be buried in a potter's grave in a racially segregated cemetery, provided by the state of Alabama."

It might be protested that Mr. Morgan has been unduly harsh, but note the findings of the United States Civil Rights Commission in a recent survey: 87 per cent of county jails and 93 per cent of state penitentiaries in the southern and border states are segregated; 63 per cent of the courthouses have segregated rest rooms; 17 per cent have segregated court rooms.

Jack Nelson, writing on Jim Crow justice in the Los Angeles Times, concluded, "In some areas of the South the system is so loaded against the Negro that his only choice may be to throw himself on the mercy of the courts."

CLASSIC CORRUPTION

What the South is faced with is a monstrous corruption, no different in any essential way from other classic cases of political corruption. The system has been tampered with to give one group a social, political, and economic advantage at the expense of another group.

The nation, for some reason, has not yet learned to deal with the corruption of justice by racism. In other, more pedestrian shortcomings, America has been able to call on its tradition of pragmatism and produce reform, and the reform always has been within the liberal democratic framework. Now, with the nation seemingly unable to abolish this particular corruption pragmatically, a new mode of reform is arising. It is a radical reform whose adherents are uncommitted to liberal democracy and the American tradition of pragmatism. These new reformers, who proudly wear the name of radical, move at the fringes of the civil rights movement, working frankly at the total destruction of the system that deals unjustly. Occasionally, one can hear a bitter young civil rights worker call openly for a riot, on the theory that only through violence can the white majority be persuaded to take its foot off the neck of the oppressed minority.

DEMOCRACY DAMAGED

Of all the forces that urge the Negro away from ~~the~~ American democracy, none is more vicious or more effective than the dual system of justice. His ingrained knowledge of the dual system causes a Negro instinctively to dodge a policeman. The same wretched awareness leads him to think of the courts as a white man's game, and, since to the Negro in poverty the court is one of the most visible arms of the government, it tempts him to consider the entire

governing system as a device for maintaining the white man in charge and the Negro in "his place."

From the deep South, he carries his fear, resentment, and distrust to the ghetto slums of the rest of the nation, like the Watts area of Los Angeles where rioting was touched off when policemen made an arrest. Too often, he finds, out of the South, the familiar taints of dual justice.

The duality is so successfully pernicious that multitudes of Negroes have gone to their graves without doubting the rightness of the scheme.

OTHER VOICES

But now the scheme is being doubted, and voices are being raised against it.

In June, the police at Jackson, Mississippi, arrested more than 800 Negroes for demonstrating in opposition to what they considered the "illegally constituted legislature" in Mississippi. They were herded into display halls at the Mississippi state fairgrounds. Convinced that the full force of the law was being directed against them, they assembled in a Negro church afterward to air their grievances. Willie Ricks, a SNCC field worker, took the podium and told the Negroes that they could expect no justice from "Mr. Charlie's courts." And, he said, the situation would be little better in federal courts. Hadn't President Johnson just appointed J. P. Coleman (a former governor of Mississippi who is considered a moderate by some, but a segregationist by Negroes familiar with many of his utterances and acts while governor) to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals? As a result, Mr. Ricks said, the Negro would have to protect himself. "When the spirit say shoot," he said, "we're going to shoot. When the spirit say throw rocks and bottles, we're going to throw rocks and bottles."

In Bogalusa, Louisiana, in July, the police stood by smiling while a barber turned a water hose on a civil

rights worker. "I almost hit him," the civil rights worker said later. "A year ago I was nonviolent -- I really believed it as a philosophy -- and everyone I knew in the movement was nonviolent, but now its nothing more than a tactic. Almost no one talks of nonviolence as a philosophy any more."

A Negro lieutenant was brutally beaten in Canton, Mississippi, and the police made no arrests. Soon after, civil rights workers brought a shotgun into the Freedom House at Canton for protection.

The white officials of several southern states have expressed alarm at the growth of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, a Negro protective league that advocates carrying arms and shooting back when white racists attack. The dismayed officials miss an important point. Of all the reasons for the popularity of the Deacons among Negroes -- and they are complex -- the one that stands as an incontrovertible rebuke to the people who govern the South is the Negro's experience with the white man's justice. In too many places, the Negro cannot depend on the police for protection and, when an occasional terrorist is arrested and brought to trial, the Negro can be confident that the white court will turn the offender loose or punish him so lightly that the penalty is interpreted as quiet approval of terrorism.

]DAY-TO-DAY[

The Negro's loss of confidence in the white man's system of justice does not have to be traced to the more drastic failings. A murderous bombing is terrifying in its impact, but perhaps just as damaging to the Negro's faith in his government is the unspectacular, continuous erosion produced by his day-to-day contact with the system. The demoralizing nature of this contact is summed up in a Negro's encounter with two southern policemen as recounted by Claude Sitton in the New York Times. The encounter, shy of brutality, might be called routine intimidation, the kind that every southern Negro dreads.

"The Negro watched anxiously as the two whites in uniform jumped out and approached him," Mr. Sitton wrote.

"'Where're you going, nigger?' demanded the driver.

"'Home,' replied the man.

"'Let me see your identification.'

"'He fished out a longshoreman's card and handed it to the policeman.

"'Take off your hat, nigger,' ordered the policeman, still looking at the card. Before the command could be carried out, he snatched the hat from the man's head and threw it to the pavement.

"'What's that in your pocket?'

"'Nothing.'

"The policeman thrust a lighted match into the lapel pocket of the man's coat. Striking a second match, he held it to the card, which curled and blackened in

the yellow flame.

"'You go on now, nigger,' said the policeman. And he and his partner strode back to the police car and drove away."

] THE FIRST STEPS [

There are no easy solutions to the Negro's problems anywhere and that is particularly true in the area of equal justice. But it is clear that several steps must be taken before any real progress can be expected.

To begin at the top, the President of the United States needs to find men for federal judgeships who do not owe their political careers to the same [redacted] system that perpetuates dual justice. Some of the most notorious appointments to the bench have been made by liberal Democratic Presidents, simply because a President is loathe to violate the tradition of letting these appointments be made, in fact if not in name, by the ruling Democratic apparatus in the one-party states of the South.

Not all judicial appointments have been [redacted] unfortunate, [redacted] and in fact, many have been thoroughly laudatory. But even the "good" judges have added to the Negro's woes. The 28 court clerks and the 109 jury commissioners attached to the federal courts of the 11 states of the Old Confederacy are solidly white -- all appointed by the 65 white district judges. Through these appointments, the judges build higher the walls of segregated justice.

Despairing of any immediate end to dual justice in the South, Negroes are turning increasingly to the U. S. Department of Justice, demanding that it "do something." Often the Negroes are disappointed. Although systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries is at the root of dual justice, not once during this century has the Justice Department prosecuted anyone for the practice. This, despite a specific law -- passed in 1875 -- which makes jury discrimination a crime punishable by a fine of up to $5,000.

Despite spectacular arrests in Mississippi and Georgia, the justice department has also been cautious at best in prosecuting racist terrorists under existing federal law, contending that in most cases it lacks jurisdiction. the Department's argument has been challenged by some of the nation's most eminent law professors. In the summer of 1964, for example, Robert Kennedy, who was then attorney general, told a civil rights delegation that terrorism in Mississippi was a "local matter for law enforcment" and said that his power to move against it was "very limited." Twenty-nine law professors, representing six leading law schools, quickly prepared a group statement arguing that Title 10, section 333 of the U.S. Code gives the President power to suppress "any domestic violence" through the use of "the militia or the armed forces, or both, or by any other means."

Probably the most frequent criticism of the Justice Department voiced by civil rights workers centers on FBI agents who, as during arrests for peaceful demonstrating, observe violations of constitutional rights, take copious notes on it, but rarely intervene. Arrests were made by federal authorities on complaint for interference with constitutional rights during the Mississippi Summer of 1964. Then, three men were charged with violation of Title 18, Section 241 of the U.S. Code, for interfering with voter registration workers in Itta Bena. The Justice Department filed a court suit seeking full protection of constitutional rights to peaceably assemble for demonstrations, this during a voter registration campaign in Greenwood, Miss., in 1963. But such actions are so rare as to be almost unheard of.

Out of criticism over this has come the cry for a special federal police force to handle racial matters with the same efficiency the federal government handles cheating on income taxes. Those who are wary of more federal police are forced back to the drastic need for basic reform of existing methods of law enforcement.

Often the federal government seems to say it is as helpless as the Negroes themselves at gaining compliance with federal statutes and the U.S. Constitution through the normal procedures and institutions of southern justice. What does this say to Negroes across all America, and to the world?

PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

Nothing less than a public outcry against dual justice is needed, coupled with a specific program to eliminate some of the most flagrant abuses. One step of the program must be a jury system that will not include just "token juries" but a completely representative cross-section of an entire judicial district -- whites as well as Negroes. Attorney Morgan recommends the Kraft-Rosenbluth system of jury selection. By the use of racial, population density, sex, economic and other census data, John F. Kraft, a specialist in public opinion surveys, and Leon Rosenbluth, a consulting statistician, have devised a system for the random selection of juror's names. It would abolish all subjective standards of juror selection and would not require "the use of judgment by a jury commissioner or key man." It also would eliminate "Literary Digest" jury lists taken from phone books, voter registration lists, etc.

Discriminatory ~~hiring of~~ appointment and hiring of court officials and employes needs ~~elimination~~ to be eliminated in not just the state but also the federal courts of the South. As on a jury, ~~just~~ the mere physical presence of ~~[illegible]~~ Negroes could accomplish ~~a considerable amount toward~~ much in eliminating ~~the most~~ gross ~~[illegible]~~ expressions of racial bias.

advocacy rather than echoes from the South's past.

Eliminating court and jury discrimination is only a step, however. The cases of Preston Cobb, Jr., and countless other Negroes illustrate the need for a workable public defender system, one in which the attorney would be hired on a career basis and thus be free of public pressure. Or perhaps other systems can be devised which will provide Negroes. To eliminate cash register justice, the use of the installment plan method of paying fines should come into widespread use. And, indeed, a judge should determine the ability of a defendant to pay, before he hands down a fine. To reduce the possibility of overly harsh sentences, some penologists have suggested that legislatures pass laws making it mandatory for the judge to receive a complete pre-sentencing report from court investigators before handing down a sentence of more than two years. The report should include an assessment of the defendant's prospects of rehabilitation, his general character and reputation, his previous court record, his record as a parent, etc. This could have the effect of making the judge see the defendant as a person, rather than as another criminal standing before the bar of justice. It would also result in a delay in sentencing and give the judge a chance to reflect on the sentence before he hands it down. The same weighing of individual circumstances is needed in the setting of bail. [redacted]

30

~~Insert~~

it is obvious on the face of it that dual justice could not exist, at least with its present excesses, if the ~~southern~~ American bar had taken aggressive action to end it. at best, attorneys in most areas of the South have been shy in accepting controversial cases involving negroes, thus allowing the full wrath of segregationists to fall on a handful of ~~southern~~ negro and "liberal" white attorneys. there is a desperate need for national and southern bar associations to begin enforcing their ethical codes in ~~such~~ a manner ~~as to~~ which will guarantee that negroes will be able to choose from a broad range of attorneys. individual lawyers would be less reluctant, perhaps, to accept controversial cases if bar associations made it clear to the public that lawyers have the obligation to provide vigorous defense not only for white clients but for Negroes and unpopular white clients as well. ~~The [illegible] of the dual system of justice would provide lawyers with an [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] of this [illegible] idea.~~

Finally, the people of the South must be fully aware and that it must be cured. that they have this sickness among them. White people sometimes complain that they are weary of being constantly reminded of the Negro revolution. Their weariness is nothing compared to the Negro's. ~~The ultimate responsibility to assure liberty and justice for all Southerners rests with the people of the South, and inasmuch as the same conditions prevail~~

The ultimate responsibility is with the people to assure liberty and justice for all-- in the South and ~~[illegible]~~ across ~~anywhere in~~ the nation where ~~the~~ dual justice prevails.

##

April 18, 1963

Mr. Patrick J. Owens
Nieman Fellow, Nieman Foundation
44 Holyoke House
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Owens:

I think your project sounds very interesting indeed. As a native of Charlottesville, Va., I have been rather amused -- and sometimes downright angered -- by the Northerners around Albemarle County who adapt the customs, manners, and prejudices of the FFV's (which might also stand for Fast Fading Virginians).

As far as your request is concerned, I am enclosing a few newspaper and magazine clips about that transplanted New Englander, James V. Gray of Albany. I am also enclosing a laudatory biography of Carleton (Race and Reason) Putnam whichaappeared in The Citizen in 1961. I am not positive on this, but I believe Putnam, a native of New York City, is now residing in Virginia. At any rate, he has most certainly been an opinion leader in the South during recent years.

I regret to say, though, that our files contain no information on Nathan Bolton of the Bastrop (La.) Daily Enterprise. But I would like to refer you to two possible sources of information about this gentleman. They are, respectively: 1) Margaret Dixon, managing editor of the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate and longtime Louisiana newspaperwoman; and 2) Charles East, editor, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, and until last fall city editor of the Baton Rouge State Times. I'm pretty sure they can help you, particularly since neither shares the apparent views of Mr. Bolton.

I would also like to suggest that you look into the background of one Ross Valentine, columnist and editorial

writer for the Richmond (Va.) Times Dispatch. "Ross Valentine" is a pseudonymn for a guy named Hoffman, I understand (I don't know his first name). As I recall, this gentleman is originally from the North. To check this out, I suggest you write either William Tazewell, a reporter and editorial writer for the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, or Jack Hunter, state editor for the Times Dispatch. I recommend you write Tazewell first since his sympathies are anything but pro-Valentine. You are welcome to use my name in writing either of these two newsmen; both are old friends of long repair.

Finally, if you haven't already, I would advise writing such southern newsmen as Ralph McGill, Jonathan Daniels, and Hodding Carter. Another good possible source would be Claude Sitton of the New York Times. His office is in the Atlanta Journal-Constitution building at 10 Forsyth Street, Atlanta 3.

I hope this information will be helpful to you. But if we can be of any further assistance, please don't hesitate to call on us.

Incidentally, I don't know what you plan to do with this study, but I would certainly appreciate your sending a copy to us when it is completed. If you are not planning to sell it to a magazine, we might well be interested in publishing it ourselves. If so, we could offer you an honorarium, though we can't compete with the Satevepost* Look, Life, etc. At any rate, I will be most grateful if you spare us a copy.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp
Enclosures: (6)

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

*Bill Emerson is very big on southern pieces these days; you might want to writehhim about your study.

SB please reply

Ross Valentine

Nieman Foundation
44 Holyoke House
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts
April 11, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

While here at Harvard, I'm making a study of native Northerners who function as opinion leaders in the South, particularly of the racists in this group.

My interest, as you might presume, is in the way the Northerner in the South adjusts to what he thinks of as prevailing opinion.

Would you have, or could you refer me to, any material that might be helpful?

Do you have any material on James H. Gray, the publisher at Albany?

Do you have anything on Nathan Bolton, the publisher of the Daily Enterprise at Bastrop, Louisiana?

Putnam — Oklahoma —

Do you call to mind any other Northern-born Southerners noted for their intransigence on the race issue. (I know about James Jackson Kilpatrick, Dr. Shuey at Randolph-Macon, Frank Ahlgren, Kasper, all of whom fit, or have fitted, more or less, into this category.)

Any help will bemmuch appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Patrick J. Owens
Nieman Fellow
(Pine Bluff Commercial
(Pine Bluff, Arkansas)

Judge Overton in (Va) is only because I can't think of, he is not really a segregationist maybe

May 8, 1963

Mr. Patrick J. Owens
Nieman Foundation
44 Holyoke House
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Owens:

Thanks for sending us the editorial about Bastrop editor Nathan Bolton; he sounds every bit as charming as Bull Connor.

As for your requests about non-Southerners who were active in HOPE and OASIS, herewith the names and addresses of two:

Mrs. David (Judy) Neiman
3640 Cloudland Drive, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Fred (Florence) Robin
926 Crane Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

These two ladies, according to OASIS secretary Betty Harris, were the only two non-Southerners who were among the leaders of Atlanta's save-our-schools movement. Both were, she reports, "communications specialists" with OASIS.

I don't know Mrs. Neiman, but Florence Robin is a friend of mine. And she is straight from the sidewalks of New York. Moreover, she has a ball-of-fire personality. I suggest that you write her - and Mrs. Neiman - personally. But before doing so, I recommend you read an article she wrote for Harper's special supplement on American women. It appeared in the October 1962 issue of the magazine, was titled "Honeychile at the Barricades," and is a very amusing piece.

I hope you can interest one of the magazines in your piece (indeed, maybe even Jack Fischer of Harper's), and I look forward to seeing a copy when it's completed.

If you happen to pass through Atlanta en route back to Arkansas, by all means do come see us.

Best regards,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

B-29 H
Ja 4-3416

Nieman Foundation
44 Holyoke House
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts
April 30, 1963

Dear Mr. Blackford,

I mentioned you to Tom Pettigrew and he said he was going to write to say hello.

My project is turning out to be pretty funny but I don't know yet how consequential. I can make a good case--on paper--that there's nobody here fighting the Southern fight but us Yankees.

Enclosed is a piece we ran last fall about Nathan Bolton of Bastrop. Regret that I don't have the original text of his letter but thought you might be interested in the kind of fellow he is.

Bruce Galphin of the Constitution tells me that Judy (Mrs. David) Neiman of Atlanta is a non-Southern native who was a sparkplug of HOPE and OASIS. Neither Bruce nor I has been able to find an Atlanta phone book and he doesn't have her address. I wondered if you would have any dope on the lady or, failing that, if you could send her address. It's on Cloudland Drive, Bruce thinks.

I'd appreciate learning anything I could about non-natives in Hope and Oasis, as well as in the opposition.

I will by all means send you a copy of my piece when it is finished and felt good about your indication that the Council might possibly be interested in publishing it. From what I've seen of Council publications (which have been impressive) this will be pretty confectionary for you folks. I feel that it will, though, make effectively the point that the "Southern Problem" is not exclusively the concern of Southern natives and should think it might energize some ex-Yankees who have felt that this was not their fight. I'm optimistic (at least at the moment) that it will be interesting enough to interest one of the magazines.

Very truly yours,

Pat

Patrick J. Owens

May 20, 1963

Mr. Patrick J. Owens
Nieman Fellow
Nieman Foundation
44 Holyoke House
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Pat:

Your manuscript arrived on the ninth anniversary of the great decision (or, as the Southerners from Elsewhere want to cry, "Black Monday, 1954"). I have read it with great interest and no little enjoyment. I hope you can persuade Jack Fischer to buy it; if not, maybe the Atlantic, Progressive or even the Satevepost will.

I do, however, have a few minor comments and suggestions; they are attached. I am also going to show the piece to our NEW SOUTH editor, Margaret Long, since I'm sure she will be interested in it. I would like to see some mention of Ross Valentine, so I hope you can corroborate Wid Tazewell's information about him.

Incidentally, as you may or may not know, one of SRC's key people is a citizen -- and notable booster -- of Pine Bluff. He is Wiley Branton, Director of our Voter Education Project. I think you would enjoy meeting Wiley, and I am going to suggest that he look you up when he gets over Pine Bluff way this summer. I'd like to meet you myself; why don't you drop by Atlanta en route to Arkansas?

Again, many thinks for letting us have a copy of your article. Let us know what luck you have in landing it with a magazine. I'll be mighty surprised if you can't.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

STD:nm
Enclosure

COMMENTS ABOUT "SOUTHERNERS FROM ELSEWHERE"

1) As one who has had some experience with both newspapers and magazines, it seems to me that some of your paragraphs are too short for a magazine piece. For example, on p. 3, why not bring graf reading "They are, in short, prime demonstrations of the convert's notorious zeal" up into preceding graft as the concluding sentence. It follows what you've said before very nicely and rounds out the graf very effectively.

2) P. 3, Graf 3 -- I think this paragraph should come later in your narrative when you're talking about those who enlist in the "New South" camp. Here it breaks the flow of your narrative and seems a bit out of place stuck in between a discussion of the "traditionalists" among immigrant Southerners and a citing of some of them by name.

3) P. 6, Grafs 4 and 5 -- Here's another example of the short, short paragraph which I think could be easily and more effectively incorporated into a longer one. Why not something like this? "Editor Ahlgren, a native of Superior, Wisconsin, had tuned up for his part..."

4) It might be worth taking the opposite side of your story and briefly mentioning a few of the native Southerners who've gone elsewhere, particularly those who have gone to the top in your field. Examples:

a) Turner Catledge of the Times is a native of Mississippian.

b) The new editor of the Herald-Tribune (whose name escapes me at the moment) is a Southerner, was once an editor with the Atlanta Journal.

c) Bill Emerson, now asst. managing editor of the Satevepost, grew up in Atlanta, was Newsweek's Bureau chief for several years before he went to NYC in '61.

Comments, "Southerners from Elsewhere"
May 20, 1963

d) Howard K, Smith is a native of Monroe, Louisiana, (which partly explains why his up-coming show is devoted to "What's Right with the South.")

e) Joe David Brown, author and freelancer ("Birmingham: City of Fear") is a native of Alabama.

These are but a few of the Southerners who have gone North to become noted or notorious (depending on who you're talking to) figures in that "Yankee, integrationist press."

5) Again, suggest you combine grafs 4 and 5 on p. 20.

6) PP. 22-23 -- Comparison to Hitler, Rosseau, etc., very good indeed.

7) P. 23 -- I'm afraid you've either got to drop or to rework the graf about the ggals in OASIS and HOPE. There were definitely more than two non-southern women in those organizations. My source could only recall the names of two who had a rather prominent role; others have since informed me that several other Yankee ladies joined the good fight (Joan Masuck being one). I would suggest that you cite Florence Robbins as a notable example of a native New Yorker who enlisted in the "New South" camp (and possibly mention her hilarious but astonishingly accurate descriptions of the Dixie's dowagers she found there -- she her Harper's piece).

8) P. 25 -- According to the jacket of <u>An Epitaph for Dixie</u>, Harry Ashmore is "a native of Greenville, S. C.," and "a graduate of Clemson College," In short, no Tarheel, he. Suggest you change to read "was born in the South Carolina hills" (as Greenville most definitely is).

SDB

PINE BLUFF COMMERCIAL

PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS

May 12, 1963

Dear Staige,

Here is the piece as I plan to submit it to the Prejudice seminar here. I have at least a dozen letters out that I'll hope to get replies on before a final do and an attempt at sale. Wondered if you would have any suggestions.

I'm shooting for Harper's. Jack Fischer was up here a few weeks ago and so he may be receptive.

Your suggestions have been most useful. Tazewell sent along some dope about Ross Valentine but could not guarantee that it was unimpeachable. Leigh White may be able to confirm it, if I can find him.

I was also interested to read the other day that Judge Butzner of Richmond is a brother of Jane Jacobs hence (I take it) a Yankee by birth. Will try to run down some dope on him, including what kind of a judge he has been. Pettigrew (who has been out of town) may have it.

This is a carbon for you so you needn't return it.

Best regards,

Pat

Patrick J. Owens

Mr. Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTHERNERS FROM ELSEWHERE

A Report on Ex-Yankees and
Other Immigrants in the South

By PATRICK J. OWENS
Nieman Fellow

Dr. Gordon W. Allport
Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew

Social Relations 284
Group Conflict and Prejudice

May 1963

By PATRICK J. OWENS

"You're new down here," the little old lady from across the street said. "This book will help you understand our viewpoint.

She pressed upon my wife a copy of Race and Reason, A Yankee View, by Carleton Putnam, a native of New York City.

***

"It's funny about Mrs. Morgan," another, even wispier, little old lady said. "She gives that book to all the outsiders that move in around here.

"She's the nearest thing we have to the Citizens Council on this block. And you know, dear, she was born in Ohio--never set foot in Arkansas until she was thirty-five years old."

***

Mr. Putnam and little old Mrs. Morgan are part of a small, almost unnoticed, group which is important in the ideological conflict raging in the South. They are two of the Southerners from Elsewhere. Unevenly divided between the opposing sides in the Southern debate, the Southerners from Elsewhere sometimes seem to be monopolizing the "traditional" side in that debate.

3. The Southerners from Elsewhere

The "traditionalists" among the immigrant Southerners tend to be stronger in their convictions than native Southerners. They are more virulent in their hostility to "Yankee meddling". They are the quickest to solve the problem that the Negro poses for the South by reading the Negro out of the human race. They are among the stoutest in defense of states rights', and in the equation of states rights' with Negro repression.

They are, in short, prime demonstrations of the convert's notorious zeal.

Immigrant Southerners who enlist in the "New South" camp in the debate are less noisy and less numerous but they do exist, they do have influence, and their numbers are increasing. To a considerable extent, they are the new Southern immigrants.

Consider:

The pre-eminent Souther agitator is John Kasper, of New Jersey. His frenzied rhetoric brought tumult to Virginia and violence to Tennessee before he was, as they say, taken by the heels. Jail has done much to quiet Kasper the past few years but no one has risen to rival his pre-eminence as a free-lance inciter to riot.

The foremost journalistic defender of segregation is probably James Jackson Kilpatrick, the editor of the News Leader at Richmond. Kilpatrick has been hailed as the best polemicist on either side in the desegregation controversy. He is the author of <u>The Southern Case Against School Desegregation</u>, published late last year, the most

successful defense of traditional Southern racial values since Putnam's Race and Reason. Kilpatrick is one of the Oklahoma City Kilpatricks.

Putnam is the leading "scientific" racist. Race and Reason is pseudo-anthropology with a motif of conspiracy. Its author contends that the nation's social scientists have prostituted themselves in the service of racial equality.

Putnam, who lays heavy stress on his Yankee origins, has been an off-and-on Southerner. Born at New York City in 1901, he received a doctorate from Columbia in 1932. The next year he founded a small airline--the Chicago and Southern. Eventually, he became chairman of Delta Airlines. Early in his business career he spent seven years at Memphis. He now lives at McLean, Virginia, a Washington suburb.

Not all--or even most--Southerners see eye-to-eye with Putnam. The Pulitzer Prize-winning Pascagoula Chronicle in Mississippi unloaded both barrels and its sidearms at him early this year under the headline:

"A Mississippi Anthropologist
Takes a Scientific Look
At Putnam's 'Race and Reason'"

The Mississippi anthropologist was Robert L. Rands of Ole Miss., a native of Washington, D.C.

The outland Southerners spend some of their time

taking in each other's washing.

In his book, Kilpatrick celebrates another Virginian-by-transplant, Audrey M. Shuey of Randolph Macon Woman's College at Lynchburg. Dr. Shuey is a sort of Carleton Putnam of IQ measurement. (The comparison cannot be carried too far; Dr. Shuey's bona fides in psychology are impeccable; Putnam's in anthropology are nonexistent).

In The Testing of Negro Intelligence, a book published in 1958, Dr. Shuey undertook to evaluate the great mass of white-Negro intelligence testing that has been done in the past generation. Her conclusion was that the Negro is an intellectual have-not, even when he has had the same advantages as the white. A number of her brethren in psychology--Northern and Southern--have taken vigorous and sometimes illtempered exception to the finding.

Dr. Shuey was born in Westford, Illinois, and studied at Wellesley and Columbia. She taught at Northern schools before she went South in 1943.

Putnam's washing was taken in by a Southern editor, and a career eventuated. Putnam took exception to some things Life Magazine had said about Virginius Dabney, the editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch (and, a certified, native-born, full-fledged Virginian). What happened next is told by Putnam in Race and Reason:

"So I composed a letter of protest to Life and sent a copy to the newspaper editor I knew best. In my airline years I had shared some press flights with Frank

Ahlgren, manager of the Memphis Commercial Appeal, and he might be sympathetic."

He was.

"A few days later, Life answered with a polite acknowledgement, Ahlgren with an envelope containing a page of his latest edition. On it my letter appeared in full."

Putnam went on to write other letters, some of which were widely circulated. His book followed.

Editor Ahlgren, a native of Superior, Wisconsin, He had tuned up for his part in the Putnam launching by encouraging Arkansans to back Governor Faubus's defiance of the federal government during the Little Rock Crisis of 1957. The Commercial Appeal's editorials agonized ("on the whole, the clash is between an unrealistic law and rulings required by it and the responsibility of a state's chief executive to preserve order.") and its headlines inflamed ("1,000 Battle-Equipped Army Paratroopers Enter Little Rock to Enforce Integration; 'My Inescapable Duty,' Eisenhower Claims").

A good many of Faubus's constituents across the Mississippi River from Memphis showed their appreciation by cancelling their subscriptions to the Arkansas Gazette (which was giving the governor what-for) and switching to Mr. Ahlgren's paper. As can be the case, Southern traditionalism turned out to be good business for a former Yankee.

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The Commercial Appeal has been through some gyrations since those grand old days. It has accommodated itself to the desegration of the Memphis schools (even collaborating by keeping the news out of the paper until the Big Morning) and it has had some harsh things to say about Mississippi's diehard leaders (as well as about its old targets, the federals) since the Oxford Insurrection.

The transition has gone far enough that Scripps Howard, the Yankee chain that owns both of the papers at Memphis, was able to tell the world in an advertisement the other day about Mr. Ahlgren's managing editor, Mike Grehl.

"Mike's close-cropped moustache bristles at injustice," the ad said. Grehl's moustache is said to bristle often, at injustice as at many other things. He is a young crackerjack who got his job four years ago, when he was 32. It is difficult to believe that headlines like those which helped inflame the mob at Little Rock six years ago could ever clear his desk. Grehl is a native of Evanston, Illinois, who came to the Commercial Appeal by way of the Anchorage Times in Alaska.

Thousands of individuals in potentially important positions in Southern communities were born and grew up outside the South. Their role in Southern change can become of first importance. Most often, of course, this role is a seat in the bleachers, just as it is for most native Southerners. Yet for many outlanders--as for many native Southerners--the time to take a stand does come. Sometimes

the necessity is thrust upon the former Yankee by his position in the community. Sometimes he assumes it out of conviction. And quite often the motivation is simply commercial.

By and large, the stand has not been for desegregation, or even for law and order. "Furriners" who have been in the South long enough to be influential are, for the most part, there for business reasons. They want to get along with customers and potential customers. The general tendency of the salesman to agree with the prospect in matters of faith and morals may be as important as anything else in shaping the views of the Southern immigrant. Another important motivation may be what the social psychologists call displacement. The former Yankee may be the target of hostility and prejudice that years of Southern resentment against the North have created. Some theories of social psychology hold that a victim of such prejudice seeks to displace it onto a scapegoat--a person or group who is an even likelier target of prejudice,--in this case, the Negro.

This kind of displacement is notable in many white Southerners with negroid features, in some (but far from all) Southern Jews, and in some Southern Catholics (but, again, not perhaps the majority), and in the intolerance of some light-skinned Negroes for darker members of their race. There seems no reason to believe that it would not operate also in the Southerners from Elsewhere.

Where displacement of prejudice onto the Negro occurs in the South, it usually serves a protective function

as well as ministering to the profound psychological demands that most interest the social psychologists.

The Southerners from Elsewhere, like Southern Jews and Southern Catholics, are in great measure the targets of prejudice because their attitude toward the Negro is suspect--they are seen as potential breaks in white Southern solidarity. The easiest way to dispel this particular fear is to be more anti-Negro than the native Southerner.

Still another reason for the preponderance of traditionalist sentiment in immigrant Southerners is what the social scientists call self-selection. People who have gone South to live (at least until very recently) have mostly expected to be comfortable in the Southern ideological climate. For some, ideology has been a principal motivation for the hegira. Since Notherners and other outlanders tend to see the white South as much more monolithic and much more virulent in its racism than it is, or ever has been, the self-selected Southern traditionalist is likely to be a very tough customer for advocates of change to deal with.

Whatever his reason for adopting traditional Southern racial values, the convert may find them harder to cast off than the born believer. Harder because he may feel, even after decades of life in the South, that he is still a candidate for adoption. But harder also, perhaps, because the views have a far more tyrannical grip upon him.

Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish social scientist whose

study of the American Negro is the definitive work in the field, has contended that American racial attitudes constituted a national dilemma because they were incompatible with the root premise of the American democratic faith--that all men are created equal.

As Arnold M. Rose, the author of a portmanteau edition of Myrdal's classic study, has put it:

> The Negro problem in America would be different, and easier to understand, if the moral conflict raged only between values held by different groups of people. The essence of the moral situation is, however, that conflicting values are also held by the same person. The moral struggle goes on within people and not only between them. *** Even a poor and uneducated white person in some isolated and backward rural region in the Deep South, who is violently prejudiced against the Negro and intent upon depriving him of civic rights and human independence, has also a compartment in his mind housing the entire American Creed of liberty, equality, justice and fair opportunity for everybody. And, to some extent, these ideals shape his behavior.

Arnold M. Rose, The Negro in America, Beacon Press (Boston) 1962, Page 10.

Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew, the Harvard social psycholo-

gist (and Virginian by birth), theorizes that the native Southerner must live with this dilemma but need never bring it into sharp focus--he can simply accommodate himself to the attitudes and behavior that he grows up with, thinking little about the contradictions inherent in them.

The outsider cannot make such a simple accommodation. Whether he comes from a background of genteel Yankee racism or from an area where sizeable racial minorities do not exist, the reality of Southern race relations poses logical contradictions which seem to him to require conscious resolution.

The conventional racist resolution of this dilemma has always been to deny manhood to the Negro. He may be viewed as a child, unfit for the enjoyment of full citizenship. Or he may, more terribly, simply be denied membership in the human race. The latter resolution seems, on the evidence, to be the more common among traditionalist Southerners from Elsewhere.

By the time he has come to such a solution to the problem, the Southerner from Elsewhere is likely to have a big investment in his conviction--he will have had to work hard to achieve it. And so he holds to his faith tenaciously, like any convert.

Following the Oxford Insurrection last fall, Editor and Publisher, a trade magazine for newspapermen, published a letter to the editor from Nathan Bolton, the

publisher of the Daily Enterprise at Bastrop, Louisiana. Commenting on the editorial outcry that followed the slaying of a French reporter in the Insurrection, Mr. Bolton said:

> We in the South are also sympathetic and abhor it. ***But as State Senator John C. McLaurin of Mississippi recently stated it is probable that he was killed by one of the U.S. Marshals. Certainly, if they are not directly responsible, the shot was fired because of the violence incited by the Marshals deliberately in order to give "some color of justification for sending the Army in."

On the double standard common to the Northern press in treating racial violence, Mr. Bolton commented:

> About the only time you play up a Southern view is when some renegade Southern editor--who probably has been given a Pulitzer Prize for lambasting the South--has some comments criticizing his own section of the country and its people.

The Louisiana publisher put his own view of the Southern situation bluntly:

> Most of the violence in the South comes from Northerners brought in here.

And he made clear his own credentials to pass

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judgment:

> ***I am a former Northern newspaperman who has moved South and I think I know both sides.

Mr. Bolton's comments illustrate two marked characteristics of the Southerner from Elsewhere who has thrown in with the traditionalists: One of these is a determination that the South must always be right in every detail (a determination that brings about such defenses in depth as Mr. Bolton offered--the Marshals probably shot the French reporter and even if they didn't they incited the violence that brought on the killing).

The other is a compulsive insistence--encountered often enough in native Southerners but interminably in the traditionalists from Elsewhere--that Northern agitators are responsible for all of Southern ferment.

I asked Mr. Bolton about the problems of a Northerner settling down in the South as a newspaper publisher. He wrote me a letter setting out his background and his views:

> "You want to know how I happened to become a Southern newspaperman? Well I sold out my little weekly papers in Missouri and Iowa and took a trip to New Orleans, which Mrs. Bolton always wanted to see. We went broke and couldn't get back.
>
> "That's what I tell folks. However, I looked around

while on my trip down here back in 1937 and this country looked to me like the Old West--a good place to grow up in. Bastrop was a town of 6,000 with a small 8-page paper of 800 circulation. Today I have a daily in a town of 17,000 so I figured right. South Louisiana is growing faster than North Louisiana so my only regret might be that I didn't go south far enough.

"I hardly think that being a Southern publisher is any different than being a Northern one. It may take a little longer here to be 'accepted' than in the North--when you are a Yankee. But after 25 years I don't find any difference. I certainly am not an integrationist and if I were it might react against me. But it reacts against people like Mr. (Hodding) Carter (of the Delta Democrat-Times) at Greenville (Mississippi), who is native-born, so I guess it is about the same. I resent, just like the native Southerners, federal encroachment on states rights, federal meddling in our schools, and Northern carpetbaggers coming down here and stirring up trouble. I feel that they are slowing down the progress of the Negro and ruining race relations with their activities."

Mr. Bolton went on to tell of a Negro veteran he had trained to be a printer--"one of the best and one of the

best paid."

"His wife, however, lost her job with the school board because of an illegitimate baby, so she had to find a job elsewhere teaching. She landed a job in Chicago."

This is a misfortune I am still trying to figure out. Mr. Bolton said that the printer couldn't get a job in Chicago because of lilywhite unions (he didn't call them that) so wound up working for the government. He went on:

"Also I deeply resent the coverage which the newspapers and tv give our 'race riots' as they call them. They are unfair, often blowed up all out of proportion. They should remember too that most of the incidents are caused by outsiders, white and colored, from the North or elsewhere outside the locality, coming in to make trouble."

Mr. Bolton publishes one of the most militantly segregationist and right-wing extremist papers in the South He reprints much material from segregationists and political extremists around the country and he plays up racial troubles--along with other violence--in his news columns. He writes a daily column himself, often devoting it to racial problems and extremist causes.

Agitation for change doesn't seem to have reached Bastrop yet. When it does it will have Mr. Bolton and his paper to contend with.

The agitation has reached Albany, Georgia, where

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James H. Gray runs the Albany Herald. Gray is a native of Westfield, Massachusetts and a Dartmouth man (class of '37). The New York Times says that he still wears white bucks and also reports, in a story from Albany by Hedrick Smith, that Albany Negroes consider Gray their "principal enemy."

Newsweek, in a piece published last September, took off the gloves to work over Gray and his paper for clowning headlines on stories of Albany's racial strife and for "a viewpoint insulated against the fires of social change, stubbornly conservative, rigidly segregationist." Newsweek reported that the Herald went out of its way to print the names and addresses of Negro integrationists--presumably to expedite the violent in their search for appropriate targets.

Like Bolton, Gray has found Southern publishing profitable. Circulation of his paper was 6,000 when he took it over in 1946, according to Newsweek. It was 26,791 last September.

No more than a tiny minority of segregationist activists are Southerners from Elsewhere, of course. Yet, as the examples of Ahlgren, Gray and Bolton suggest, such people can be important in determining responses to desegregation demands.

Ahlgren fanned the flames of resistance during the Little Rock crisis but his paper was moderate and well-behaved when Memphis integrated.

Gray leads the resistance at Albany.

Bolton, at Bastrop, says never.

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The workings of desegregation are such that the attitude of any individual in any moderately powerful position can be vital. In desegregation, as in a war-time convoy, the pace tends to be set by the slowest. The refusal of a single diehard merchant to go along can delay or frustrate plans to desegregate Main Street hotels and restaurants. The agitations of any prominent person hold the threat of a mob whipped into being.

A newspaper publisher opposed to desegregation or other change is particularly an obstacle because a community's leadership has few other efficient links with the community and because a newspaper publisher is uniquely in a position to drum up a mob.

Gray's publication of the addresses of integrationists suggests one of many resources available to a publisher in a struggle against change.

Because the traditionalists among the Southerners from Elsewhere tend to be in the South on business, there are, however, checks on their potentiality for obstruction.

Typically, desegregation has come to Southern communities when the community's business leadership has decided that resistance would be too costly--in dollars and in damage to a "community image" that is thought of as having dollar value.

The danger posed by traditionalists from Elsewhere, as by other extremists, is that perception of the need to accept change will be blurred, that resistance will continue

past the point where it is commercially defensible, as it so clearly has at Albany.

And such people, are, of course, poor prospects to the cause of change for its own sake.

Often, it is the Northern chain store with an imported manager which holds out most firmly against desegregation of downtown commercial facilities. Typically, the Southern chain or locally owned firm will set the pace in accepting desegregation demands, declining a battle there can be no profit in fighting and slight chance of winning. But even after the way has thus been paved, the Northern-based chain stores may delay action until the whole business community has agreed on an all-of-us-together-so-nobody-can-get-hurt approach. In communities where a man like Gray is available to prevent such an approach, paralysis is predictable.

Such chain store managers are not necessarily diehard segregationists themselves. Often they are young newcomers, and young people moving to the South today are not so likely to be segregationists as were the earlier arrivals.

Growing up in a world disfigured by Nazi racism and in a North that has come increasingly to see Southern racial values as un-American, the newcomers are more likely to bring with them a commitment to integration. But the chain store manager is almost certain to see his commercial role as of over-riding importance. "I'm a businessman, not

a race relations worker," is the way one of them phrased his viewpoint. Such people incline to caution in assessing the necessity and opportunity for change.

They lack even the native-white Southerne merchants feel for his community, limited as that has so often proved to be in recent years. Probably equally important, they lack also the confidence that such a feel--or the delusion of having it--can provide.

The less vocal group of immigrant Southerners which rejects racism and segregation seems to be primarily a post-war phenomenon. They are mostly people outside the business community--engineers and scientists in the South's new space and aircraft industries, teachers, federal workers; by and large, managers, technicians and professional people who feel slight need to court public opinion.

(They do not often include top management of the new industrial plants, though; the prevailing concern for "community relations" is shared by Northern firms with Southern factories and the tendency is either to stay out of race relations or to come in on the side of the traditionalists. Some firms have exploited Southern fears of integration as weapons against union organizing efforts.

(John A. Williamson, the president of a sales marketing firm at Birmingham, summed up the situation for the Associated Press in these words: "When Northern industrialists come South, they adapt quickly to our way of life--much quicker than we do when going to the North.")

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The general rule seems to be that people who need Southern good will, or think they do, adopt the traditionalists line or remain mute.

When Winthrop Rockefeller settled on a hilltop in Arkansas more than a decade ago, Arkansans with ideas for spending his money beat a path up the hill. In those days, Mr. Rockefeller was an important force for change in race relations. He spoke out forcefully during the Little Rock crisis.

Then he got interested in politics. About two years ago, he became the state's Republican national committeeman. Whether he eventually runs for governor himself (as is recurrently rumored), Mr. Rockefeller is interested in wooing Arkansas votes for Republican candidates. He has not had much to say on racial matters since he got involved in politics.

Even if there aren't as many Southerners from Elsewhere among the integrationists as there are among the traditionalists, there are more than is readily apparent.

And they, too, can play crucial roles, not so much because they have positions of power as because they are recruits to a relatively tiny army.

Sometimes the presence of one white persons--any white person--willing to undergo personal danger and community censure can make a great difference.

At New Orleans, one of the few people to brave the mobs during the school desegregation boycotts of 1961 was

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Mrs. James Gabrielle, a native of Costa Rica. Mrs. Gabrielle led her six-year-old daughter, Yolanda, into the Frantz elementary school and thus broke temporarily what had been a wholly successful boycott. Yolanda joined a single Negro first grader inside the school.

Such an act of conscience is almost never given without price. The Gabrielles finally left New Orleans rather than continue to endure the hostility their act had engendered.

Mrs. Gabrielle, who had come to the United States when she was seven, was forthright in explaining her action. "I don't believe you ought to be told by a mob what to do," she said. "I believe in my rights as an American citizen."

Writing in the Progressive, Gerald Walker has told of the role played by two Yankees in the trial that Martha Ann Holmes endured as one of Atlanta's first Negro children in white schools. Mrs. Joan Masuck, a Minneapolis native and the wife of an Army captain attending Georgia Tech, was named by the Atlanta Council on Human Relations as Martha Ann's counselor--an advisor and a shoulder to lean on. Dr. M. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist from Boston, was in Atlanta studying the effects of desegregation on children of both races. He got to know Martha Ann well, too.

The friendship of the Masucks and of Dr. Cole was important in the adjustment Martha Ann made in her trying year as a pioneer, Walker indicated. The girl had not previously known any white people well.

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Like the Masucks and Dr. Cole, most transient Yankees and former Yankees who work for change in the South do so quietly and with as little personal publicity as possible. The groups they work with tend to stress Southern origins and (outside the race issue) Southern orientation.

Segregationist groups, on the other hand, incline to give prominence to Northerners and ex-Northerners in their ranks. They like to hear their sentiments voiced in a Midwestern twang or in the broad A of the Ivy League, for this fosters the wistful faith--insistently incanted--that the South need only hold the line a while longer, the Great National Awakening is just ahead.

In these circles, the most quoted Northern newspaper is William Loeb's Union Leader of Manchester, New Hampshire. Mr. Loeb is an arch-conservative racist. His publication is famous for its invective and for its portrayal of the South as the area of the country which upholds ancient national values against the onslaughts of assorted radicals.

The prominence that Southerners from Elsewhere (as well as such Southerners-in-Spirit as Mr. Loeb) have gained in framing the rhetoric of white Southern traditionalism can perhaps be explained by the clarity with which outsiders often see issues. Rousseau, a Genevan, pictured Eighteenth Century France with unforgettable incisiveness. Napoleon, a Corsican, became Emperor of the French in part because he could articulate--in deeds as well as words--the deepest values of the French of his time. The observer of the early American

democracy whose work is now most valued was De Tocqueville, a French aristocrat. Hitler, an Austrian, caught the fancy of the most bitter and alienated Germans with Mein Kampf. The most thorough critique ever leveled at capitalism was by Karl Marx, a product of pre-industrial Germany. The perceptions of all of these people have turned out to be deficient in one degree or another. Yet they had one thing in common: They made superlative propaganda.

Just so, a James Jackson Kilpatrick or a Carleton Putnam can express Southern credos many Southerners value highly, and even come to live by. Perhaps the outsider is simply better at abstraction--at divorcing a concept like Negro unworthiness for citizenship from all of the encumbring qualifications that it has in the mind of the native, and pressing it to its logical conclusion.

Nor does such facility, in the South today, seem to be wholly in the hands of the traditionalists from Elsewhere. There seem to have been only two women not native to the South in the Atlanta organizations HOPE and CASIS that were formed to protect the public schools from the onslaughts of the segregationists. Both worked as "communications specialists".

The one area of Southern contention that has proved almost wholly inhospitable to the Southerners from Elsewhere is politics. There are occasional exceptions--such as Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, who was born just over the line in Missouri--but the South is loyal to

her natural sons on election day. Yet there are Southerners and Southerners.

The titular head of Southern resistance until Governor Barnett of Mississippi pre-empted the mantle at Old Miss last fall was Orval Eugene Faubus, five-term governor of Arkansas and architect of the Little Rock crisis. Faubus is indisputably and totally an Arkansan but he cannot claim much in the way of Southern heritage if the racist criteria of the Citizens Councils are to define Southernism. He was born and grew up at Combs and Greasy Creek in the Northwest Arkansas hills. Northwest Arkansas was divided country in the Civil War, if anything more Unionist than Confederate. Madison, Mr. Faubus's home county, sent to the state Secession Convention Isaac Murphy, the man who cast the only "no" vote in the final, conclusive ballot on leaving the union. (But Mr. Murphy, like Mr. Faubus after him, went on to surprise some of his supporters by working hard at opposing the federals. He was instrumental at passing an ordinance that put the state on a war footing, by providing for the purchase of arms.) Republicans are now endemic in those hills that produced Faubus and Murphy. The accents are more nearly Missourian than Delta Arkansan. Madison County had exactly eight Negroes in 1960, according to the Census. The governor has said that he never saw a Negro until his teens, when he left home to go strawberry picking in Missouri. (Ross Barnett, on the other hand, is by any criterion a Southern son. He was born at Carthage in the Deep South section of Mississippi.)

And Governor Faubus is as Southern, by Citizens Council or any other standards, as are Harry S. Ashmore, the former

executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette who was Faubus's most trenchant critic, or as Ralph McGill, the publisher of the Atlanta Constitution and the foremost spokesman for change in the South.

Ashmore was born in the North Carolina hills and McGill in East Tennessee, in an area that must have been much like Faubus's Madison County, Arkansas.

Yet so firm is the South's insistence upon Southern cohesion and the importance of Southern identity that Governor Faubus's personal qualifications to deal with racial problems are never discussed. More surprisingly, neither are those of Ashmore or McGill. To their detractors, these men are "renegades", not carpetbaggers or outside agitators.

This insistence upon the reality of regional cohesion is at the same time a great strength and a tragic weakness of the South. Up till now, Southern solidarity has been grounded upon repression of the Negro. Those who look beyond the present turmoil and pain can sometimes envision a South no less united but swearing allegiance to more durable values. If such a South is to be created, the services of all Southerners, including those from Elsewhere, may be needed.

Patrick J. Owens is a Southerner from Kalispell, Montana, where he was born and raised. He is executive editor of the Pine Bluff Commercial in Arkansas. He received the Sidney Hillman Foundation Prize Award for editorials on extremists and a citation from the American Political Science Association for distinguished reporting, both for work done in 1961. He has been a Nieman Fellow in Journalism at Harvard the past year.

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

I liked best the chapters (11 & 12) on "The Poetic South."

There seems to be so much repetition. Some of it is necessary, I suppose, but ~~I imagine~~ surely some of it will be edited out?

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

March 28, 1963

Mrs. Montez Albright, Administrative Asst.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Montez:

The enclosed ms. is for the file of the Southern History Project. I told Paul I would let him see from time to time what I was doing. What is enclosed comprises the first half or two-thirds of the book. It is not at all definitive; only a good first draft. Chapters may have to be dropt, or added, and certainly there will be cuttings, condensations and expansions. The pencilled question marks simply indicate blanks for which I have the material, but not here and now easily available. The names and titles enclosed within double parentheses (( )) are there simply for my information in making final footnotes.

The manuscript is untitled because I haven't found the title I want. .

Don't feel any obligation to read this manuscript. Of course, if you wish to, and especially if you wish to offer any criticism. I shall be happy.

With kindest personal regards,

~~Sincerely~~

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

DABBS MANUSCRIPT

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INTRODUCTION

"Except as the inhabitant of a certain geographical area," I've been told, "the Southerner does not exist." Needless to say, I disagree. Like Lee faced by Grant before Richmond in '64, he may be hard to pin down. But, also like Lee, he is there. Or was. One thing that makes him more difficult to corner is the fact that he came into being over a long period, and has always been in process of change, a change which is taking place most rapidly at present. Daily he becomes more American. At what time, if ever, the Southern character will be fused with the American, at what time the melting pot will fuse the ore, no one knows. It is worth remembering that the white Southerner crystallized in the heat of war and defeat and therefore melts but slowly. Undoubtedly today's Southerner is more American than ever. This means that the ideal type must be found at some time in the past, and perhaps a basic problem is, when?

Granted that the figure of the goatteed Southern Colonel is a myth, myths do not grow, like Spanish moss, on trees, they are rooted in earth. Southern in his formality, his courtesy, and his military air, he's too simple; and, in spite of Henry Adams' comment on his Harvard classmate Rooney Lee, son of the General, simplicity is about the last thing to expect of the Southerner, forged as he has been by the fires of history. But though this makes his characterization difficult, it does not make it impossible. Non-Southerners

visiting in the South sense this character, Southerners visiting beyond the South recall it. It is as distinctive as the balmy air blowing inland across the sea-islands of South Carolina, however hard it may be to describe and explain.

I do not maintain that everyone born and bred in the South is Southern; nor that everyone born and bred outside the South is non-Southern. I maintain simply that there's a predominant Southern type, the product of history, still existing though daily being modified toward the American norm.

Others have told me, "There may be a half-dozen types you can call Southern, but not just one." This is illogical. You define the half-dozen only by possessing a sense, however vague, of the one. It's true, we can sense things we cannot define, and it may be that no one can define satisfactorily the Southern type; but if so the fault is not in the statement of the problem but in the knowledge and imagination of the writer.

Because of the rapid changes occurring in the South today, more rapid than at any time during its history except for the years of war and reconstruction, the ideal Southern type must be found somewhere in the past. By ideal I mean not what should be but what tended to be. But I'm not sure about this; the Southerner may still be in process of formation even while he is also being Americanized. But if we take 1820, the year of the Missouri Compromise, as a dividing line, we may say that before that the Southern section of the Union succeeded, after that it lost ground until it collapsed under military defeat and occupation and nearly a century of decreasingly stringent coloniali-

zation. Except for its Negro slaves, the South of 1820 had not known defeat; whatever else may be said of the South today, it is, as Vann Woodward has pointed out, that part of America that has suffered defeat and frustration. Yet, long before 1820, the South was a marked region, and the Southerner a type distinct from the Yankee or Puritan; also, long before 1820, the seeds of the South's future had been planted, though they were hardly recognized, certainly not by Southerners. Jefferson was one exception. Referring to slavery, he said, in 1784, "I tremble when I remember that Almighty God is just, and his justice will not slumber forever." When, in 1820, the Missouri Compromise was enacted, the first indication that the country would be territorially divided between free and slave states, the aged Jefferson said the news was like "the sound of a fire-bell in the night." For the most part, however, no portent of defeat had yet touched the Southern mind. Such portents were to cloud increasingly the succeeding forty-five years, and defeat itself the century following.

But, along with the defeat of the white South, went the rise, however faltering or broken, of the Negro South. After the false dawn of reconstruction, there was a long period of dark "peace"-- so called. Now we are in the midst of the real dawn; the Negro, long defeated and frustrated, is coming rapidly into his American heritage. But the Southern Negro is also the South, and the South is also the Negro, and as we shall see, the Southerner has been created largely by the relation between the two races, by both their separate and their common victories and

defeats. In this view, the Southerner is still in process of creation; and though, as I said, he is losing perhaps a certain sharpness of distinction from the accepted American type, perhaps he is also, because of the rising importance of the Negro in the American scene, and the major importance of the Negro in the South, becoming more subtly and complexly himself.

It appears, then, that the Southerner, after three hundred and fifty years, is still in process of being born. This is another way of saying that Southern culture is still alive. Reactionary Southerners hope so, but don't really believe it. Non-Southerners generally don't believe it either, and some of them hope it isn't so. This book aims in part at showing that it is. If the Southerner is still being created, the culture is still alive. But to understand this Southerner, we shall have to go back to the beginning, and trace to the present the major steps in his development. Perhaps the critical step was the introduction of Negro slavery--not under that name, however-- in 1619, only twelve years after Jamestown. Except for the episode of Reconstruction, it is only during the last several years that the Negro has been a clear and public force in the shaping of Southern life. He was, however, from early years a secret force, pressing continually upon the mind and the character of the white South, being molded himself by that character, until out of this pressure and counter-pressure, combined with outside pressure, the South was born, and with it the Southerner. In order to follow more easily this complex development, we shall begin with a summary tentative statement of what seems

to me the essence of the Southerner. But this caution should be borne in mind throughout our study: though the influence of the Negro as Southerner is highly important at present, it was of no importance at first, and of increasing though generally unrecognized importance during the long period from then until now.

As to the plan of this book, we shall sketch first the Southerner as he developed during the first century or so of American life, with certain run-ons beyond this period. We shall then consider how he was modified by the coming of the Scotch-Irish, westward expansion, and the finally disastrous struggle caused by slavery. The final part of our study will be concerned with the modifications brought about in the white Southerner by defeat and in the Negro by his halting advance into the Southern and American life of today. In brief, and roughly, what we shall have is a study in three parts of the beginning, the middle, and the end--up to now--of the career of the Southerner.

CHAPTER I

THE ESSENTIAL SOUTHERNER

It must be understood that in all we shall say there is nothing absolute. The Southerner is not only a human being, he is also a Westerner, and an American. All of his characteristics appear also in other Americans but less emphasized and less complexly interrelated. It's a question of a little more and a little less. But when this little more and little less are closely interwoven, as they are in the South, they produce a distinctive character, easily sensed but hard to define.

Of all Americans, the Southerner is the most at home in the world. Or at least in the South, which, because of this very at-homeness, he is apt to confuse with the world. At its best, this attitude leads him to improve but not to deny or destroy the world; at its worst, it makes him, like an uncouth guest, indifferent, careless, soft to the allurements of the world or harsh in taking advantage of it. But these are faults of love, or at least of liking, not of fear or distrust. Generally, the Southerner moves through the world more easily than other Americans and regards it with greater satisfaction. I shall say clearly what I have already suggested: he loves the world more. Loving it more, he spends more time in observing it, less time in changing it. He changes it, of course; but, like a man repairing or rebuilding his home, he is trying, not primarily to make it more valuable but to make it more pleasant and more suited to his heart's desire.

It should be noted in this connection that the sense of at-homeness extends ideally beyond the bounds of the physical world. The sense of security, which is an essential element in at-homeness, rests upon the feeling of belonging, in the first instance to the family, but, more largely, to the human community and to nature--which extends of course into the mysterious depths of the universe, where only God is. No one is completely at home; no one is completely secure; we all live by faith; but the deepest security belongs to him whose home is in the universe. As we shall see, the Southerner, with all his qualifications, generally failed of this goal.

It is this concern with the world as something valuable in itself that was the basic force in the creation of a Southern culture. If culture is the form that religion takes, as Paul Tillich argues, then the essential religion of the South was strongly focussed upon this world. This may have been its strength and also its weakness. The tensions that created this culture were, at least primarily, within the world, and consisted of the setting of time against time and place against place. This was not the case in New England nor generally in the rest of the nation. There this world was set against another, and the extremity of the opposition created a tension that approached conflict. Consequently, men tried to escape the too-great tension by becoming advocates of this world or of another, that is, Yankees or Puritans, the latter becoming in the course of time extreme idealists. In such an atmosphere, one could use the world, either for material or for so-called spiritual advancement; one could hardly love it. In the South, the opposition was less basic, and the

tension therefore less strong; a man could live with it. He did not have to choose this world or another; it was not a matter of EITHER-OR. It is significant that no two contrasting types developed in the South to correspond to the Yankee-Puritan dichotomy of the North.

The chief tension in the South has not been between time and eternity but between past time and future time. Southerners have sought a future both like and unlike their past. Time, therefore, has been neither the unworldly timelessness of the idealist nor the controlled clock time of the materialist; it has been the organic time of the complete man, the man who recognizes his dreams in the actual world around him, seeing them rooted in the past and flowering in the future. This is only another way of saying that the Southerner has been at home in the world.

This at-homeness appears in several ways. First and most importantly, a quality of relaxation. The Southerner's life is less strenuous. This relaxation is not only of the body, but also of the spirit. Physically, it may be an effect of the climate; more fundamentally, it is the expression of the spirit. The Southerner's spirit is less taut. Whatever he does, he does with a certain ease or even abandon, responding not to a theory but to the suggestions and exigencies of the moment. He has a strong inclination to accept things as they are, even if he isn't entirely pleased with them; he is not by nature a rebel. If he is reputed to be one, this is due to certain chances of history. How much these chances have changed him radically, how much merely superficially, we shall try to determine in these pages.

Being relaxed and at home, he is consequently slow to change. He is essentially a conservative. He is inclined to think of the world and society as it is, not as what he or others may force it to become. Like any man living close to nature, he assumes that some change will occur, but part of this will be the slow, rhythmic change of day and night and of the seasons, part the decay or growth due to the passage of the years.

Living more relaxedly and slowly, he lives in a richer present. Since he has not subjected to violent change the world that stretches around him, that world contains numerous mementos of the past and definite promises of the future. His life is strong and steadfast in memories and hopes. Having accepted the flow of time as natural and inevitable, he has become in a sense the master of time. His time is organic, it is within himself; he is not the slave of any mechanical order; he is not the slave of the clock.

Lingering in time, he necessarily lingers in a place. Indeed, the abstract and, from the human point of view, empty spaces of the world become under his slow gaze distinct places. Between them and the bare space around them there is no absolute division. His rich sense of the place immediately surrounding him breaks over and colors, however faintly, the bare spaces of the world, sometimes even the unimaginable space of the universe. Yet that which is close is more richly endowed with significance, and continually gives back to him an echo--or is it more?--of his own concern. He was ready at the beginning of our national history to make the nation the <u>locus</u> of his love, but failing disastrously in this, he at least extended to the borders of the

South--if he was white--a devotion unusual among the several regions of the nation.

Lingering thus in time and space, enriching the present and some particular place with memories and hopes, he naturally developed a social order wherein place wqs important. In such an order there would inevitably be higher places and lower; the order would show marks of an aristocracy. These places, however, did not crystallize; there was too much freedom of mind and of movement, geographical and social, to permit this. But there was an aristocratic ideal, and especially in the eighteenth century an aristocracy; and faint evidences of that ideal still linger, though the aristocracy is long gone. The point is that the belief in social place and the belief in geographical place express the same inner spirit. The belief of the whites in the changeless place of the Negro was, as we shall see, a distortion of this basic belief.

Such a people would tend to cherish the concrete and the local, and to have little dealing with, indeed, to be suspicious of, the abstract and the universal. This would result from their lingering in time and space, and observing more carefully and lovingly the people and the things about them. If the Southerner had observed these local objects--people and things--with an intelligence equal to his fondness, or perhaps even with a more deliberate and continued fondness, he might have realized their universal implications and been saved from the weakness of his provincialism. He did not do this; he found his world satisfactory enough without it, and his localism ended in provincialism.

He avoided the abstract because of his interest in things as they are, in the complete world about him. He was not deeply concerned to change that world, and therefore did not need to reduce it to an abstraction.

Out of his continued and accustomed relations to people and things, his life became a tissue of sentiments. He was sustained in place and time by these sentiments, but because he felt little need to analyze and understand them, he was finally enslaved by them. Here lay the secret of his weakness: he accepted the world too easily, too uncritically, and consequently was bound to it and at times enslaved by it. He had the strength of all men who live close to life and the earth, but he was too susceptible to, too acceptive of, the whispered suggestions of the world. He often fell into error and sin, not so much from a wicked as from an uninformed heart. Or, perhaps, from slothfulness of flesh and spirit, but not from spiritual pride and clear intent.

There was a certain wholeness in his tendency to accept life and himself, the evil with the good. Therefore there was a certain innocence in him. This may be the secret of a kind of goodness in the South, which exists, paradoxically, within a flagrantly unjust social order and beyond individual pride and passion.

Yet he too had in him from the beginning, though less evident than in other Americans, the individualistic, competitive spirit that was to mark the modern man, who would be divided at last from himself, from mankind, from life--uprooted and alienated; and this spirit was sharpened in the eighteenth

century by the coming of some two hundred thousand Scotch-Irish. The Civil War was indeed a civil war: he was fighting not only against the North but also against himself and was therefore fated to lose. He had never been whole-hearted; he was only closer to wholeheartedness than were other Americans. The most delicate part of our task is to define that inner flaw, relate it to the world beyond the South, and raise at the close the question as to whether it is at last being healed.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY SETTLER

The Southerner, like the rest of us, is the product of history--which, as he became a Southerner, he suffered and directed as a Southerner would. When did he become a Southerner? Not recognizably so for a long time, but he had the makings in him when he landed in Jamestown in 1607. He had certain basic tendencies, which, under the influence of sun and land and other lures and pressures, would make him the distinctive person he was to become.

The simplest way to get at what he was originally is to set him beside the figure of his contemporary, the New England Puritan. They were both English but with a difference. The advantage of using the early New Englander is that of all American types he has been most clearly and completely drawn; the New Englanders themselves began to draw the picture at the very beginning, and have continued through the centuries, with help, not always friendly, from the outside. They were that kind of people: they thought about what they wanted, they wrote it down, and tthen they thought about it some more. Consequently, we know fairly well what they wanted and what kind of people they were. They also serve as a good standard by which to measure the vaguer and less analyzed Southern settler because their wants were relatively simple. Perhaps they were simple because they had thought about them so much.

Let us admit the injustice of using any human group as a measuring rod. The varied humanity of the group is forgotten, a few notable and general traits remembered. But the danger of

such an injustice was indeed solicited by the early New Englanders when they simplified and intellectualized life as they did. The complexity of actual life, with its tensions and its contradictions, tends to be forgotten, and the simple explanation, theirs and later ours, tends to be remembered. But many men, over the years, have tried to do justice to the Puritan mind, and certainly the hardiness of the Puritan character can bear some misunderstanding on our part, as we use that mind and character, not to illumine it further, but rather to bring into a clearer light another distinctive American type, the Southerner.

Probably Doyle makes too sharp a contrast between the Virginia and the Massachusetts settlements when he says: "Virginia was the offspring of economical distress, as New England was of ecclesiastical conflicts." ((English in Am. p. 134)) Nevertheless, the contrast was there. Doubtless the Puritans were also seeking a larger world, but they were mainly seeking a better world. They were ill-at-ease in the religious world of England; they were not at home there. As their religious oppression grew, through the reign of James I and into the reign of Charles I, they increasingly lost their hope of purifying the church at home, and increasingly looked to America as a land where they might worship God as they chose.

The England they were dissatisfied with, from which they were uprooting themselves, was an England still strongly marked by the Middle Ages: an England with an official church still close to the Catholic, a church burdened--so the Puritans felt--with excessive and idolatrous forms. They were for stripping these away, even though this meant the stripping away of

age-old communal practices. Though they did not realize it, in thus turning against the community, in thus making religion increasingly a matter of the individual's inner encounter with God, they were bringing in the modern world. They were beginning those uprootings and those separations which, continued long enough and, in their case, across the wide American frontier, would result in alienated modern man.

It is true, they did not leave the individual without the support of a church; in fact, for more than a half century, they maintained a theocracy in Massachusetts: the church would not only support men in their struggle with Satan, it would make them take God's side. Nevertheless, the individual's encounter with God was the heart of life, and for a long time a man had to prove that he had experienced this encounter and had received God's grace before he could become a church-member and a citizen.

They said of themselves that they had crossed the Atlantic on an errand to the wilderness; they had been sent by the Reformed forces of Europe to establish in the New World the Kingdom of God, and thus "to vindicate the most rigorous ideal of the Reformation, so that ultimately all Europe would imitate New England!" (Miller: Errand, 11-12)

The most important thing about them was the intensity of their concern and the height of their aim. Regardless of the effort and the cost, they intended to cut themselves off from the world, to purify themselves of worldly lusts, and to find God in the wilderness. They meant the physical wilderness of America. Unhappily their search led them, through the centuries, into the wilderness of the individual heart, abstracted from its world,

the natural source, therefore, of those wildernesses of steel and stone that we call modern cities.

Speaking to this matter of the extreme height of the Puritan's aim, and thinking especially of one of Jonathan Edwards' famous disciples, Samuel Hopkins, Harriet Beecher Stowe says: "There is a ladder to heaven, whose base God has placed in human affections, tender instincts, symbolic feelings, sacraments of love, through which the soul rises higher and higher, refining as she goes, till she outgrows the human, and changes, as she rises, into the image of the divine...This highest step, this saintly elevation, which few but selectest spirits ever on earth attain...has been seized upon by our sage as the all of religion. He knocked out every round of the ladder but the highest, and then, pointing to its hopeless splendor, said to the world, 'Go up thither and be saved!'" ((Opening of Foster's THE RUNGLESS LADDER.))

Though the Puritans came to America with unconscionably high ideals, I am not suggesting that they scorned the land or the people they left. The courage of the adventure was undoubtedly mixed with regret. Indeed, there is hardly a greater passage of mingled heroism and nostalgia in American literature than the following words from William Bradford. It is immaterial that he was writing of the coming of the Pilgrims to Plymouth; the later Massachusetts Bay settlers were their spiritual cousins. Says Bradford of that first Massachusetts autumn: "For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a wetherbeaten face; and the whole countrie, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and sava ge heiw. If they looked behind them, ther

was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now a main barr and goulfe to seperate them from all the civill parts of the world...May not the children of these fathers rightly say: Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this willdernes; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice, and looked on their adversatie."

They brought with them not only an emotional intensity, but also an intellectual intensity. The leaders of Massachusetts Bay were highly educated men, who sought God also with their minds. To be sure, a man could be saved only through faith, but how was he to know whether he had faith or not? Only by continuous self-examination. Such self-knowledge could not bring the redemptive flash--this was God's free gift--but it could at least prepare a man for its reception and for its recognition when it came.

But the ideal of early New England education included more than this. There was the whole new world of science opening up during the seventeenth century. Here, too, men might behold the glorious works of God. From the very beginning, then, the Puritans did not accept the world as it appeared to be. On the one hand, they were afraid of it, tried to flee from it, and purify their hearts of it; on the other, they were scientifically interested in it--of course with the highly religious spirit of seventeenth century science. When their intense search for God should weaken both from its very intensity and from their material success, in the New World, they would still retain this early analytical interest in themselves and in the world; and they would have developed, out of their material success, and, more fundamentally, out of that puritan

sense of worldly vocation and a man's duty therein, a new type, the New England Yankee. With the development of this type--though they did not know it then--they would become the possessors of the American future, at least until today.

Unaware of what they were doing, they built for this from the beginning: they built villages and towns. The importance of the New England town is suggested by the terminology itself: the whole area of countryside surrounding the town is the "town." From the beginning the town was dominant, and was destined to remain so until it became the industrial city of today.

Of course, they had geographical reasons for building towns which the Virginians, as we shall see, did not have. The land was not conducive to broad plantations; the bitter climate suggested close-set dwellings for social life. Also, like the Virginians, they brought from England the memory of the agricultural town, a memory ineffectual, however, in Virginia. But one of the main reasons for the town was the Puritan desire for religious and moral control: this could be much better maintained in a town than in a sparsely settled countryside. Later on in the eighteenth century, there was some opposition on the part of the leaders of the seaboard settlements to the growth of inland settlements: the frontiersmen might become wild and immoral. According to Miller and Johnson ((Puritanism, 17)), "A preacher before the General Court in 1705 bewailed the effects of the frontier in terms that have been echoed by 'Easterners' for two hundred years and more; men were no longer living together, he

said, in compact communities, under the tutelage of educated clergymen and the discipline of an ordered society, but were taking themselves into remote corners 'for worldly conveniences.'" And, in 1758, Reverend Thomas Barnard "states the theocratic case against the backwoodsman quite clearly. Religion, he said, will flourish most where the arts of peace are cultivated, especially industry, among those born for labor." ((Smith. Virgin Land 251))

Having built the town, and being moved by the settler's need to provide himself with tools of every king, the Puritan passed eventually, through a ship-building and trading order into a manufacturing order. The town created manufacturing, and manufacturing created the city.

Though the Puritan settlers of New England did not know it, they were the advance guard of the modern world, projected on to the American shores by the radical, Protestant, dawning modern mind of Europe. They claimed that they were reaching back across sixteen hundred years to pick up and restore the clear, simple image of essential Christianity, purified of all the earthly accretions of medievalism. They said they were cutting back to the roots, pruning away time's luxuriant growth. They ended by rooting religion in the thin air of some far country, which wa s bad for religion. For religion must be rooted in earth, no matter how high the heaven where its branches wave.

They claimed, and I suppose thought, they were stripping away the material world to bring men closer to God. Whatever

they thought they were doing, whatever they tried to do, they ended by throwing away all the baggage, all the impedimenta, that might hinder their rapid march into a new world, where, as they hoped, they would establish God's Kingdom. But as they stripped away the cumbersome garments of the old world, they increased their speed and extended their activity in the world itself; and it's anybody's guess whether at a given moment a Puritan was stripping to meet God or to make money. God knows whether they met him or not; we know they made money. Generally speaking, the analytical mind they developed in the process of discarding the baggage led them finally, not to the kingdom of God, but to the most fabulous earthly kingdom man has yet created.

Of course, they made money as Yankees, not as Puritans. But given an unexploited America, rich in natural resources, it was inevitable that the Yankee should appear. A basic Calvinistic tenet was that, though the world is wicked, it should be used by the saints for the glory of God. We are here, not to enjoy the world, but in a kind of detached purity to use it for God's glory. But when saints begin to use a wicked world which they are forbidden to enjoy, they tend to become something less than saints. If they can't enjoy the world, they enjoy at least using it. Though their catechism tells them their chief end is to glorify God and enjoy Him forever, they now begin to enjoy the manipulation of the world, to enjoy work itself, and to glory in it and even worship it. Ceasing to be complete men, physical-spiritual beings in a physical-spiritual world, they become manipulators. They become Yankees. There was a myth about the New England Yankee even before the nation was formed.

Not all Puritans became Yankees. Some became idealists. Not the garden variety to which most of us at one time or another belong, but the shimmering idealist, like Emerson, or the practicing idealist, like William Lloyd Garrison or even John Brown. Such men feel that their ideals are godlike; from our point of view they may be so high above earth as to seem hardly human; sometimes brutally inhuman; or humanly ineffective, like Arnold's Shelley, "a beautiful but ineffectual angel, beating in the void his luminous wings in vain."

All told, it took about two hundred years for the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay settlement to become the supreme manipulators and idealists of the nineteenth century. But they brought with them the seed of this development, and they found in the rich new world a perfect field for exploitation. They did not call it exploitation; they called it use for the glory of God. But--to return to an idea we suggested earlier--they saw the world not primarily as a home to be cherished but as property to be developed. They had come out of England because they had ceased to feel at home there. Though they did not recognize this, they were leaving the Middle Ages behind them; they were leaving a world they had suffered and enjoyed for a world they would control. They thought of themselves as colonists here, citizens of another country--not England, however--travelers traversing a weary land, or, as the Plymouth settlers called themselves, Pilgrims.

In a sense, all men are pilgrims, since it's the human fate "to look before and after, And long for what is not." De la Mare was right when he urged: "Look thy last on all things

lovely every hour." Whether we flee from the world or not, the world flees from us. Nevertheless, it deserves to be loved, and to be regretted even in its going. There is a difference between traveling through a land you love on your way to another, and hurrying through a land unloved and fearful.

This is an extremely brief, and therefore probably unfair, sketch of the early Puritan culture of New England, with suggestions regarding its later development. It was this culture that became dominant in the United States, against which the South struggled, and by which it was overthrown. Let us now measure the early southern settler, who was to become the Southerner, by this Puritan standard.

There were, of course, Puritan settlers in Virginia as there were non-Puritans in Massachusetts. When you read the laws enacted by the London Company for the government of the Virginia colony, you will find them about as strict as those of Massachusetts Bay; but Virginia was controlled by a trading company in London, while Massachusetts Bay controlled itself. Furthermore, religion was the main concern of the Massachusetts settlement but only the background of the Virginia settlement. The Massachusetts Bay settlers were more single hearted, more devoted to the religious ideal, more determined to set up in the new world a New England. Though some puritanism existed in the South from the beginning, and a portion of its spirit was so widely extended and diffused during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through the meeting of the Scotch-Irish and the frontier that it is almost impossible to determine exactly what

part it plays in the temper of the Southerner, it was not dominant from the beginning, as it was in New England. The earliest Southern settlement occurred in a land appropriately called Virginia, out of personal regard for that incarnation of the English spirit, the Virgin Queen, Elizabeth. It would be over two hundred years before this name would pay off in the personal and feminine culture of the South, but there it was at the beginning.

Finally, regardless of the degree of puritanism present in early Virginia, it was far more difficult to apply Puritan discipline on the scattered tobacco farms of that region than in the towns of Massachusetts.

I hope no one thinks I am presenting here the old myth of the Cavaliers and the Roundheads. The fact that such a myth arose, however, suggests a basis of fact or at least desire. A few Cavaliers did come to Virginia after Charles I lost the Civil War, but not enough to change radically the temper of the colony. That temper had been set with the organization of the London Company in 1606; it may have been influenced by Raleigh's Lost Colony of twenty years before. For the London Company resulted partly from the prior failure of single adventurers, of whom Raleigh was the most famous. It resulted also, and more largely, from the desperate economic situation in England brought about mainly by the land enclosures of the sixteenth century. Patriotism was also involved, for England was engaged in an imperial race with France and Spain; and always, in every venture, because this was still the early morning of the modern world, religion. The London Company said that its action concerned "God,

and the advancement of religion, the present ease, future honor and safety of the kingdome, the strength of our Navy, the visible hope of a great and rich trade, and many secret blessings not yet discovered." ((Miller, Errand, 123)). How real was the concern with religion, it is hard to say. At one place John Smith says the entire adventure was undertaken for the glory of God. At another he speaks of the foolishness of the Company's propaganda about religion, adding that anybody knows that desire for economic gain was the chief motive for the undertaking. ((See Note.))

It is impossible to tell exactly what part the religious motive played in the Virginia settlement, but there seems no doubt that its place was far smaller there than in the two early Massachusetts settlements. The paradox of this is that the Puritans made far better economic use of their opportunities than the southern settlers did. This was probably due to the severe challenge of the New England geography and climate, and the stern worldly code of the Puritans, which made of earthly business a heavenly vocation.

I have already suggested that the Puritan community of Massachusetts Bay had retreated considerably in essential spirit from the full-bodied, adventurous Englishmen of Elizabeth's day. It is worth noting that the Massachusetts Bay settlement occurred twenty-three years after Jamestown, years which saw the rise to power of the fanatical authoritarian, Archbishop Laud. The Jamestown settlers, though they came out of a hungry England, came out of a religiously more stable England, a stability increased in the colony because of the great variety of backgrounds

from which they came. It was impossible to generate in such a mixed and not predominantly religious group that intensity of mind and action that existed in Massachusetts Bay.

Of course, the Virginia settlers weren't completely at home in England; had they been, they would hardly have left. But on the most fundamental level, the religious, they were at home. They had no desire to remake English religious customs, or any other English customs. Mainly they wanted a better economic chance in the world. They came out from England, seeking, not a new England but a wider England: land for the landless, space, food, ease--after the first expectable hardship--adventure. The dreams of Elizabethan England still touched their lives. Even the Kingdom of God: to extend it, they said, among the savages. They were not dissatisfied with its operation among themselves. They were taking most of the past with them. Individuals would have a better chance, they thought, but because of the freer air and wider land, not because of new and different institutions. Since religion was a strict matter everywhere in those days, they transferred this strictness to America, even as the Puritans did. But they were generally satisfied with the forms of the Established Church, and, in even sharper contrast to the Puritan settlers, they were indisposed to raise publicly questions of faith and belief. This was a matter between the individual and God. They did not see themselves as members of a community of saints, proved so by inner, personal experience. They were Englishmen who, as a result of centuries under an established church, felt themselves part of such a church.

They were not irreligious. In the spirit of the Middle Ages, they were simply more acceptive of the totality of life than were the Puritans; not so deeply concerned to purify the spirit from all earthly influences and set the individual naked before God. As it turned out, they were less abstractive, less modern, than the Puritans; they moved more hesitantly into the modern world. This foothold in the past has always been the basic strength of the Southerner; it has also been his chief misfortune because it set him in opposition to the future-oriented Puritan-Yankee of New England. In the rich new world that stretched equally before them both, the Puritan-Yankee had the better chance and therefore gained the dominant power. The Southerner entered the New World, lured on mainly by the thirst for adventure and economic advancement. The Puritan added to this the immense force of a theology admirably suited to such an imperial thrust.

Here, at the very beginning, in the dominant temper of the two colonies, Virginia and Massachusetts, can be seen the traits that, modified by the vicissitudes of history, were to create the two American types, the Northerner and the Southerner. The Northerner, stripping himself of the past, hurled himself into the future, into the modern world. The Southerner advanced also, but with deliberation, with moderation, carrying more of the past with him, continually held in tension between past and future. If, during the last century especially, he has been too closely bound to the past, this is what circumstances suggested to the man that history had made him.

It is true, of course, that both groups removed themselves from their English homes and from the concrete evidences of their past: cut some roots, abstracted themselves from old communities, drove toward the future and began to be individualistic, rootless, modern men. There was no absolute difference between them. As there is no absolute difference between Northerners and Southerners today. We are all Americans; we are not Europeans. This is no problem for the northern American; he is simply the American, he sets the standard. But the Southerner has become, through time, a variant of the American type, and therefore has a problem: just where and how much does he vary? and what can he do about it?

It is especially this quality of growth out of the past that produced the culture of the South. For culture is a growth, not wild, but still a growth. And though pruning is necessary, and re-rooting is possible, up-rooting is dangerous; and such a tearing up of roots as Puritanism exhibited may be in the long run destructive. The long run, not the short. New England certainly produced a distinctive culture; but as New England spread westward, driven increasingly by its desire for the future, cutting continuously the roots of the past, increasingly preoccupied with change and progress, it moved increasingly from a rooted culture into the rootless, atomistic life of the modern world, of urban and industrial America. Granted that the South moved too slowly, indeed became entangled in the past, and in possibly inevitable conflict with the future-dominated North, was as a national entity destroyed. Granted this. Yet from its beginning

the South was trying to expand its English home in the New World, to root the old culture in a new land.

Carrying with them this sense of England as home, and the English social system as the ideal, the early Virginians, surrounded by boundless lands, naturally developed a landed aristocracy modeled after the English gentry. The laws of primogeniture and entail, which remained in force until abolished through the influence of the democratic Jefferson, are evidence of this. Their purpose was to build and maintain great families, which the mode of settlement and the nature of the land and climate made possible, indeed probable. Again, we must not make too sharp a distinction between the Virginia and the Massachusetts settlers: the sense of class may have been as clear in the northern colony as in the southern. In the north, however, much more weight was given to education and religious position; furthermore, the soil and climate did not suggest the formation of a landed aristocracy. Finally, we must remember that Puritanism was an individualistic religion, focussed upon the inner, secret light while pushing the outer, institutional life into the background. Under the influence of the less intense, the more relaxed Episcopalianism of the South, man was less the isolated individual struggling upward in a world of isolated individuals and more the social being accepting his place in a fixed social order.

Did he accept this place too easily? More importantly, did he accept the world too easily, with its mixture of justice and injustice? Did he accept men, including himself, too easily, with their mixture of good and evil? We have said that the Puritan temper of early New England inclined men either to flee from

a fearful world or to whip it into submission. Did the Virginians, with their descendants, go to the other extreme, and accept the world unguardedly? Were they too relaxed, perhaps too easily made at home?

Of course, this is what the region suggested to them. But the suggestion fell upon ready hearts and accepting minds. Having come away from England not fundamentally dissatisfied with life there, not religiously dissatisfied, they were disposed to be satisfied with life here, to accept the world, to make themselves at home and go unguarded. As it is natural for a man to relax at home but not on military duty, so the Virginia settlers could relax as the Massachusetts Bay settlers could not. For the latter had come on an errand to the wilderness, sent as soldiers of Christ in the ceaseless warfare of spirit with flesh.

I am not suggesting that early life in Virginia was any less arduous than it was in Massachusetts. Virginians starved and died of disease and were killed by Indians; perhaps they starved more frequently because they lacked the stern religious discipline of Massachusetts; though this was to some degree compensated for by the more genial climate. I am only saying that there was no dominant religious theory shaping the inner life to the military spirit. The Virginia settlers became fighters because their earthly ambitions brought them into conflict with the Indians; they were not at the same time soldiers of the Lord. In fact, at the beginning, they were generally indisposed to fight even against the Indians, though this restraint was pretty well destroyed by the great massacre of 1622. Not entirely, however. The Virginia Government continued to establish and tried to

maintain peaceful relations with the Indians. In general, however, every American colonist had to keep trained for the fight against starvation, disease, and Indians; but the Virginia colonist, unlike the Puritan, was not also engaged in a fight against the world itself. Therefore, the quality of deeper inner relaxation, of at-homeness, among the Virginians.

Of course, relaxation can become laxness, and laxness can become looseness, even in the moral sense. There was always the danger in the South that men would become soft, and New Englanders were quick and persistent in pointing this out. From the strict Calvinistic point of view, says Max Weber, "the real moral objection is to relaxation in the security of possession, the enjoyment of wealth with the consequence of idleness and the temptations of the flesh, above all of distraction from the pursuit of a righteous life...Not leisure and enjoyment, but only activity serves to increase the glory of God." ((157-8))

We have already seen how important to the Puritan mind was intellectual tautness and strictness. The early mind of the South did not develop thus; there was, on the contrary, a relaxation even in the realm of thought. To the Puritan, stern inquiry was necessary in the search for God and the recognition of grace; to the non-Puritan of Virginia, and the later Southern colonies, this was not so. To these men, with the more public, formal faith, the world, and they themselves, were about what they seemed to be. As we would say now, they were inclined to accept their public image as their real image. They were not necessarily less religious; they merely thought of religion as a more public, a

more inclusive, a more social matter. In this view, much more depends upon custom and ritual, much less upon study and solitary introspection. This relative lack of intellectual strength has marked the religious life of the South even to the present.

As it has marked all its life. The attitude of acceptance is usually a non-intellectual attitude. As we have already pointed out, the Virginia settlers were generally inclined to accept their immediate English past--with the exception that they expected life in the New World to yield them more material goods. Like conservatives of any time, they were carrying most of their past into new surroundings. The surroundings themselves--the new present--would suggest any necessary changes. They had no notion of creating their future out of the whole cloth. Consequently, they didn't have to think too much about it. Around most of the past certain sentiments had grown up. If they cherished these sentiments, they could move with considerable assurance into the radically changed world that they now faced. They carried what they needed in their hearts, in their sentiments. Only if they had wished to create a radically new future would much intellectual analysis have been necessary.

The Puritan settlers of New England, moving into a radically new world, needed that supreme modern instrument, the analytical mind. The Virginia settlers, having been more at home in the old world, did not need to move so rapidly or radically into the new, and therefore had less need of such a mind. But they had far more need of it, or of a strong intellectual life of some kind, than they realized--or perhaps than their descendants realize now. For, far more than they knew, they

too were moving into a new world, the modern world of dynamic change, in sharp contrast to the relatively static world of the Middle Ages. They did not know what this strange world would do to them, how much it would change them and change the very bases of their lives. It would be the destiny of the Puritans to analyze that world, and themselves, almost out of human shape; this destiny has been fulfilled in the rootless specialists that now inhabit and dominate the modern world. It would be the destiny of the Southerners continuously to fail to understand the composite medieval-modern world which, largely unconsciously, they had made. Too inclined to be complacent, they would end, not by analyzing the world and themselves away, but by largely losing themselves in a new land with its new and insidious temptations. Unlike the essential Puritans, they did not hate the world; indeed, they hardly suspected it. There was open for them only one safe course--but no course is safe--and they can hardly be blamed for not taking it. Only the greatest saints and poets have. This was not merely to accept the world but to affirm it. Nietzsche was speaking to a similar problem when he said, "It is not enough to accept fate; you must love it." Nor is it enough to accept the world, you must love it too. Love it with an active intelligence. If the early Southerners had known what they were doing, they would have recognized the need for an intelligence even greater than that the Puritans aimed at. It is relatively easy to take the ascetic stance and either turn your back on the world or cut your way through it. What is almost impossible is to face the world, move deeply into it, and not be overcome by it. This the South

tried to do, but it failed to develop at the same time that form of intelligence--call it philosophic or imaginative or poetic--that might have protected it in the dangerous venture. Southerners let themselves be made too easily at home. Half like innocent babes they entered the dark wood of the modern world and were tragically--or maybe pathetically--lost therein.

CHAPTER III

THE INVITING LAND

But it was a lovely land that engulfed them. And it is strangely appropriate that they came to Virginia, the Puritans to Massachussets. To those disposed to be at home, the New World offered a home; to those disposed to fight the battle of the Lord it offered a superb battlefield. Each group found in the new land its proper climate. The Puritans said the world was dangerous and one must fight against it, The climate of New England was, and the land broken and rocky. The Virginians felt--they didn't bother to say, or if they said, they often agreed with the Puritans, but, deep down, they felt--that the world was friendly; and this was the world they found. Unfriendly, of course, in the swamps of the lower South with their malarial fevers, and, for Englishmen, excessive heat, but generally broad-bosomed and balmy; and, as the years proved, productive of staple crops in great demand in Europe. The limited fields of New England encouraged only subsistence farming; the Newfoundland Banks, however, were rich in cod, which England relished; and therefore shipbuilding developed, and at last world-wide trade, and men who had originally uprooted themselves from England now found their second home upon the moving waters; and when the closing of the slave trade and the imposition of Jefferson's embargo handicapped shipping, they found in their native rivers and in steam the power that through manufacturing would dominate American life.

In the South, on the contrary, the land encouraged men to stay at home and be at home. This is indicated in the first place by the towns the South did not build. The Virginians did not need them. Indeed, they did not want them, though as transplanted Englishmen, they would have found the agricultural village congenial.

The London Company intended such towns, both for the protection of the colonists and for their control by the Company. But the land took over. Within a decade tobacco was the money crop; shortly thereafter it became money itself. Tobacco demanded land, ever new land because of its impoverishing effect. Therefore, despite all the entreaties and commands of the officials, individual settlers moved steadily up the rivers. Governor Yeardley, in his address before the first house of burgesses, in 1619, warned the planters not to establish themselves so far from one another ((Doyle. 214)). But the lure of tobacco-bearing land was too great; and the rivers encouraged the dispersion. The coastal plain of Virginia is crossed by many large and small streams. These were the highways, and few tobacco farmers lived far from them. The tobacco crop and the rivers of Virginia soon made countrymen out of men who had been village dwellers.

So Southerners became typically countrymen, farmers, individualists. The life they lived, which was the life the land suggested to them, was the taproot of the individualism that has always marked them. This is the other side of the lack of institutionalism in the South. The institutional life of the South as it later developed was a highly individual, or personal, institutionalism, of which the family is the prime example.

Individuals--and their families--were important because more formal institutions were scarce, and later because status came to depend highly upon personal values, because the Scotch-Irish brought in the memory of feudal loyalty, and because the late ante-bellum South developed the feudal idea.

But this individualism of the Southerner was, at least in its beginnings, the result of circumstances more than of native temperament. As we have already seen, the early Southern settlers were generally representative of an England that still showed the marked influence of the medieval community; they brought this sense of community with them, and as much as one could expect maintained it in the isolated clearings of the new world. Indeed, the very isolation, which resulted from the economic drive, to some degree increased the desire for society. The Southerner was to become in time and in most things, one of the most individual of Americans, but he has also retained longer than most the sense of belonging to a community, however loosely organized. It is probable that his extreme individualism is partly the result of his sense of security in a community. However much he isolated himself physically, he wasn't primarily and generally interested in isolating himself spiritually; he had a strong sense of society even in solitude.

The land and climate of New England did not suggest to the Puritan settlers such dispersed and isolated lives; it suggested on the contrary compact towns. As we have seen, such settlements were also suggested by practical and religious motives: they were better suited to economic, educational, and even religious advancement; for the religion of early New England was

in part a function of the state, and the state could exert its controls better within the town than in the country. But such towns were not the natural communities of the Middle Ages, the memory of which still lingered effectively in the South. They were essentially barracks of the soldiers of the Lord, and, in later generations when the service of the Lord became too arduous, domiciles for Yankee traders. But whether they housed Puritans or Yankees, or both, dealers in souls or in merchandise, they housed the modern individual on the make, the man who typically settles close to others because thus he can use them better. Such a man creates an unhappy solitude even in the midst of society.

I overstate the case against the Puritan-Yankee. The South has had its share of both, though, being less abstract-minded, the South was never able to separate these types so neatly and form them so perfectly. My main point is that Southern settlers became individualists primarily because the land suggested this to them, not out of concern for their eternal welfare.

But the southern land and climate also suggested the plantation; and the plantation, though under strong individual control, was also a society of its own, in some ways comparable to the medieval village. It will be said immediately that if the New England town was organized to enhance individual advancement, much more so was the plantation. The charge cannot be in general denied. Yet it needs to be examined. For it is the first illustration of what we shall often see in the South: institutions which appear to be purely exploitative, but which, upon examination, reveal social characteristics resulting partly

from the intention, partly from the structure of the institution.

The plantation arose in the South both because of land and climate and because of the intentions of the London Company and of other individuals in England associated with the southern settlements. The London company set out with the intention of founding a great plantation and of controlling directly the land used by the colonists; but the policy was so unsuccessful that within eleven years the Company had surrendered its monopoly and, under the head-right system, was granting fifty acres to every man who transported himself and another into the colony. Administered fairly, such a system might not have built up a great landed aristocracy. As it was administered, however, within a hundred years it had resulted, to cite an extreme instance, in the 300,000-acre estate of Robert 'King' Carter, so-called because of his power and haughtiness and because the extent of his lands matched many a European principality. "There is no doubt," says Wertenbaker, ((Old South, 346))"that the land policy of the Southern colonies was second only to the slave system in building up the aristocratic type of society. It was the vast landholdings of 'King' Carter, rather than the culture of tobacco or his mercantile ventures, which made his descendants a power in Virginia for over a century," Though John Locke failed to persuade Carolinians to accept the varied titles of nobility he provided in the Great Constitutions-- cacique, land-grave, etc.-- he did set the stamp of approval upon extensive land holdings and thus fostered the growth of aristocracy in the South.

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Because of its extensive and unhappy influence, we shall consider slavery separately. It need only be said here that, with the growing scarcity of indentured labor, slavery became a necessity if the plantation was to prosper. With its coming, it became a powerful factor in the growth of the plantation, but, originally, it was the plantation that created slavery.

In its inception, and indeed in its development, the plantation was by no means merely a profitable device for modern individualistic man on the make. It was a copy, fitted to the New World, of the landed estates of England; and it was created by, and instrumental in creating, a landed aristocracy, who thought of themselves as English gentry. Men, that is, with the stamp of the past upon them, with the aristocrat's sense of community and of obligation to community. This was a powerful factor in transferring to the American South, to this new land where a majority of men were generally small farmers on lonely homesteads, a strong sense of human community.

Yet it must always be remembered that, though one part of the early Southerner's mind looked back toward the past, the Middle Ages and aristocracy, the other part looked forward toward the future in a new world, and to whatever gifts that world might bring. To those who, through wealth or influence, obtained vast acreages, it brought a continuation, and even an extension,of the social position of the English landed gentleman; but since, especially after the Revolution, the frontier was inconceivably vast, it brought to all men the possibility

of land of their own, of democratic freedom, and therefore, in time and with luck and hard work, of vast holdings and aristocratic prestige. Though not everybody had an equal chance, in such an open world aristocrats were being continually made, and--through carelessness or bad luck--unmade. To be an aristocrat was to have present power and influence; but seldom was this power so great as to be held without regard to the wills of the numerous smaller land-owners in the vicinity. Southern aristocrats customarily had to pay attention to Southern democrats; the democrats also paid attention to the aristocrats, not only because of aristocratic power but also because they admired this power and the men that held it, and often hoped in time to gain such power and influence for themselves.

The significant thing is that the ideal of the English country gentleman took root in the South as the master of the plantation. The past was not denied and rejected but re-expressed in the new land. With the passage of time, this American expression of the English past became the prevailing ideal of the American South. Not that every yeoman farmer wished to become a plantation owner, with numerous slaves; he may have been content to remain a yeoman farmer, with no slaves or a few. But if for himself or his children he had ambitions of greater influence and power, he probably envisaged the plantation as the best way to attain them. If he had cut out his farm on the frontier--and on some frontier he had probably cut it out--he remembered the plantations along the coast or along the lower reaches of the rivers as expressing in some sense what he was working for. Still like the earliest Virginia settlers, who were not seeking something radically different from Old England but

only more of the goods that England had to some degree provided, he was asking of the future only that it provide him more generously with what the past had already given him a taste for. His ideals were rooted in the past. He was building the old home on the frontier.

The plantation is usually defined by the historians as that farming establishment having twenty or more slaves. By this standard, plantations were fairly infrequent in the South. The great majority of agriculturists belonged to the so-called yeoman farmer class. Such men possessed no slaves, or only one or two. But the temper of a society is not set by what the majority of people do; it is set by what they wish to do; by their ideals. The plantation became the Southern ideal. Farmers striving to advance, strove almost inevitably for plantations. Professional men seeking prestige bought plantations and often managed them from their homes in town. In fact, in the late antebellum South, the plantation became such an ideal that a myth grew up to the effect that all Southern farming took place on plantations. Blanche Clark points out in her book on The Tennessee Yeoman Farmer, 1840-1860, that the myth had become so strong by this time that even travelers failed to notice anything but plantations and reported that this was practically the only type of farming. In this view the South was composed of aristocrats, poor whites and Negro slaves.

But though this idea of the universality of the plantation was a myth, it was created and took hold because it expressed a deep social wish. Granted that this wish was strongest in the aristocrats themselves; granted also that as the leaders and chief molders of society, they had the power to sol

express and extend this wish as to make of it finally a myth. They did not do this against the will of the rest of society. For the sense of a hierarchy, of an aristocracy, was common to most early American settlers; they brought it with them from Europe; and the growth of a landed aristocracy in the South seemed to most men both natural and advisable. Of course, as the colonial period passed, and especially as we came into the national period and the transmontane world opened westward, the increasingly extensive frontier, with its necessary emphasis upon the individual, weakened this sense of the rightness of an aristocracy, and by the time of the Civil War, had pretty well undermined it. But for a while it was very strong, and even today, a hundred years after the Civil War, there are faint hints remaining of the aristocratic attitude.

CHAPTER IV

THE DOMINANT PATTERN

There's an interesting comment, elicited by slavery in the South, in Harriet Martineau's Society in America: "A magic ring seems drawn round those who live amidst slavery; and it gives a circular character to all they think and do upon the subject. There are but few who sit within it who distinctly see anything beyond it."

Miss Martineau meant this as criticism: a kind of black magic imprisons every white Southerner; he rarely breaks through these walls. This may have been true during the period of slavery; a similar attitude has appeared during the recent argument over segregation. But this circling quality of mind, this failure of a direct projection of thought, is probably a characteristic of the Southerner, accentuated though it may have been by the presence of Negro slavery. For the Southerner's mind, like his life, is inclined to move in circles about a particular situation or place located in present time. He is a concrete, not an abstract thinker. Of course, the more he circles the concrete, and the wider the circles, the more he makes contact with the future and the past and the rest of the world. There is nothing wrong with this method of thinking. It is the method of the poet rather than the scientist; concrete not abstract; and not very popular in the modern world. But the chief fault of the South was not that it pursued this method, but that it did not pursue it far enough. Circle with intense concern, circle wide enough, and you include the world, as Blake said, in the grain of sand.

Doubtless what Miss Martineau meant was that on the subject of slavery the Southerner repeated the same limited phrases like a broken record. He did this in part because he lacked the courage to break through the phrases and face the situation with a new word or in a new light from outside his magic prison. But it should be recognized that the circling, indirect method is the Southerner's own. The positive aspect is the respect it shows for truth: truth can not be impaled like a butterfly on a pin and filed for future study. Truth is a living, changing, growing thing. The best you can do is circle it and circle it again. Maybe at last you will get the general outline, the feel, the color, perhaps even something of the density.

The most Southern thing about William Faulkner is his sentence structure, circling the object, as somebody says, like one of his bird-dogs circling the covey, closing in slowly so as not to flush the birds too soon. It is this absence of the direct approach, this circling movement that I should like to discuss in this chapter. We shall leave for another place the discussion of an apparently opposing characteristic: the capacity for whole-hearted, swift, and sometimes terrible action.

According to Erik Erikson, ((Childhood, etc. 244)) any culture exhibits a number of tensions or inner strains. These exist primarily because the members of the society desire goods which to some degree oppose one another. The style of the culture depends upon its balancing of these opposites. If for any reason the tensions become too strong, so that conflict results, the society may destroy itself. If the tension

can be maintained, but at a level below conflict, the culture thrives.

This, I think, is but the social expression of what Thomas and Znaniecki call the two permanent tendencies of human nature, "desire for new experience" and "desire for stability." Each of us has both of these desires, but in each of us the relative strength of the desires differs. No one can live without stability; nor can anyone live without change. Absolute stability would mean death, absolute change chaos.

Since the Southern character is a variant of the American, let me sketch here Erikson's view of the American character. In this view, two basic forces produced the American: Puritanism, and the tension between home and frontier. In regard to the home-frontier tension, Erikson points out that, until recently, all Americans were brought up with two opposed possibilities of life before them: to remain at home or to go to the frontier. Some would remain where they had been born, others would go to the frontier; nobody could tell beforehand which would do which. Therefore, these two opposed possibilities were a part of the inner life of all Americans.

Puritanism also, though its influence has greatly decreased, still dominates American character. Puritanism is tied in closely with the home-frontier tension and on the side of the frontier. It is a stripped religion, and suited to the stripped frontier life. It is significant that the chief influx of Puritanism came into the South with the Scotch-Irish in the eighteenth century and these people were known even then as "the Yankees of the South" and "the Puritans of the South". Leyburn in his book

The Scotch-Irish, calls them typical frontiers-men. If they had not been modified by the earlier southern settlers, who were predominantly English, they would have made the South almost indistinguishable from the Puritan-dominated North.

Erikson's idea about the dual appeal of home and frontier seems an extension onto the psychological plane of Frederick Jackson's Turner's thesis on the importance of the frontier in American history. That thesis was that the successive waves of the frontier with its free land kept alive and indeed strengthened the democratic idea in America. There is some disagreement among Southern historians as to the applicability of this theory to the South. Some maintain that the successive Southern frontiers went through the Turnerian stages of hunter, herdsman, and farmer; others that on the frontiers of the Old Southwest, in the nineteenth century, the herding period, the farming period, and even the plantation period often coincided. However, it is not material to my analysis of the South which of these processes obtained.

Using Erikson's idea that the American character has been formed about the opposing poles of "home" and "frontier", I shall maintain that the distinctiveness of the Southern character lies in the fact that these opposing poles are more closely tied together than in the general American character. It is the nature of any tension that each pole implies the other. In the South, more than in the rest of America, and for reasons we shall examine, home has implied the frontier, and the frontier home. The Southerner, therefore, carries more of himself into each of these situations than does the typical American. Indeed,

this statement can be generalized further. The Southerner carries more of himself into any situation than does the typical American. Wherever he is, he is more there; he more nearly belongs. It is this attitude that gives to his personality that paradoxical quality of vague solidity. Because of his vagueness, he often seems unsubstantial; but beneath this apparent fluidity lies a remarkable resistance and endurance. Basically, this is because home and frontier have been more intricately and closely related in the Southerner than in the typical American. Why and how has this happened?

It began with the deeper sense of home that the Southern settler brought to the New World. He didn't wish, like the New England Puritan, to change the heart of England. Rather he wished to extend, for each man's benefit and for England's, the body of England. Though Virginia was superficially strange and dangerous, and indeed destroyed men through famine, disease, and Indian warfare, it was not really strange--except in the sense of being wonderful. It was still a part of the world, which, up to then, had been best represented by "Merrie England", and so without too much trouble he could make it home. Even physically it was more homelike than the wintry woods of Massachusetts.

But perhaps more important than this quality of the land was the basic attitude of the settlers themselves. They were more at home in the world than were the Puritans; they were less frightened of the world, less withdrawn from it; inclined less to whip it into safer form. Therefore, they were more at home even on those first Atlantic seaboard frontiers than were their New England contemporaries. It is true, the

lure of tobacco soon made them feel increasingly at home, even on their isolated farms along the Virginia rivers, but they went there partly because they felt at home already. From the very beginning and to an unusual degree, home was on the frontier and the frontier was at home.

A word here as to the successive American frontiers. As soon as the seaboard was settled, the frontier moved inland. For the first half of the eighteenth century the effective frontier in the South was the Piedmont stretching southwesterly in a fairly wide band from Virginia to Georgia. This was the up-country, or the back-country; and its settlement during the mid-eighteenth century predomiaantly by the Scotch-Irish affected the entire culture of the South. In 1763, the British, having won the French and Indian War, and having made a treaty with France, in order to avoid further conflict forbade settlement beyond the Alleghenies. Because of the independent nature of the American colonists, this denial of the right of settlement probably increased rather than diminished the transmontane settlements. Nevertheless, until the Colonies won their independence, such settlements were especially hazardous, not only because of the Indians, still incited by the French, but also because of the lack of any legal title to land. With the Revolution accomplished, however, the bars went down, and by 1800 the westward tide was running, and was not to cease till it had reached the Pacific and covered all available land between. It was during the nineteenth century especially that the frontier assumed that compelling place in American history that was noted first by Turner. As I have said, there was a frontier from 1607 but the attitude of the eighteenth century toward it was very different from that

of the nineteenth. During the 18th century the colonists were still Englishmen though living outside of England. Especially in the South this attitude expressed itself in the development of a limited aristocracy and of a bierarchy of place in society. But with independence, Americans turned their backs on England, looked unhesitantly beyond the Alleghenies into the dim forests of the interior, and began a total movement toward the distant Pacific. Even in the South the democratic tide was already running strong, and grew stronger as the frontier opened westward.

It is significant that the South was more at ease with this westward running nineteenth century tide than was the North. The reason for this is that Southerners were more at home than were Northerners, and therefore less disturbed by the massive population movement. They had been more at home from the beginning; Virginia was more England than New England was. This was indicated during the colonial period by the fact that Virginians--and other Southerners-- were more frequently educated in England than Northerners were; and the education itself kept the ties with the old country stronger. It was also indicated during the nineteenth century by the fact that youhg Americans from the North went far more frequently to England to study, and to take the European tour, than did Southerners. The Northerners, disturbed by the rush to the west, which seemed to many of them like the collaps of civilization into the western wilds, frankly went back to Europe to discover what connection, if any, they had with the past. The Southerners had always maintained such close ties with the past that they had effectively established

it in the new land, and were not unduly disturbed now that many Southerners were rushing westward.

I do not say they were not disturbed. They were. But not, I think, primarily because the identity of the seaboard was being called in question but because political power was moving westward with the moving frontier. Tidewater South Carolina had some experience with this outward flow of political power from the coast into her own piedmont about 1800. Even from the earliest settlement of the piedmont, beginning about 1750, there had been a growing demand there for political representation. But Charleston, and the tidewater, did not yield power to the back country and the up-country except as that area, through the adoption of the cotton plantation, became sympathetic to the political interests of the tidewater. In brief, the sense of regional identity was too deeply rooted in the earlier tidewater settlements for their people to be overly concerned about its submergence in the westward movement; they were primarily concerned to retain their political power.

Deep down, and half-consciously, however, they were concerned about identity, as this whole book will show. Though the South attained, and is still in process of attaining, an identity more clearly delineated than that attained by any other American region, even the South has never been deeply sure of itself. Its moments of greatest apparent assurance have usually been assumed in order to frighten outsiders and reassure itself. In the beginning it built wisely. It looked before and after; it at least sought in its future the best of its past. But, as we shall see, it was confused especially by slavery, and made unwise choices. It knew the basic wisdom of combining the past and the future, the attained and the unattained, the tame and the wild,

home and the frontier; but it has never known just how to do it. As we proceed, we shall try to see wherein it succeeded and wherein it failed. Let us return now to the effect of the frontier upon the South and the Southern character.

With the nineteenth century increase in the pull of the frontier, there doubtless went even in the South a decrease in the attachment to the earlier settlements, whether these were along the seaboard or in the piedmont. It is significant too that perhaps most numerous among the frontiersmen were the Scotch-Irish, who, generally speaking, had never known the appeal of the seacoast. Doubtless also, the more that men turned their minds to the frontier and the future, the less they let them linger on the past. But in the South, in addition to the temper of the Southern settlers, there were certain facts that bound the frontier and the old settlements more closely together than they were bound in the North. The most basic of these facts was the continuing agricultural nature of the South in contrast to the growing industrial nature of the East and North.

The westward moving frontier in the North, turning forest and prairie into farms, was not backed in increasing depth by the farms of the East; it was backed by villages becoming towns and towns becoming industrial cities. The countrymen who, from the west, looked back upon their old homes, saw them disappearing in industrial cities. Being mainly of Puritan descent, they tended less to look back anyhow; and the changed and changing landscape of their childhood did not encourage such sentimental ties. As they moved westward, therefore, they increasingly cut their ties with the past, pruned their

roots, and took shallower and shallower rootage in both time and space. It is significant that in creating an industrial world, they created a world from which they increasingly fled; increasingly but with increasing futility, until by 1890, as Hamlin Garland points out in Main Travelled Roads, the banks and railroads had overrun them. The early Puritans had thought of themselves as being sent on "an errand into the wilderness" to find God. In the long run they made of the wild another kind of wilderness: the wilderness of bankrupt mid-western farms of the 1890's, of the dust-bowl of the 1930's, and the general industrial wilderness in which modern man now wanders, himself lost because of his misdirected search for God.

Not that Southerners didn't create a wilderness too. We too raped the land, as certain great gullies in Georgia attest. We stole its wealth through the roots of tobacco and cotton, and then fled westward, leaving broomsedge and old-field pines behind us. But we could always look back to a past broadly like our present. Or, more accurately, to an earlier place, the home site, that did not change materially with the years. The agricultural seaboard and piedmont, out of which the Old Southwest grew, did not become urban and industrial but remained agricultural. In spite of all the contrasts between the old southeast and what we now call the Old Southwest--and there were many--they were both agricultural sections, and were far more closely bound together through ties of sentiment and of interest than were the frontiers and the older settlements of the North. Economically and politically, the antebellum South tried to take advantage of this agricultural unity as against the indus-

trial-agricultural duality of the North. One of the main political concerns of the South, from the Missouri Compromise to the Civil War, was to drive a wedge between the Industrial East and the Agricultural West, and cement the West to the South. The great tie was supposed to be the Mississippi River, running down from the Old Northwest to the Old Southwest; but there were also hopes and plans for railroads running from the Northwest southeasterly to the Atlantic and tieing the two sections closer together. The South, however, could never really agree with itself, the Northwest was always sceptical of slave-labor, the East built railroads and canals tieing East and West together, and the Southern agricultural cause was lost to the combined agricultural-industrial cause of the North and West. (Ironically, as we have seen, the agricultural West had also lost to the industrial East by 1890.)

Not only were the agricultural frontiers of the South supported both psychologically and actually by the continuing agricultural economy of the old southeastern tidewater and piedmont, the very ideal of frontier agriculture itself was the Southern plantation. Thus, the continuing ideal of the South was an economic and social institution that perhaps reached its height in the Virginia and Carolina plantations of the eighteenth century. I am not saying that every yeoman farmer in the South, whether in the southeast or in the frontier Southwest, strove to become a plantation owner; most men do not strive to move very far above the level into which they are born; but if such a man did have ambitions, they usually included a plantation, operated, of course, by slave labor. Furthermore, not only the

prestige of the South but also its political power lay chiefly with plantation owners. They did not take this power roughly from yeoman farmers and merchants; for the most part they were granted it as their right; and this right rested upon the fact that they had had the wealth and leisure to prepare themselves for political responsibilities. It is undoubtedly true that the newness of the frontier and the presence of free land made for the breaking of old ties, including the ties of respect for a landed aristocracy; but this was mainly a loosening of ties with an old landed aristocracy. Men still strove for large acreages and the leadership that its possession would give them. They were still eager to create a new aristocracy in Alabama and Mississippi. It was pointed out by James Augustus Baldwin, in ? Flush Times in Alabama, and by , that the seaboard aristocrat, whom Baldwin called the Virginian, was too nice and restrained to thrive, sometimes even to exist, in the Old Southwest; but, even so, a less restrained, more rambunctious, more democratic aristocrat was always in the making. So the Southern frontier looked back to, and copied, the seaboard plantation home.

It is well to notice, too, that the nature of Southern economic and social life kept certain aspects of the frontier far closer to the eastern plantations than they were to the farms and towns of New England. If the plantations of the South were large and spacious, so were the untouched forests and swamps lying between them. Indeed, the relatively large areas of untouched woods and swamps that stretch across at least the lower South are even today a surprise to those Americans who have known

only the thickly settled cities and countrysides of the East and much of the North. Though these vast wooded areas have now been mostly deforested, and sometimes more than once, and the trees that now grow so abundantly again are mainly second growth, replacing what was once virgin woods and deserted fields, during the antebellum period in the South these woods and swamps had really been hardly touched. As on any frontier, they were inhabited by many of the original wild animals, and to sedate and orderly plantations these surrounding stretches of forest gave a continuing sense of the frontier. So what we had scattered over the South, and expressing its chief economic ideal, was the plantation, essentially orderly and rational, established in a natural world still heavily touched by frontier wildness. Through most of the history of the South, then, wherever the Southerner was, he could feel within himself the tension between settlement and frontier, the tame and the wild, order and chaos, culture and nature. I shall have much more to say about the rich complexity of Southern life; and how this worldly richness suited the temperament of the men who first settled here. But this is sufficient indication for the present of how the economic life of the South encouraged that sense of life as rooted in the past and growing into the future that Englishmen originally brought to Southern shores.

CHAPTER V

THE BASIC ERROR

Inclined to accept the world as good, the Southern settlers fell into the arms of the hospitable land. In the same spirit they accepted the use of slaves. The first Negroes were sold in Virginia in 1619, but they were probably bought as indentured servants, under the same kind of arrangement made with white indentured servants. For decades there was confusion about the status of these Negro servants; but by 1662 Virginia law made it clear that Negro servants were servants for life, that is, slaves.

However, the growth of slavery was at first very slow. Slavery had been adopted partly because of the insufficiency of indentured labor, and as that tended to slow down because of improved conditions in England, the need for slave labor became greater. The need for labor in new settlements, where life has to be built from the bottom, is always greater than the supply.

It may be asked what made the Americans fall back upon slave labor. Wasn't such labor already an anachronism in the European homeland? In general, yes. The earlier slaves, or serfs, had largely become peasants. The few remaining slaves were largely household servants, used to cater to the ease and pleasure of their owners, not productive workers. There was a reasonably large slave population in Spain and Portugal, but this was largely composed of Moors, whom the Spaniards had been slowly forcing from the peninsular for eight hundred years. This Spanish-Moorish contest gave the main justification for what slavery existed: Christians could not enslave fellow-

Christians but they could enslave pagans. Since the Negroes of Africa were also pagans, it was easy for the Portuguese, using the new shipping that helped to bring in the modern world, to import Negroes from Africa and sell them as slaves in Europe. In the New World, chiefly in Central and South America, the Spanish and Portuguese continued and expanded the practice of slavery that they had known in the Iberian peninsular. First, Indian slaves, and then, mainly because Negroes were more docile, Negro slaves. But the religious note was strong in this Spanish and Portuguese slavery. Slavery was a fit fate for pagans; but suppose the enslaved pagans became Christian, what then? At first it seemed as if they must then be freed; but this was too drastic a measure. So what happened was simply an amelioration of slavery itself in South America. Freedom was considered the proper estate of man; to be a slave was a most unhappy fate; and society should take what measures it could to make this fate easier, and whenever possible to free men from it.

When the early English colonists adopted slavery, more than a hundred years after the discovery of America and after Spanish and Portuguese settlements, mainly in South America, they were in part but following the Spanish and Portuguese example. They too were concerned about the fate of the slave who became a Christian; should he be freed or not? In 1667, Virginia decided he need not be freed; but then, in sharp contrast to the general attitude toward slavery cultivated by the Catholic Church in South America, the predominantly Protestant English settlers slowly came to the conviction that

slavery, not freedom, was the natural condition of the Negro. In the long run this attitude became so strong that free Negroes in the South were always in some danger of being thrown into slavery.

This was an ironic development. The Catholic settlers of South America were closer the community sense, the inclusive Christian and Catholic sense, of the Middle Ages than were the Protestant settlers of the English colonies. Therefore, they were inclined to feel that the Negroes--or Indians--in their midst, though slaves, were also members of the community, and if for any reason freed, could move directly into the full life of the community. The English colonists had moved further from the sense of medieval community into the individualistic freedom of the modern world, and though they cherished their own freedom more, they were less concerned about the freedom of others, especially if these others were distinguished by color from the dominant whites. As we shall see, the presence in large numbers of the enslaved Negro was to make the white Southerner more insistent than any other American upon his own individual freedom.

So much for the background of Negro slavery in the English colonies. As I suggested, the colonists fell into slavery, first, because of the flat or lightly rolling land, the many rivers which could be used for easy transportation between distant plantations, the suitability of soil and climate for staple crops, tobacco first, then indigo, rice, cotton, sugarcane, hemp (instead of the many varied crops of every subsistence farmer), the demand for these crops in other parts of the

world, and the ease with which such crops could be cultivated by generally untrained labor. They were also led towards the use of slave labor by the typically modern desire to use, to manipulate, to exploit the world. As I have pointed out, the land policy of Virginia, and later of Carolina, permitted the granting of vast acreages to men who had the influence or the wealth to demand it. With the vast estates went of course the need to cultivate and exploit them, and this need was met by the use of slaves.

Some slavery existed in all the American colonies, but only in the South were the material conditions such as to make it profitable. Had it been as profitable in the northern colonies as in the southern, undoubtedly it would have taken root there also, for, as we have seen, the Puritans were moving more drastically and rapidly into the modern world than were the Virginians, and the massive exploitation of slave labor would have been an excellent means to that end. It is true that that crusty old Puritan, Cotton Mather commenting about 1815 upon the disastrous Yemassee Indian War in South Carolina, said that the province "is newly destroy'd by the dreadful Judgments of God, for which an uncommon measure of Iniquities had ripened it;" and one of the clear iniquities, as we see it now, was the proneness of South Carolina Traders to foment Indian internecine wars, and then buy up the captives as slaves. But this same Cotton Mather was hardly opposed to slavery in itself, for only fifteen years earlier, upon the occasion of the gift of a slave, he had thanked God for the comfort that this gift would bring. Indeed, the sinfulness of slavery to the early Puritan was not what it did to

the slave but what it did to the owner. The slave would be taught, and forced, to work, and all work was for the glory of God; the owner would be taught to be idle, and "the devil finds work for idle hands to do" and sin for idle minds to ponder.

We can make a rough guess at what might have happened if the soil and climate of Massachussets had suited slave labor. The overseers on Southern plantations were often Yankees; the most famous of them all, Simon Legree, of Uncle Tom's Cabin, was a Yankee; and their reputation for harsh driving and cruelty agrees with his. Of course, they were in a tight situation, caught between the owner's desire for profit and the slave's skill in malingering. But there is also the record of Southern plantations, after the Civil War, in the hands of Yankee owners, who drove the free Negroes as most of them had never been driven before even as slaves. With the Puritan and later Yankee emphasis upon the holiness of work and of resultant profit, we may conclude that the slaves the Puritan owners did not work to death they would have freed without the expense of a Civil War because they found them unprofitable. The British geologist, Sir Charles Lyell, traveling in the South, made a common observation: "It is notorious, that the hardest task-masters to the slaves are those who come from the northern free states." (Floan: South in Northern Eyes, 97-8)

The non-Puritan settlers of the South cared little about the holiness of work and not everything about the profits that might accrue. Carrying much of the Middle Ages with them, where truth was attained rather in contemplation than in action, they were less interested in work, more interested in the periods

of leisure that could be gained either through work or even without it. So they accepted slavery as a way to leisure--and indeed to prestige and power also; and over the years handled it more lightly and humanely than, with a different attitude, they might have.

Yet, if we would get the exact picture, we must remember that these Southern slaveowners were North American, predominantly Protestant slave-owners, not South American Catholics. Though I don't think they really believed, as strict Puritans might have, that they were benefitting the slaves by making them work, neither did they see the Negro slaves as essentially members of the total community, only temporarily debarred because of the unhappy and inhuman fate of slavery. They were going into the modern world on the backs of these strange, incompletely human beings, but they didn't think they were going to heaven, nor taking the slaves to heaven, because of any gospel of work. It is true that towards the end, and under severe moral and political attack from the Puritans, they said that by revealing Christ's mercy to the heathen Negroes they were making them candidates for heaven, but by this time, under the influence of 19th Century revivalism, they had become sloppily Puritan themselves.

But long before this, leisure had become an accepted value in the South. Undoubtedly it came to be highly valued because of the presence of slaves. For certain whites, this large working force made leisure possible. But even had there been no slavery, leisure would have been suggested by the climate of most of the South, and a leisurely pace would have been demanded in

the summer months. I remember my first reaction as a young man--and, as I came to realize, young Confederate--to Northern drive and a Massachussets winter: "You people move fast because you have to to keep from freezing. But try this in a South Carolina summer and you'd have sunstroke." I realize now that there is more to Yankee drive than I thought then, but a part of its cause, and a part of the cause of the leisurely Southern pace and the high value Southerners put upon leisure is the climate. Even within the limits of one state, South Carolina, you can feel the pace slow down, the tension relax, as you move from the more typically Scotch-Irish Piedmont, toward the more typically English coast. And when you approach the coast, with its many rivers and streams, up and down which innumerable fish swim almost begging to be caught for breakfast, the question arises, why should any man exert himself greatly? God will take care of him.

Regardless of whether he worked hard or not, the Southern settler was far less inclined than his Northern counterpart to give a religious value to work. Work was a necessity; in a new land rich in raw resources, there was chance of great success if you worked. These men were also early moderns, who wished to better their condition, and therefore they worked, some of them slaved--even the free men--at conquering the forest. But I don't think they were accustomed to tell themselves that they were working for the glory of God. And though they were early modern men, driving into the future, it was to be a future not too unlike the best of the past, only richer and more expansive. Certainly among the landed aristocracy, when that group developed, there was a conscious attempt to bring the sense of

English scenes to America, and this meant a frequent pause for reflection as one drove ahead. As this landed aristocracy became the social and political leaders, their attitudes affected the entire society.

So, though the struggle was often brutally hard, and hardening, men came to value leisure. Even poor men valued leisure--and I'm not referring to that actually small group, the poor whites, who play such a large part in the stories about the South. As for them, leisure-- the absence of work--was their greatest need after a mouthful of food. I'm thinking of small but independent farmers. They couldn't ride to hounds with the rich gentry, but they had their own coon and possum dogs. They couldn't sit on the front piazza and sip mint juleps, but the men at least could sit in the breezeway and chew tobacco, while the women, if they wished, could smoke. And this generally in considerable peace, and without much envy of their more successful neighbor. For they were free men, made more independent in fact and therefore in attitude by the vast untouched land in which they lived, but still carrying with them, as we shall see later , a strong sense of each man in his place. They felt themselves members of the community of which the gentleman on his broad piazza was the leader.

There remain the Negro slaves. The stock image of them as being driven to death leads to the conclusion that they who were so important in providing the leisure for the whites had none themselves. It must be admitted, some slaves were driven to death. Possibly everything that happened in UNCLE TOM'S CABIN happened in the South. But the picture of Negro slavery in the South as a method of driving slaves to death is

no truer to the total picture than UNCLE TOM'S CABIN is. For one thing, it doesn't give sufficient influence to the power that the Negro has always had in the South. Though most violently discriminated against, he yet made his weight felt in all the operations of the plantation. Planters soon found it was easier to persuade him to work than it was to make him. If he felt too driven, he would move at the very lowest limit of the overseer's endurance. In general he moved at his own pace, and it was a common observation of Northern travelers that this was but a fraction of the pace set by free northern labor.

In this connection, William Cullen Bryant made the following observation: "It is, of course, the desire of the master that his slaves should be laborious; on the other hand it is the determination of the slave to lead as easy a life as he can...The result is a compromise in which each party yields somethings, and a good-natured though imperfect and slovenly obedience on one side, is purchased by good treatment on the other." ((Floan: South in Northern Eyes, 153)).

This practical refusal to work fast, this leisurely pace, does not mean the presence of anything like creative leisure among the slaves. Indeed, one of the matters we shall have to consider is the apparent lack of creativeness among even those whites who had the leisure. But just now I am not discussing what the South did with its leisure; I am saying that, from the top to the bottom, Southerners had more or less of it, and they valued it. I have suggested that the gentry set the pattern, and the others, observing, followed. This is probably an over-simplification. The gentry did set a pattern,

but the pattern they set was what it was partly because of the will of the slaves. Since it was apparently impossible for the master to make the slave take life too seriously, it hardly seemed worthwhile to take it too seriously himself. One of my neighbors, a good, hardheaded farmer, certainly no sentimentalist in his treatment of his Negro labor, said to me once, "There's one thing sure. You've just got to let them take their time; you can't hurry them." Did they move slowly because they saw him sitting on the piazza, or did he sit lon hours on the piazza because they moved slowly? Whatever the cause and effect, the Southern white, the climate, and the Negro came to suit one another remarkably well.

Another way of discussing the sense of leisure in Southern life is to say that there was more play here. We shall consider later the matter of play in the sense of looseness of structure, as when we speak of the play or tolerance of a machine. For the present let us note play in the sense of an emphasis upon entertainment, shows, story-telling, practical jokes, and even theatre. Formal theatre never occupied a large place in the total life, chiefly because of the scarcity of large cities; but Charleston had the first real theatre in America; and there, and also in a few cities, such as Savannah, Nashville, and New Orleans, excellent theatrical shows appeared from time to time. As for entertainment, the frequency of amateur theatricals, parties and balls became almost a Southern myth. Visitors sometimes laid this to the boredom of life on the isolated plantations. Rollin G. Osterweis, in Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South, speaks of Southerners as an agrarian

people "over whom the shadow of boredom and monotony hung constantly". ((P 52)) In fact, Osterweis sees the entire cult of chivalry, and other related interests, as being the result of boredom. "Color was supplied by romantic literature, by the military cult, the adoration of women, flamboyant oratory." A.DeP. Van Buren, who, as a Northern tutor, taught in the South in the antebellum period, also saw the emphasis upon amusement as a result of the boring life; but he found the life boring because it seemed to have no purpose. The doubtful word is purpose. To the New Englander ((?))Van Buren, purpose may have meant the intention of changing and improving life, both one's own and that of others. The Southerners he observed may have had the purpose simply of living. Since they felt they were living, they were not bored.

I suppose boredom had something to do with the South's emphasis upon entertainment. But this emphasis was also due to the Southerner's easy-going relaxed nature. As for the story-telling propensity of the Southerner, this results from his rather large interest in the mere passage of life as distinct from what profit could be got out of it. Being generally interested in life itself in its varied and concrete expressions, and finding time to recall such actions, he naturally made stories out of them. As for his interest in practical jokes, this is in part the influence of the frontier, which as we have seen, has influenced the South more than any other part of the nation, but it was also due to his interest in the public expression of his easy and relaxed nature.

From leisure and play, we move to play-acting, the acting of a part, or role; and here the Southerner became notable. But since this is more closely related to the sense of a man's place, we shall reserve it for that part of our discussion. So also, because of its importance, we must reserve for separate discussion politics, and the political game, which, because of the presence of the enslaved Negro, finally became a mortal game and as such became confused with religion. These matters we shall discuss in their proper places.

CHAPTER VI

THE INCREASING TENSION

We are presenting in this book the thesis that the essential quality of the South is a true conservatism, expressed most clearly by a basic tension between past and future. As we have seen and shall see, this tension expresses itself in many subordinate ways; but underlying everything is the past-future balance.

But tensions, within an individual or a society, may become too strong, and instead of serving to keep the organism toned up may cause it to fly apart. They may lead to conflict, even violent conflict. This is what happened in the South, and slavery seems to have been the situation that caused it. For it was slavery that entangled and confused the South in its poised position between the past and the future.

Though the early Southern settlers were different from those of the North, and though the land and climate within which they settled tended to increase this difference, it is highly improbable that, without slavery, with its economic and moral effects, the two sections would have come to civil strife. The South would have held less strongly to the past; with the lack of Southern slave-produced staples, the manufacturing and commercial North would have moved less swiftly into the future. The two sections, therefore, would have remained closer together, and they would probably never have found sufficient cause for armed conflict. But slavery, because of its nature, confused and embittered both North and South in their two-paced movement into the modern world.

For slavery looked strongly both backward and forward.

For slavery looked strongly both backward and forward. In its inception, it looked mainly forward. For it was the result of the irruption of European man into the vast, unexploited spaces of a new world, among peoples so different in appearance, culture, and religion that they could be considered objects of exploitation, to be used like the land and in the exploitation of the land. During his first years in Virginia, the Negro was an indentured laborer, not unlike English indentured laborers, who had come because of economic hardship in England and economic hope in America. With the decrease of English indentured laborers, the need for the Negro grew greater, and his difference from the English in appearance and culture, together with the Spanish example in South America, made of him a permanently indentured laborer, that is, a slave.

The Negro, therefore was enslaved in order to increase the speed of the American colonist's drive into the modern world. Did his enslavement serve this purpose? William Henry Drayton, in his History of South Carolina, published in 1808 (?), says that, regrettable as slavery is, without it South Carolina could never have made the material advances she has, nor could she have taken a position of leadership among American states. It is doubtless true that the great exports of timber, tobacco, rice, indigo, and, by the time Drayton wrote, cotton, would have been curtailed without slave-labor. This would have retarded the material advancement, not only of South Carolina, but also of the South and of the manufacturing and trading North. Later, when the Southern defense of slavery grew strong, the myth arose that the white Southerners could not bear labor in the southern

sun, and that therefore Negro labor was necessary for any advance of the South. The truth of this seems to have been that Negroes were less subject to malaria than whites and in the watery rice-fields malaria was one of the chief enemies. But in the Southeast commercial rice never extended beyond tidewater, twenty or thirty miles inland, and though rice cultivation resulted in great fortunes for a few and resultant social and political influence, the South as a whole got little from it. Meanwhile, giving the lie to the myth about the necessity for Negro labor, white yeoman farmers all over the South were working in the fields from sun to sun, often side by side with the one or two slaves they owned. It was a pleasant myth for a white Southerner to hold, especially as he sat on his broad piazza sipping a mint-julep, but few Southerners sat on broad piazzas, and fewer sipped juleps.

Granted, then, that the presence of slave-labor for a time did project the South more rapidly into the modern world than it could have gone without it, in the long run it held it back. There is no exact agreement as to how inefficient slave labor was as compared with free labor. One of the closest and most thoughtful observers was Frederich Law Olmstead, who travelled widely through the South during the 1850's. It was his opinion that free labor was about times as efficient as slave. It must be admitted that Olmsted held his thesis before he came South. There can be no doubt, however, that, whatever gains individual slave-owners made from slavery, the South as a whole was in the long run handicapped. One aspect of the handicap was the failure of the South to develop manufacturing, partly on the ground that Negroes could not handle

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the delicate processes. The fact is that to handle these processes the Negroes would have had to be trained, and this would have led to an advance not contemplated, and perhaps not possible, under slavery. Because of slavery, therefore, the South remained almost purely agricultural, and paid tribute to the increasing economic and political power of the North, though it was she who was providing the raw materials for the North's advance, and she had water-power abundantly available.

Looked at superficially, then, slavery was a part of modern man's capitalistic, exploitative thrust into the modern world. The Southern slaveowner of the nineteenth century was aiming at profits on his capital in the same way as was the Northern mill owner. But he was aiming less intelligently. According to Max Weber, the basic force that created modern capitalism was the acceptance by workers generally of the Calvinistic thesis that all work is for the glory of God. Holding such an idea, a nominally free worker could live practically in slavery and just above the edge of starvation. It was more than even a Calvinist could do to sell such an idea to a Negro slave; and for the most part the slaveowners were very imperfect Calvinists, especially as regards the doctrine of work, though we shall have to see what the Scotch-Irish did when they came into the South. Generally, about as far as the slave-owners got in their use of religion was to persuade the slaves to follow Paul's injunction, and 'obey their masters'.

The Southerner, therefore, adopted slavery because it seemed a faster way into the modern world. Like the Puritan, he was interested in this coming world, though not so

deeply or passionately. Perhaps because he was less passionately interested, he was less intelligently interested, and chose less effective means than those chosen by his Northern counterpart. But, now, having adopted slavery in order to speed his advance into the future, he began to find defenses for it in the past.

He didn't begin by seeking defenses; in the social climate of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, little defense was necessary. But being a man still rooted pretty deeply in the past, he handled this new exploitative device of chattel slavery, not in the pure modern spirit in which the Northern mill-owner learned to handle free production, but in a mixed spirit touched by the more slowly moving, the relatively static social order of the past. The Virginia and later the Carolina plantation owner thought of himself as an English squire living in the provinces. He felt the sense of a man's proper place, of every man in his place, and of a place for every man. That is, he thought of the plantation as a community, and of himself as belonging, with his plantation, to a larger community. When, in the later days of slavery, he began to refer to the slaves as 'our people', he was expressing not only his sense of relationship to his family and kin, but also his sense of relationship to the slaves. This sense of social order was very different from the stripped, individualism which in large part under the influence of Puritanism was to create the modern world.

The nineteenth century brought the romantic movement to the South, and with it a deeper involvement in and indeed entanglement with the past. For one aspect of the romantic

movement was its turning away from the immediate past, the rationalistic eighteenth century, and its increased interest in the more distant past of the Middle Ages, indeed, one may say, the deeper past of the Middle Ages, since that period was concerned with the emotional depths of man's life, in contrast to the eighteenth century, which tried to contain life at the shallower level of reason. It was in part the South's nineteenth century emphasis upon emotion and sentiment as opposed to reason that made it sympathetic to the vague shadowiness of the Middle Ages; but it also began to think of its social and economic structure as feudal. In this image, the masters were feudal lords and the slaves their retainers. This identification was made possible by the preeminence of personal life and personal loyalty as opposed to institutionalism, by the aristocratic emphasis upon family, and by the large influence of the eighteenth century Scotch-Irish settlers, who had brought with them some memory of Scottish feudalism out of their not distant past. The importance of the romances of Scott during the second quarter of the nineteenth century is a part of this same identification. It is doubtful if Southerners imitated directly the life that Scott set forth; however, they found in it much that was structurally akin to their life and therefore approved by it.

But because of the growing conflict within itself-- a conflict cloaked and submerged both by the authority of a leader like Calhoun and by the general will to present an undivided front to an unfriendly world-- the South was not sure which past it desired to model itself on. For while the sentimental South was reading Scott and holding medieval tournaments, complete with gallant knights and fair ladies, the more

sober South of the educated planter and the politician was steeping itself in Roman history. What appealed to them there was the dogmatic assurance of the Romans, their political ability, their excellence in conceiving laws and establishing a peaceful social order. Certainly there was little similarity between the clear and ordered, even if limited, mental processes of the Romans and the vague but hell-deep and heaven-high fears and hopes of medieval man. Yet the South was trying to interpret its life as both medieval and Roman. (Roman names were commonly given to slaves.) It may be that the lighter, the recreational, side of Southern life supported chiefly the medieval pattern: the ladies read Scott and participated with the young men in medieval tournaments. The more serious side, represented by planters, professional men, and politicians, looked back to Rome; and ~~that~~ the young men and young ladies, as they grew up, passed into the more exact and orderly antebellum world of plantation and legislative hall. But I doubt if it can be argued successfully that anything like a complete integration was attained between these two so different earlier worlds. Rather I think what we have here is one indication of the split within the Southern mind as it moved unsteadily out of the past into the future. It wanted to take the past with it; it wasn't willing to make such a clean break as the Puritans made; but because its mind was infected with the individualistic virus of the future, and because it had chosen slavery as a means of attaining that future more rapidly, it simply could not decide which past was most suitable to its purpose.

A few Southern leaders, Calhoun among them, even sought their model in Greece, and said that the South was trying to attain a Greek democracy. This would be a democracy--or perhaps aristocracy--of whites resting, as Greece rested, upon slave labor. But when we consider what the individualistic Greeks made of the leisure provided them by slave-labor, the towering philosophical edifices they created, we see how far the social-minded South was from Greece, how much closer it was to Rome, with its impressive edifice of law and order. And when, as I said, we add the Middle Ages to the models, we wonder what the South really wanted to be.

Of course, it didn't know! In this it was no different, except perhaps in degree, from the North. They were both coming out of the Medieval world into the Modern; they both knew better--because more concretely--what they disliked in the past than what they hoped for in the future. The North, disliking the past more, was more detached from it, and tended less to look for models within it. Instead of looking for models to imitate, it analyzed life and the world in the attempt to attain its hopes rationally. This rational attitude carried the North--and with it the nation--more rapidly into the future and the modern world; whether it brought a deeper fulfillment is another question. Life is so complex that it is impossible to determine clearly beforehand both the ends we desire and the means that will surely attain them. As I said, the Puritans went on an errand into the wilderness to find God; for the most part they have so far found only the wilderness of the modern world; whether a continued drive in the same direc-

tion will take them out of the wilderness, no one yet knows. As a matter of fact, your typical modern has lost his individualistic drive, and now mills about or joins up with any likely crowd looking temporarily in his direction.

It is significant not only that the South was confused about which historical model of society to adopt, but also that it looked for any model at all. For this, as we shall see--and I think there was no confusion here--was basic in the nature of the South. It tended to live, not by analysis, but by contemplation: of things that had existed in the past, of things that existed in the present. This is to say, it tended to live in an extended, a spatial world. Even at the deepest level, the religious, it tended to contemplate images, not to analyze procedures. It is this tendency toward contemplation that both relates the South more closely than the rest of the nation to the Middle Ages and also underlies that quality of leisure and relaxation that marks the life of the South. We shall have more to say about this during the course of this study.

To return to the increasing tension of the South caused by the insertion of slavery into its normal balanced attraction toward both future and past, let us consider briefly the career of John C. Calhoun. However brilliant Calhoun's mind, his thought illustrates the South's confusion in regard to, indeed its entanglement with, past and future time. For Calhoun in his defense of the economic and social order of the South--which he summed up in the phrase, its "peculiar institution"-- presented the South in essentially medieval terms, as a feudalistic, aristocratic society which was simply what

it had grown to be; that is, as an organism. As such, it had its own slow laws of growth and change, subject to its own inner forces, and not to be manipulated by political manoeuvers. Yet in his defense of this organic South, Calhoun not only called into play all the political ideas of the eighteenth century but, in his plea for the device of the concurrent majority, he carried a step further the eighteenth century's attempt to protect the individual against society and a minority group against the majority. The irony of this is that the politics of the eighteenth century had been conceived and elaborated primarily to destroy the lingering feudal powers of the Middle Ages. Calhoun, therefore, was trying to protect an American feudalism with the weapons that had been created to destroy a European feudalism; in other words, he was trying to use the future to protect that very past the future was bent on destroying. He was using the modern weapon of reason to protect the larger, non-rational life that had preceded it. It may be possible through reason to defend a life anterior to and larger than reason, but Calhoun was unable to do it.

In its final desperation, the antebellum South plunged deep into history, past the Middle Ages, past Rome, past Greece, until it came to Yahveh, the God of the ancient Jews. Even Calhoun made this step, but somewhat tentatively. It was left for the religious leaders of the South to retreat this far. But it will be easier to follow this retreat if we postpone its consideration a little. Let us ask first what effect Negro slavery had upon the South's sense of space.

I have spoken already of the wide-sprawling land. I have also said that the Virginia settlers brought to this land the tendency to take it at its face value, to sprawl across it, to relax within it. Actually, this quality of acceptance was more positive than I have suggested. For the early Virginians lived in the afterglow of the Elizabethan period. The very first settlers, Raleigh's ill-fated Lost Colony, had come during the spacious days of great Elizabeth herself. They had failed, and been lost, partly because in the new world to be settled individual courage was not enough. Their failure taught the next generation how to form, in the London Company, a prototype of the modern corporation, but the tide of Elizabethan adventure still ran strong, and many a man, indeed, many a common man crossed the wide ocean and landed on these strange shores partly for the glory of England. The adventure may have been mainly for gold, but the sense of the strange, the new, the undiscovered, of something hid behind the ranges, was also there, though it was to be a hundred years before this sense of adventure received its true image in the journey of Governor Spottswood, of Virginia, and his sixty gentlemen, westward through the province to the summit of the Blue Ridge, to look across the fabulous Valley of the Shenandoah lying before them. In fitting commemoration of this ride, Spottswood had gold medals struck and presented to the company. But this, you may say, was a mere gesture. It was a Southern gesture, matched and to be matched by the true frontiersmen of the South. Southward in Carolina, explorers, unsurpassed in the annals of the English in America, drove westward from CharlestTown, settled in 1670, and within a dozen years were trading along the Coosa River, seven hundred

miles to the west, and by 1705, had reached and crossed the Mississippi. In the last half of the eighteenth century came Daniel Boone, born indeed in Pennsylvania, but at sixteen migrating down the valley of the Shenandoah to North Carolina, so important in that early rush across the mountains into the bloody ground of Kentucky that he has become for all Americans the image of the perfect frontiersman. It seems now that Boone was largely a myth, but the myth grew in Southern soil. From the earliest days, and continuing for a long time, Southerners moved easily in space, seeking indeed richer and broader fields, but seeking also wider vistas, and whatever it was that lay within the boundless forests and beyond the towering hills.

The introduction and development of slavery affected both positively and negatively this large and generous, indeed this spacious attitude. For a liberal and spacious mind, given anything like the chance the Southern settlers had, sees around it a large and spacious world. If we glance briefly at this world two hundred and fifty years after it was discovered, at the opening of the Civil War, we can sense easily how this early largeness had given way to narrowness and intensity. Of course it may be said that this change was not due to slavery but to the general development of the American mind, from the adventurous spirit of the Elizabethans to the rational and calculating spirit of the nineteenth century. Undoubtedly there was such a development, but it is part of the thesis of this book that slavery was most important in narrowing the outlook of the South. It may also have deepened it, as we shall see.

I doubt if we know enough to say whether the existence of slavery dulled or sharpened the Southerner's drive

toward the frontier. It has generally been thought that the slave-operated plantations of the Southeast drove out the farms, and that the men who went west went because they were failing. But points out that emigration from the Southeast into the Old Southwest was greatest in boom years, and declined during normal years or years of failure. This would suggest that men tended to emigrate out of success rather than out of failure. It is certain that some backlog of success was necessary before a man could afford to risk the move. It is certain also that large plantation owners, because of the magnitude of their establishments, would be less apt to move than ordinary farmers. Probably the greatest movement came from among the predominantly Scotch-Irish, who had settled the piedmont of the Atlantic seaboard during the eighteenth century. Their restlessness causes Leyburn to refer to them as the typical American frontiersmen. In their earlier stay in the piedmont, they were mostly farmers, not plantation men. But even though it may be true that more farmers than plantation men emigrated into the Old Southwest, we still don't know what proportion of these emigrated in the hope of owning plantations in the new, unspoiled lands. The whole question is extremely complex.

Perhaps for us it's the wrong question. For we are concerned not with the question, Who went west? but with the question, Did the presence of slavery limit that spacious, and in America westward vision that Southerners natively possessed? There seems little doubt that it did. Beginning with 1820, the date of the Missouri Compromise, the South became increasingly aware of forces forming against it and of the lines tightening

about it. It was during this period that in the North the West was thought of as boundless space; boundless and innocent, untouched by time, free of the evils of great cities, of the past, of Europe. In these vast expanses, men would become men again, beginning anew like Adam in the Garden, sounding, like Whitman, their "barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world." Cooper's famous scout, "Leatherstocking" was such a man, untouched by the evils of time and civilization, living along the hither edge of boundless space, in a perpetual and innocent dawn.

It is clear that this view could not obtain to any great degree in the South. After the Missouri Compromise, as before, any Northerner could pick up his belongings, lock stock and barrel, and move into any area of the United States where he could find land; but after this same compromise no slaveowning Southerner, or no Southerner who hoped to own slaves, could do the same, for slavery was limited to a certain region. That region may have been, in all conscience, wide enough, but it certainly was not the boundless west which existed in the imagination of the Northern settler. True, the Northern settler might not wish to move into slave territory, or into territory that might become so, but he certainly could if he wished to, and take all his property with him. True also that only a minority of Southerners owned slaves, and non-slaveowners saw before them as spacious a frontier as any Northerner; yet slaveowning was a basic fact in the South, and the slave-operated plantation its ideal. A few Southerners were so opposed to slavery that they left the South for free states. The Quakers

are the most notable example; but the general mind of the South was not opposed; and this general mind was aware of the limits drawn about the frontier by the will of the North.

This sense of limitation within the nation drove the South finally to its excessive dreams of a frontier in Mexico, in South America, in Cuba. They would create a slave-empire, whose inland sea would be the Gulf of Mexico. This may seem to indicate a sense of spaciousness far greater than their Elizabethan forebears had; but it was not the natural expression of man seeking to explore a great world in which they felt at home, but rather the aggressive drive of men feeling space tightening about them and trying to break out before they are finally bound. This is an indication of the extremism, the narrowness, that overtook the moderate Englishmen who settled the South. Its cause lay in slavery and the struggles incident to it, though also, it should be added, in the extensive influence of the more radical Scotch-Irish from the mid-eighteenth century on.

Along with this growing sense of limitation went the development of a sense of tragedy. Regardless of what guilt the South may have felt about slavery, whether conscious or repressed and unconscious, the nineteenth century South had lost that innocence which the North in its westward thrust was luxuriating in, and which, indeed, the nation has never really outgrown. But before discussing this incipient tragic sense of the South, an attitude closely related to the religious, we need to see what slavery did to the Southern sense of place, itself a primary Southern creation out of empty space.

It can be said that the Southerner, more than the Northerner, created place out of space, Of course, during the

first two centuries of settlement, there could hardly have been any clearly distinguishable difference between the two sections on this score. The roots of the difference were there, but the fruits were hardly distinguishable. The Puritans, being more abstract and other-worldly minded--in whatever sense "another world" is used--were naturally less concerned with a place, or with places, in this world. For any earthly place was simply a poor and indeed distorted shadow of heavenly place; and a man's place in this world had, originally, nothing to do with his place in another. But Puritans were also Englishmen and heirs of Shakespeare, with a keen sense of natural beauty. Being fearful, however, of the beauty of the eye and charm of the flesh, they tried to see them as corrupted substitutes for heavenly beauty. They built simple but beautiful homes and cherished the places in which they lived. But when the glory of God faded, both from the intensity with which they sought it and from the increasing glitter of the new world, they found themselves, as Yankees, losing their early, and secondary, sense of place, and beginning to think more sternly of space, and of what, in how little time, could be done with it. Increasingly space and its products came to be considered exploitable, first of course for the glory of God but later for the profit of the exploiter. Rolling fields became potential crops, green trees lumber, mountains ore, and water power. The sense of place, with all its connotations, began to fade and to be superseded by mathematical space--measurable acres and weighable products. Space, not place, determines a factory: so many floors, so many square feet, so many miles from spaces where raw

materials exist and possible consumers live, so many miles of railroad, river, and canal linking factory space with raw meterial and consumer spaces.

The Southern settlers, too, wanted space--to grow tobacco and cotton, or to expand farms into plantations. And the space they sought was as abstract as that sought by Puritans and Yankees. No, not quite, even from the beginning. For they did not really believe this spacious world was a blank or even evil place, inhabited by corrupt and infinitely corruptible men. They were too richly embued with Shakespeare's sense of England as a "pearl set in a silver sea," and consequently of the new land as also in some sense a jewel. Of course, it carried overtones of another world, implications of heaven and hell, for all the American settlers were the immediate heirs of the Middle Ages and were therefore religious. But the Southern settlers were willing to take it more as it was, to relax more within it, to exploit it less radically. Actually, and over the years, they raped it, with unbroken crops of tobacco and cotton. But that they did not change it so radically as did the New England settlers is proved by the double comparison: present-day urban and industrial New England with its 1620 landscape, and present-day largely agricultural South with its 1607 landscape. Of course the South remained agricultural partly because the soil and the climate, and, later, slave labor, suggested it; but also because the Southerner did not wish to make so rapid a change from the past to the future, from the highly concrete world of the farm to the highly abstract world of the factory. He was not satisfied with an abstract space, however completely

it might be filled with abstract machines and abstract people. He wanted to live now, not merely get ready to live in the future; in order to live he had to have a place to live in, he had to convert space into place. He made such changes in the landscape as were necessary for this. Oh, of course, as I have said, he did more; he too was modern man on the make; he too exploited the fields, and rushed westward seeking more space out of which to carve another place. But at his best he took from the native forest only such areas as would produce his limited crops, and did not level the whole to make factories and towns. He never forgot that he wanted a place to live in, in this world.

We have spoken about the mathematical quality of space. What is the distinguishing quality of place? As I am using the term, place is any limited area of space that has been humanized. It is humanized chiefly by the lives of those who live there. The basic element in this humanization consists of those rather vague filaments of emotion we call sentiments. John Crowe Ransom has pointed out that the knowledge that accompanies these sentiments is closely akin to aesthetic knowledge; we shall recur to this idea. Here we need only note that these sentimental ties--or ties of sentiment-- develop slowly and, especially as concerns places rather than people, usually in connection with our work. Places where we have worked, especially if they are more than factory rooms arranged mathematically only for work, hold for us a sentimental value; the space that composes them has been humanized.

In an agricultural area, such as the South has been, these places predominantly lie open to space. Down every tobacco

and cotton row a vista runs, to lose itself in the green woods beyond or in the spacious sky above the woods. Look in any direction, north, east, south or west, and up or down, there is nature, leading the eye or the thought into infinite distance. Furthermore, any agricultural place not only lies underneath the spacious sky but depends upon it: the warmth of its sunshine, the refreshment of its rain. As the result of this evident setting, of the farm place in space, the farmer, bound by ties of sentiment to his own fields and woods, ~~is also bound by sen-~~ ~~timent to his own fields and woods,~~ is also bound by sentiment, however vague, to the infinite space that overarches and surrounds them, to the appearance of the moon over the southeast corner of his barn, to the stars above his chimneys.

The essential point is this: to the degree that a portion of space becomes place, space itself becomes place. The particular carries the spaciousness of the universal, the universal the warmth of the particular. He who is really at home in the world is at home, for the tendrils of home, though in their inception particular, spiral outwards until they tangle with the stars. A real love of this world is not, finally, a love just of this world.

Now, of course, this is to put in rather high poetic language the simple and often crude affairs of those Englishmen--and others--who settled and developed the South. But the fact that few were conscious of this view of the world, and still fewer probed its implications, does not alter the probability that such a view predominated. For the Southern settlers, as we have imagined them, brought to the New World a distinct quality of at-homeness in the Old; brought therefore rich memories of the

past to mix with great dreams of the future; brought therefore a determination to create from New World spaciousness--pure space--not merely desirable material products, but places to which they could attach themselves, as they had been attached to places in England, and to which they could belong. Granted that for a while the struggle was too hard for men to realize this ideal more than slightly. Granted also that many men, even many free men, never realized it richly. Because of the land and climate and because of the transference to the South of the English ideal, an aristocracy of land came into being. It was a fluid aristocracy, over several generations rising and sometimes falling. But it expressed the dominant ideal of the South; and undoubtedly those who composed it had a clear sense of places, and of place. Through their influence this became the dream of much of the South.

The accent upon physical place is also an accent upon pause, perhaps upon contemplation, and is thus related to the basically relaxed attitude of the Southerner. For if I feel myself surrounded only by space, there is little I can do except, in the spirit of Faustian man, project myself actually or imaginatively down its endless vistas, or modify its material into something even more abstract and suited to the thinness of space. But in so far as space becomes place, it binds me to it, and causes me to linger among, even to contemplate, the objects that compose it.

The sense of social place, of place in the social order, is merely an extension of the sense of physical place we have been discussing. Furthermore, the ties that bind us

to social place, like those that bind us to physical place, are both economic and sentimental. Just as we want and need to belong to a physical place, so we want and need to belong to a social place. Or,more simply, as we want to belong to nature so we want to belong to humanity. Indeed, it is simpler than this. We want to belong to the world that immediately surrounds us and that stretches infinitely away from us; and the world is things and people. At the deepest level, our sense of belonging is to this complex. The spirit of this complex we call God. At the deepest level we wish to belong to God.

The South possessed from the beginning, and kept, a strong sense of social place. It was more closely bound to the medieval, feudalistic, aristocratic past than the Puritan North was. Though the existence of the frontier continually weakened this sense--as indicated by the roistering democracy of the Jacksonian era--and though the Civil War, and its long aftermath, almost destroyed it, even today it isn't quite gone. And here the Negro slave enters. Without him, there might have been only a healthy, creative tension between past and future, and between empty space and filled places. Without him, the Southerner might have been balanced between frontier space and the home place, lured forward by the hints of wild spaces that have never been eliminated from the South, held back by the memories of home that would shape into place even the wildest frontier. But with the coming of the Negro slave, and especially with the dominance of slavery, place, perhaps physical certainly social, became too important. For here, at the base of society, was a large group that had been frozen into place, regardless of its own needs or wishes. This static element retarded and at times stopped the natural

movement of the South into the future, swayed forward by both the pull of the rich land and by the eager, modern, worldly desires of Southerners, swayed backward by the memory of a past too attractive to be simply dismissed or, even worse, denied. With the Negro slave fixed irrevocably in place, without past or future, the whole South slowed down, stopped, even turned backward in the vain attempt to defend before the modern world its "peculiar institution." Though in theory all white men were free to change their places as desire and native ability demanded, and though they did change, so much indeed that the current aristocracy was always aware that change was occurring, though indeed they felt their freedom even more keenly because they saw slaves about them, and so boasted of that freedom, nevertheless, in the long run, and under the dangerous pressure of the ever more critical North, they lost the right--and most of them even the wish--to change the basic economic life of the South, even to suggest such a change, almost to think about it. And, as Emerson has pointed out, if there is one thing you cannot think about, there is nothing you can think about. So, in the years before the Civil War--and in much of the period since--the South, which had never emphasized thought, because it felt no urgent need of it to defend the kind of life it preferred, found itself unable to think at all. This has been, and perhaps still is, one of its basic lacks, its basic errors. Slavery did not create it, but it so intensified the native tendency that inner crystallization and outer pressure combined to shatter the region.

So slavery intensified toward the breaking-point the originally creative tension between the future and the past,

between space and place. If the South had been left alone, it would certainly in time have rid itself of the incubus of the past as represented by slavery with its law of immutable place; for the South in any case was a part of that modern civilization that has now run to the edges of the world. But it was too closely bound to the North, geographically, economically, politically, to be permitted this event. Even while the South was maintaining a type of man clearly marked by feudal characteristics, the North was evolving the stripped and abstract modern, intent almost entirely upon the future and the mathematical enclosure of mathematical space. The South, lying next door, was so much space that could be profitably enclosed. Furthermore, this modern American, because of his Puritan ancestry, was both a democrat and a humanitarian; it is a question to what degree he was humanitarian because of his democratic, equalitarian leanings, and to what degree because of his abstract productive practices. In any case he was both equalitarian and humanitarian, and the South, physically nearby, offered a chance for profitable good deeds that could not be resisted. In the ensuing struggle, the South was almost inevitably defeated, both because it was really pitting itself against the modern world, represented here by the North, and because all the modern tendencies it carried within itself sympathized with the North and struggled against its own backward-looking desires.

But, in the years immediately preceding the actual conflict, these forward-looking national tendencies of the South were driven deep underground, and the Southern mind that, during the first two centuries of its existence had been the most expansive mind in America, creating first the far-ranging traders

and the scout Daniel Boone, and then that galaxie of world-statesmen centred in Virginia, now shortened its range, narrowed and intensified its focus, and became provincial and indeed chauvinistic. From having brooded with Raleigh upon the star-filled glory of the world, it came to a gossipy analysis of its neighbor's thoughts and intentions. From an image of place as centred here but running endlessly outward, and sacred because belonging to the whole, it came to an image of place limited to the boundaries of the South, loved too intensely because threatened by a dangerous world beyond the Potomac, and defended blindly and fiercely because in mortal danger. The Southerner became inordinately proud of a land cherished beyond limit and reason. The level-headed South Carolinian of 1800, following Calhoun not wisely but too well, became the Hotspur of 1860.

CHAPTER VII

"THE PURITANS OF THE SOUTH"

But the presence of the Negro not only displaced the South from the nation, it also, and more subtly, displaced the non-puritan white settler from that universal home in which he was inclined, but too complacently, to dwell. The enslaved Negro tended to cut the white off from the earth, and therefore from that god of earth, an incarnate God, he was both temperamentally and environmentally disposed to worship.

Had been disposed to worship. Had been disposed to worship before the coming of the Scotch-Irish changed the quality of Southern culture. For the corruption wrought by slavery was not wrought mainly in the somewhat simple, predominantly English South of the first century of settlement, but in the complex English-Scotch-Irish South of, say 1750-1860. Before we consider this corruption, therefore, we must ask how the coming of the Scotch-Irish modified the temper of the earlier South.

I realize that the Scotch-Irish, who, as we shall see, were strict puritans, had been long preceded by another group of puritans, the French Huguenots. These had come mainly around 1700, following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and had settled rather numerously in South Carolina. There they tended to become successful planters and merchants, and to unite easily with the rising English aristocracy of that province. Doubtless they brought to the ruling class in South Carolina a certain soberness and strictness, but they were neither sufficiently numerous nor sufficiently extreme to modify the typically English South as the Scotch-Irish did.

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* I am indebted for the materials of this chapter especially to James G. Leyburn, The Scotch- Irish: A Social History, Chapel Hill, 1962

Some two hundred or more thousand of these came to America in the great migrations between 1717 and 1775, and most of them settled in the South. There had been a few before this time; they continued to come after it; but it was only during this period that they came almost by communities and settled in communities. Why were they and why did they come?

They were originally lowland Scots, who had emigrated to northern Ireland during the seventeenth century, in what was basically a political emigration, set in motion by James I of England--and VI of Scotland-- in 1610, and carried on by his successors. Its purpose was to settle the King's Ulster Plantation, that ravaged stretch of northern Ireland, from which the Irish had been driven by English arms or in which they scatteringly remained under English domination.

Though others beside the Lowland Scots were settled in Ulster, especially some dissenters from London, the Scots formed the great majority, and set the tone of the settlement. In a sense it was a movement of frontiersmen to a new frontier. For the lowland Scots had lived for centuries on the border between England and Scotland; and when in Ulster they were forced to defend themselves against the outraged Irish they were doing little more than they had done intermittently against the English for some four centuries. They would carry this same readiness for defense and attack to the American frontier of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

As lowland Scots they had found life hard. A poor soil, a poor and backward country, beyond the stream of the European Renaissance, but, through John Knox, fired by the zeal of the

Reformation. In 1561, they revolted against Rome and established the Scottish Kirk. Then, with marvellous speed, they turned from widespread ignorance and irreligion to an unheard of passion for knowledge and the church.

Those who went to Ulster did so primarily because the economic outlook was better there. They still had the Irish to contend with, as they had once had the English; but as they had long ago learned to rebuild hastily their clay huts destroyed by English raids, so now they learned to build stone houses and walls against the marauding Irish. Again, though they did not know it, they were fitting themselves for the dangerous and mobile life on the American frontier.

Why, between 1717 and 1775 did they leave Ulster in such numbers for America? Religion had something to do with it, economics--and politics--more. Religiously, what galled them most was the 1703 Test Act of Queen Anne, which required all office-holders to take the sacraments according to the prescriptions of the Established Church. Queen Anne was High Church, the Ulstermen Presbyterians, their lives wrapped up in their theology and especially in their church. As for economics, it was in part the very success of the Ulstermen that got them into trouble. Having a climate admirably fitted to sheep-raising, they raised sheep, and soon manufactured so much woolen goods that the English manufacturers had the production outlawed. The same thing happened when Ulster turned to flax and the manufacture of linen. The truth was, North Ireland was an English Plantation, and the English didn't know what to do with it. Added to this costly uncertainty were the dought-ridden years from 1714 to 1719. Finally, there was the suffering caused by rack-renting, the

raising of rent upon the expiration of a lease, many of which expired about this time. By 1717 the great migration to America had begun. Sometimes whole communities went together, taking their pastor with them. These migrations continued until the American Revolution. They increased during periods of economic disaster in Ulster.

Where did they settle in America? As a rule, they steered clear of the South, since this was already the land of plantations, and they were for the most part small farmers. They tried New England, where, as strict Presbyterians, they should have found the puritan atmosphere congenial. But by that time the New Englanders had become New Englanders, disposed to view with condescension or even displeasure all outsiders, especially such outsiders as these, in the New England view, uncultured, rough and dirty. In such an atmosphere, the Scotch-Irish did not feel at home. They had heard that New York was harsh on dissenters; they had also heard of the immense plantations along the Hudson. This left the Middle Colonies, with Philadelphia the largest city. Therefore, most of them landed in this area, and, being mainly farmers, they spread out westward and occupied the open land in the Great Valley. Succeeding groups settled this valley westward until it reached the mountains; then they turned southward down the valley of Virginia. They followed this to the end, and, facing the choice of crossing the mountains to the west or fanning out southward through the hills into the North Carolina piedmont, they chose the latter. This was during the 1740's and '50's. During the 1760's, they were filling the South Carolina piedmont, and, before the Revolution, had passed into the Georgia piedmont.

In thus settling the backcountry of the southeastern states, the Scotch-Irish were the first, the largest, and the most effective group of American pioneers. The historians of the American frontier, chief among them Frederick Jackson Turner, have usually taken the position that the frontier began to assert its power in American history after the Revolution. It was then that the Appalachians were crossed by numerous settlers, and the wave of the frontier began to sweep toward the Pacific. It was Turner's theory that the growth of American democracy depended upon the free land that bounded on the west every successive frontier.

But this same growth may be seen in the Scotch-Irish who, during the middle of the eighteenth century, flowed southwestward through the lower valleys and the foothills of the Appalachians. These people had left, a hundred years before, the poor soil of lowland Scotland, for the better land and climate of northern Ireland. They were still seeking land--more land and better land--in the southern piedmont. Driven by this desire, and by an unaccountable restlessness, they poured southward in a stream down the Valley of Virginia, and, reaching its end, inundated the Carolina piedmont. In Scotland, they had lived under feudalism--they had once been clansmen, but that was gone now some hundreds of years--proud though poor followers of their lairds and lords. In Ulster they had moved away from feudalism, toward the free, contractual position of the modern man. They were still closely bound together, however, by their most important institution, the church, and by their general acceptance of a class society, in which men of position rightfully held influence and power and other men followed their lead. When

they left Ulster, they had no intention of leaving this kind of society behind; they were not seeking what we know as democratic freedom. They came with the intention of setting up in America the same kind of social structure they had had in Ulster, with the exception, perhaps, that ehey would be less under the thumbs of the English manufacturers and the Established Church. They brought with them a class structure, and the Presbyterian Church; and, as conditions permitted, they preserved these institutions. The first desire of every newly settled community was a church, with a minister who would also conduct, if possible, a school; the next, was a store, with perhaps a tavern; third, a court, with a judge, and lawyers to plead cases. But, inevitably, as they continued to move, land-hungry and notable restless, in sharp contrast to the Germans who were trickling into the South at the same time, they became more individualistic, the old structure of class and family weakened, the church could not always keep up with the advance, and wildness and impetuosity increased. Without really intending it, they began to develop a democratic independence, and to value a man,not for what his family had been but for what he was.

From the very beginning, the predominantly English settlers of the seaboard, perhaps more conservative originally, and certainly made more conservative by the experience of a hundred years of settlement and by the establishment of a great plantation system, viewed them with some concern. It is true, Penn had welcomed them; it is also true that Virginia made large grants in the valley in the 1730's upon condition that they be settled, especially for purposes of defense, and the Scotch-Irish were the

chief settlers. But these Scotch-Irish, in contrast to the generally peaceful and patient Pennsylvanians, wanted land and cared little about the Indians from whom they took it. They had spent a hundred years in Ulster holding the land they had in effect stolen from the Irish, and they probably felt that since they could make more out of Pennsylvania land than the Indians could, it belonged to them.

They were not only quick to take and fierce to hold, they insisted upon being treated fairly by the Tidewater governments. In Pennsylvania, they got up a Remonstrance against the government, and then with arms and a great show of force presented it. In the piedmont of North Carolina, they were the backbone of the Regulators, who fought Governor Tryon because they felt they were being unjustly taxed; in South Carolina they were also the backbone of the Regulators, who, angered because Charleston would not give them courts, drove out by themselves the murderers and other desperadoes that infested the backcountry. Whether they thought they had too much government or too little, they were quick to act, and if necessary violently, to change the situation.

Now, all this raises the question as to how this great group of Scotch-Irish, after the English by far the largest group in the South, were balanced against or mixed with the earlier English in the formation of the Southern character.

As to the physical mixing of the two groups, we know generally what happened. Until the Revolution, the Scotch-Irish settled in loose communities, down the Valley of Virginia and through the piedmont of North Carolina, South Carolina, and northeastern Georgia. Between them and the earlier coastal settlers, mainly English, there was a fairly clear division, in North

Carolina marked by a broad belt of unsettled land. There was also a rather marked opposition: the English felt that, though the Scotch-Irish were excellent frontiersmen, they were wild and lawless; the Scotch-Irish felt that the English were dictatorial and oppressive. But, after the Revolution, with the frontier now beyond the Appalachians, the Scotch-Irish frontiersmen generally moved as individuals, settled at random among other westward-moving individuals, and undoubtedly intermarried with them. Now they began to think of themselves, not as Irishmen, which they had called themselves before, but, if they looked backward, as Virginians or Carolinians.

They were typical frontiersmen. We have noted their preparation for this, both in Ulster and in the Southern piedmont. It may well be that families of Scotch-Irish descent carried into the Mississippi Valley and the Gulf region more of the pioneer spirit than did the men who came from the coastal and plantation areas. So far as we know, however, these two groups mixed on the successive antebellum frontiers, and together created the Southern type, especially in its western expression. The question that is still unanswered is this: To what degree did the old seaboard and early plantation South remain one, opposed by, balanced by, cooperating with that newer South, the Old Southwest? to what degreeddid these two regions dissolve and fuse and the basic attitudes of the early South extend into the Southwest to modify the typical Scotch-Irish frontier attitudes, while these extended backward to modify the Atlantic seaboard attitudes? To phrase this question differently: to what degree was the antebellum South one, a compound of plantation and farm, of settled seaboard and moving frontier? to what

degree was it two, with the conservative forces lying mainly in the southeast, the progressive forces in the Old Southwest?

The question raised here is really a question as to when the Southerner came into being. Was he in existence before the Civil War? Did that war only stamp deeply into his nature what he already was? Or did it create him? Certainly the Civil War and the hendred years since have been tremendously important in producing the Southerner we know today. But did he already exist before that war as a distinguishable type, only to be made more clearly distinguishable and more definitely himself, by that conflict and the hundred years since?

Of this much we can be sure: The materials that were to form his character were in existence before the Civil War, whether fused together to form that character or not. Out of the furnace of war and reconstruction the white Southerner appeared. I think we can show also that out of the pressures and lures of all his history, the Southerner is appearing today.

Let us consider how the Scotch-Irish, either singly or in groups, modified and were modified by the earlier settlers, who were predominantly English.

In the first place, the plantation was the most important economic institution among the English, the farm among the Scotch-Irish. The Scotch-Irish, however, were notoriously land-hungry, and, therefore, wherever conditions permitted, they enlarged their farms to plantations and employed slave-labor. Through much of the Southern piedmont, physical conditions were not highly favorable to the establishment of plantations, which demand a staple crop easily cultivatable by untrained labor. But

when, following the Revolution, the invention of the cotton gin, and the expansion of the Scotch-Irish -- and others -- into the Nashville Basin, western Tennesses, and the broad-lying fertile lands of Alabama and Mississippi, the Scotch-Irish were as quick as others to develop plantations. Their Presbyterianism--or the Baptist or Methodist faith which many of them adopted on the frontier--was no bar to slave-ownership. Indeed, with their strong feeling that land belonged to those who could use it best, a feeling developed both in Ulster and on the early Indian frontier, went naturally the feeling that the labor of other men belonged to those who could direct it best. Except among the Quakers, there was little feeling against slavery before the American Revolution.

Furthermore, though the plantation did not become the dream and legend of the South until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, its ownership had become very early the mark of those who directed and controlled society; of the elite; of the aristocrats. And, though the Scotch-Irish had little sense of aristocracy, they had brought to this country, as we have seen, and had long maintained the sense of a graded society, with the best people at the top. The best people, in America, would soon have wide acres, "hands" to work them, and leisure and other evidences of culture as yet unattained by the many below them. Piedmont South Carolina, for instance, was settled almost entirely by Scotch-Irish. Yet, during the first years of the nineteenth century, the plantation system swept northwestward across the piedmont to the very foot of the Blue Ridge.

Along with this spread of the plantation across the South, into areas suitable and sometimes unsuitable, went some sense of order and stability, a necessary characteristic of the

plantation economy. The larger the plantation, the better it had to be organized to insure success; also, as a rule, the larger the plantation, the more settled and stable. It was a much simpler task to pick up a farm, lock, stock and barrel, and move it a hundred or five hundred miles west than it was to pick up a plantation. As a result, the restlessness of the Scotch-Irish, and their impetuosity, were to some degree modified and restrained by the possession of plantations. At the same time, the plantation economy, moving sestward to successive frontiers, was continually made less stable and more fluid, as the individualism of the frontier, and the swift rise and fall of fortunes there, affected it. This had now become the dynamic, westward-surging nineteenth century America, entirely different in tone from the established, stable plantation economy of the Atlantic seaboard during much of the eighteenth century.

With the advent of both the Scotch-Irish and the urgent frontier, education and religion would change. The education of the seaboard had been humane and aristocratic. Its ideal was the Renaissance gentleman, the well-rounded man of outdoor sports, of business, of culture. Few could aspire to such an education. The mass of men got along without it; indeed, without much education of any kind, since the broad, open, practical life of the South seemed to demand little. The simple farmer, the artisan, secure in their own positions, observed for the most part without envy, and indeed with admiration, the power and the privilege of the great.

But the Scotch-Irish brought to America an entirely different ideal. From being among the most ignorant people of Europe, their lowland Scots ancestors had, with the establish-

ment of the Scotch Kirk in 1561, became most passionately concerned about education. But this was an education connected with the church, essentially a religious and moral education, of the type fostered by the schoolmen of the Middle Ages; it was not the rich humanism of the Renaissance, which was the aim of the Southern aristocrat. It was also supposed to be an education for every man. The Governor of Massachussets, in 1718, commenting upon a petition signed by an Ulster community, requesting permission to settle in Massachusetts, said that "It may well be questioned, whether in any part of the United Kingdom at that time...so large a proportion as ninety-six per cent of promiscuous householders in the common walks of life could have written their own names." ((Leyburn p.151)). As these Scotch-Irish moved southwestward and westward in America, they carried with them wherever they could the community church and, connected with it, the church school, conducted, if possible by the minister.

The effect of this strict and limited moral and theological education, given both in school and in the logical Calvinistic sermon, was to increase the dogmatism and pride of a people already stern, hard, and proud. Such an education was also in strong contrast to the richer and more humane education of the coastal aristocracy, and to the unpretentious lack of education of the yeoman farmer and artisan of that region.

The humanist education of the coastal aristocracy had assumed character and moral integrity as an essential part of the gentleman. But only as a part. Beyond this was his administrative ability, his physical prowess in war and peace,

his religious decorum and piety, his personal charm--that is, his total manner. Among the Scotch-Irish and their mixed descendants on the moving frontier, so long as the church was strong enough to control them, there was a certain restraint and softening exerted by the community. But as these people moved rapidly westward, out of reach of the church, or, in their native restlessness and impetuosity, refused to obey the church, the hard, dogmatic character induced by their life and theology tended to become violent and corrupt, even while retaining a sense of its own rightness.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Methodists and the Baptists generally captured the frontier from the Presbyterians. The Baptists did this by not insisting, as the Presbyterians did, upon educated preachers; the Methodists, for the same reason, and also because of their circuit riders, who could cover, however sketchily, large areas. Through these steps, and originally through the influence of the Scotch-Irish, the Puritanism of the South developed. It was from the beginning different from that of New England more than a century earlier. The deeply passionate introspection of the New England Puritan, and his wide interest in humanist education, were both lacking. The Scotch-Irish were not interested in humanist education, and their introspection was not spiritual but dogmatic and logical. As their passage through successive frontiers lessened their education and increased their individualism, they became increasingly moralistic; also, as part of the effect of the lonely, violent, and boring frontier upon their restless and impetuous nature, they became increasingly emotional.

Thus, at the time when the original American Puritanism had practically played out in New England, there came to the South a puritanism stripped of most of its social and intellectual interests down to the bare bones of an individual morality and the vacuity of a highly emotional religion.

We know that during the nineteenth century this religion of the frontier washed backward and affected even the seaboard states. Even the leaders here moved from the quiet deism of the eighteenth century to the evangelical theism of the nineteenth. The change is illustrated by one fact in the history of South Carolina. Dr. Thomas Cooper was president of the state University from the early 1820's until 1834; he was wither a deist or an atheist. Some twenty years later, Dr. James Thornwell, Presbyterian preacher, defender of God, slavery, and the Southern way of life, was president.

The Scotch-Irish and the frontier--perhaps we may say the frontier Scotch-Irish--together with the advance of the nineteenth century sharpened and intensified the religion of the South. It had been, if anything at all, a somewhat urbane Episcopalianism, supported largely by liturgical form; it became individual, emotional, moralistic and creedally inflexible. There had been no strong intellectual structure in the eighteenth century church; there was no strong intellectual structure in the nineteenth, though the nineteenth century dogmatic emphasis upon creed gave the appearance of an intellectual structure. In its slight regard for intellectual training, the South had not changed. It still did not believe that one had to think hard, perhaps passionately, either to live in this

world or to prepare for another. It had become emotionally more intense without becoming intellectually stronger. It was therefore inclined to substitute for the more genial acceptance of earlier days a dogmatic and generally negative assurance. Southerners were beginning to be more certain of what they were against than of what they were for. Of course, this dogmatism, though most deeply rooted in the emotional puritanism of the Scotch-Irish, was nourished by national events that limited the vision of the South and put it on the defensive.

But connected with this unfortunate weakness of intellectual concern was a positive force which the English South had possessed and which was not diminished by the coming of the Scotch-Irish. Thés was the deep, essentially religious feeling that life is not explainable, that the very existence of man is a mystery, and that he lives out his brief day against a dark, incomprehensible background. The typical Southerner has never thought, either in the earlier, more complacent period or in the later more intense period, that he could think his way out. The quality of his religion has changed, but he has not become irreligious. He has not explained the mystery away. This is a result of his closeness to the concrete, inexplicable fact, the grain of sand that contains the world. If through the poverty of his abstract thinking, he has failed to rush headlong into the modern world, through this same poverty he has succeeded in keeping his religion. But he would have done better--indeed, he would do better if he thought more poetically about that religion.

The one thing that the Scotch-Irish surely brought to the South was an added inwardness and intensity. We have already

spoken of the frank, open, public nature of the early Southerner; his rather simple and relaxed acceptance of the world and of himself. The Scotch-Irish came from a harsher world, of Lowland Scotland and of Ulster; and brought with them a harsher attitude toward the world and men, including themselves. They took the land they wanted and, in contrast to their fellow German settlers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, defended it with their lives; they were hard upon others and upon themselves. Their theology, properly, was more world-denying and self-denying than that of the earlier English settlers. It had to be: they were more wild and impulsive, and strayed further from the fold; they had to be brought back and kept there by the stern measures of the community institution they valued most, the church. In their acceptance of such restraint, however formal it may often have been, they indicated their realization of their own need for restraint. In spite of their individualism and their inwardness, this was a public, community force they generally recognized.

Yet we should note that they never denied this world with the extremity and passionate intensity of the New England Puritans. Though religion did have something to do with their coming to America, it was not too important. They were opposed only, though strongly of course, to certain matters of form and polity insisted upon by the English Established Church. Their quarrel was primarily over church government, not over the basic question of man's relation to God. In so far as religion motivated their coming to America, they came not to be bothered; they had no idea of finding God in the wilderness, and establishing his true kingdom there. Mainly they wanted more land and

better, and more assured crops. They injected into the blood-stream of the South, therefore, a puritanism more limited and moderate, except for its emotionalism, than that of New England; a puritanism much closer to the general religious attitude of the English settlers of the South. Though they were called, even during the eighteenth century, "The Puritans of the South," and "The Yankees of the South", they were Puritans and Yankees with a difference, a difference so great that they were both absorbed into and absorbed the earlier life of the South. As a result we have now a mixture in the South that it is almost impossible to define, a mixture of inwardness and outwardness, of individual and community, of satisfaction in the present and drive into the future, of this world and another, of acceptance of life and sharp rejection, and, in regard to the racial problem every white Southerner faces, a mixture of shame and guilt.

In the non-introspective world of the early South, and in whatever twilight of that world lingered in the older states even until the Civil War and afterwards, the slave-owner was moved rather by a sense of shame if he mistreated a Negro than by a sense of guilt that he kept him in slavery. There was a code about the treatment of slaves, as about most other things, and a man was shamed if he failed to keep it. But with the movement of the plantation westward, even to the very frontier, and with the coming of the more individualistic, inward Scotch-Irish Presbyterians--and their successors, the Baptists and the Methodists--with the passage also of time, into the more materialistic--and also more idealistic and emotional--nineteenth century, the code of the gentleman, the code of the community, began

to deteriorate and break down and to be replaced by the more inward sense of guilt and sin. In the post-Revolutionary, humanitarian nineteenth century, it became hard for men to avoid a sense of guilt just for keeping other men in slavery, regardless of how humane the treatment of the slave might be. The desperate effort the South made to justify slavery by involved religious arguments in the decade preceding the Civil War suggests how deep the sense of guilt was that demanded such justification. This generally unrecognized and unadmitted guilt in regard to the Negro inevitably increased the distance between white and Negro, and produced in many whites a bitterness toward the Negro that had not existed before. Among those who had the power, this bitterness expressed itself in harsh treatment. So on the very deepest level, and in regard to the South's greatest problem, the coming of the Scotch-Irish, especially in the role of frontiersmen which they naturally assumed, modified the earlier South radically, and, it would seem, unfortunately.

It is generally held to be a social advance for men to transfer right and wrong from the outer to the inner world, and to act from self-approval and condemnation rather than from social approval and condemnation. What has happened in the South, however, is this: during the past two centuries' decline of the plantation ethos, the Negro, never occupying an equal place in the community, has been pushed increasingly onto its outskirts. (We are of course witnessing now his slow integration into the community.) Along with the weakening of his ties with the community went decreasing shame on the part of the community at the mistreatment he received. If this decreasing shame

had been balanced by an increasing sense of guilt, there would have been a general improvement in the Negro's situation. There was indeed an increase in the sense of guilt in the South. It resulted from the growing individualism of the frontier, of the nineteenth century, of the Scotch-Irish, and especially of their Calvinistic religion. But the guilt had little to do consciously with the South's treatment of the Negro; it had to do with individual sins, especially adultery, drunkenness, gambling. It is highly probable that the ease with which this guilt could be aroused stemmed from the backlog of unrecognized guilt resulting from the unjust treatment of the Negro. In a region as insistent upon community as the South this unconscious guilt was increased by every action pushing the Negro out of the community. However, not being generally recognized and admitted, it resulted, not in any improvement of the Negro's lot, but in increased bitterness toward the Negro himself. It is for this reason that I suggest that the shift from shame to guilt may have been unfortunate for the Negro and consequently for the entire South.

I am aware, of course, that not all the hard feeling of whites against Negroes is due to repressed guilt; much has its source in the competition that Negroes have offered white artisans, mechanics, laborers.

There is one other characteristic of the Scotch-Irish mentioned by Leyburn that seems significant in this context: a weak aesthetic sense combined with a strong moral sense. That they were moralistic, typically nineteenth century puritans, we have already indicated. Leyburn attributes their lack of aesthetic sense to their centuries of hard, mean life in Scotland,

followed by a century of struggle in Ulster. Consequently, they built no beautiful dwellings or other buildings, either in the starkly simple style of the New England Puritans or in the more decorated strength of the Germans who settled the Piedmont with them. Again, unlike the Germans, they did not linger on on their new-found acres, enriching and beautifying them. On the contrary, they were forever, hurrying on to richer fields ahead. Apparently they felt but weakly that love of a place one has made one's own; the love so dominant in the earlier, more English South; the love that is possible of extension to infinite horizons. Perhaps, as proud Calvinists, they already had their heavenly places, by God, and therefore felt at liberty to exploit and discard as they pleased the less important places of earth. This disregard for the finer uses of earth and for the slow processes of community growth is a disregard for taste, for aesthetic values. They were practical men, who could attain their relatively simple ends more quickly by depending upon a clear, simple, and stern morality.

These especially Scotch-Irish characteristics, together with that more complex tendency to shift the discriminatory treatment of the Negro from the public world of shame to the private world of guilt of which we have already spoken was a part of the failure of community, which was the basic flaw in the South: her noblest attempt and her deepest failure. For she did not really believe in a complete human community; she was already too infected by modern individualism; she was using the Negro as a means for the material advancement of certain whites; and the Scotch-Irish, deeply marked by individualism through their stay

in Ulster and their frontier experience in America, and supported in this individualism by their logical Presbyterian faith, pushed the Negro even farther out of the community and made him still more both the material resource and the moral problem of the individual white. The more power this Presbyterian gained, the more he was convinced that this was his predestined state, while the state of the poor slave was predestined also: if the mudsill of the community of men, an unanswerable question in the community of God.

The Scotch-Irish did not create this rift in the mind of the South; they widened and deepened it.

And yet it may be that we should attribute to their fusion with the English the deepest wisdom of the South. The English had developed the plantation, which had supported a rich culture--too rich perhaps, too much of this world. The Scotch-Irish generally accepted this culture; the plantation, with its looseness and its sense of leisure, also became their ideal. But even as they accepted the world, like stern Calvinists they denied it. This looks like schizophrenia, as indeed in a sense it is, and as such it broke the South: the earthly community could find no other-worldly justification. But this is also wisdom. It is the realization that the world is both everything and nothing. In the epigram of Charles Williams, one may say of everything, "This also is Thou; neither is this Thou." The world is to be loved, but with understanding. To do this demands the "precarious vision" which is a part of wisdom. What the South as a whole could not achieve many individual Southerners did. Whether they know it or not, they act under the influence of the Scotch-Irish, who both cherished the English culture of the South and condemned it.

CHAPTER VIII

EARTH'S CORRUPTION

Having now introduced the Scotch-Irish as the sharers and creators of the culture of the South, we return to the problems created by the introduction of slavery. For one thing, the enslaved Negro tended to separate the white from the earth, and therefore from the God of earth, the incarnate God, he was both temperamentally and environmentally disposed to worship.

Allen Tate makes essentially this point in his essay "The Profession of Letters in the South." The Negro, he says, is a barrier between the white and the earth. The situation in Europe stands in contrast to this. There, though the upper orders rest upon the peasant as the white does upon the Negro here, since the culture is the same for all, the earth-supported peasant transmits to the orders above him the strength of earth. But, since the Negro peasantry is so different from the rest of the South, it fails to transmit the strength of the earth to that culture. Indeed, the Negro is a barrier between the white South and the earth, and therefore a deterrent to the achievement of a true culture, which must rest upon the earth.

Though I agree in the main with this thesis, I think it needs some modification. In the first place, though Negroes have predominantly formed what had been realistically called the "mud-sill" of the South, the majority of whites have also rested directly upon the soil and wrestled with it. The most important of these were the large group of yeoman farmers, who worked the earth themselves with the help of few slaves or none. It has been a

part of the Southern myth, however, that it was the Negro who did the work.

Again, in regard to the claim that the so different culture of the two races has prevented the whites from basing themselves, through the Negroes, upon the earth, this must be said: however different the cultures may have been at the beginning, the whites stripped from the imported slaves as much of their original culture as possible and replaced it with whatever snippets from the white culture as would make the Negro a serviceable laborer. This has been the general situation throughout the Negro's life in America. He may have maintained something of an earlier style, some rhythm, some mood, but far more than we know he has put on the culture of the surrounding whites, and has worn it a generation late, as a poor man wears, a season late, the coat his rich relative wore in its prime. Indeed, he has done more than this. He has worn his rags with such an air that at last, as we shall see, he is setting the style for the South.

In so far as the Negro has broken the Southern white's contact with the earth, he has weakened the religious sense that the white brought with him. For in all religions the earth is preeminently important. The earth itself is feminine: she holds within her womb the seed of life and gives birth to all plants; she nurses animals and men upon her broad bosom. And if the earth itself is not a goddess, it is at least--let us say--a summer-home for the gods, who wander here from time to time like men and women. In the Christian view, it is more than this; it is the special object of God's delight, where once his Son came to live, and die, and rise again, and where, in the form of the Holy Spirit, he lives until the end of time.

But, considering the feminine quality of Southern culture, it might be more accurate to say that the Negro has not broken the white man's touch with earth but has confused and corrupted it. Consider the Southern settler's view before slavery became widespread. It was not that the earth was innocent. All men still carried enough of the Middle Ages in them to fear, for instance, witches and devils that might inhabit the dark forests. On the other hand, even the most extreme Puritans felt a love for nature. They felt, however, so strongly man's corruption that they were cautious about yielding at all to the pleasures and joys of earth: these could too easily feed his corrupt nature and so distract him from heaven. The non-Puritan Southern settlers were less conscious of this corruption, and less conscious, therefore, of man's danger amid the pleasures of the world. They tended to live in the world with considerable relaxation, accepting without question the worldly goods it brought.

But then Negro slavery became widespread. It had been adopted primarily to help white men move more rapidly into the modern world; but for many of these men it brought the possibility of greater relaxation, and for the South generally it helped to create the ideal of leisure. That in this mood miscegenation occurred is not surprising. Historically, the men of a master race have always made free with the women of a servant race. The degree of corruption, however, depends considerably upon what men think of these relationships. They occurred very widely between the Spanish, Indians and Negroes in South America. The more relaxed, the more acceptive, the more "Southern" attitude of the Spanish master accepted this, and over the centuries admitted to

full social rights, and generally without violence, the slaves and their mixed descendants. The English settlers of North America could not do it. Even without the Scotch-Irish and other puritan and pietist sects that flowed into the South during the eighteenth century, Southerners could not have done it. They were proud Englishmen, young nationalists, too far from the Middle Ages to be moved by its sense of a universal humanity, too sure of themselves as they faced with superior ships and arms the newly discovered Negro and Indian. From the beginning they looked down upon these "lesser breeds without the law." But when to the pride of the imperializing Englishman was added the spiritual pride of the God-selected Calvinist living alone or in small enclaves within a corrupt and corrupting world, the white Southerner inevitably saw the Negro, just snatched from heathendom and barbarism and as yet but lightly washed in the Blood of the Lamb, as himself a part of the corrupting world. That it was he who corrupted him by making him defenceless in a strange land, he was inclined to forget. Though his leaders--for instance, Jefferson--saw that it was slavery that was corrupting the white, the whites generally saw only the Negro.

What made the charge seem more plausible was the fact that the Negro, as we have seen, whether he cut the white off from earth or not, was certainly himself very close to earth: an earth figure in his labor and his rest. And of the same darkly color of earth, suited to black lands, and deep forests, and mysterious, impenetrable swamps. So that when one mixed his keenest pleasure with these people, he was mixing himself with the Satanic forces of the world. White Southerners did not clearly tell themselves this but, moved by the physical relaxation of the land,

the moral relaxation of slavery, the defenseless position of the Negro, and a predominantly Scotch-Irish Puritanism, they felt this. Consequently, men, who, in the beginning of their American career had tended to be moderate acceptors of the world, now became, at least in part, either extreme worldlings or fanatical world-deniers, or, in changing mood, extreme worldlings then fanatical world-deniers then extreme worldlings again--depending upon what time of the year it was, open season for devilment or revival time.

So the system corrupted white men and Negro women directly, though not equally since the women hadn't yet been touched with puritanism, and white women and Negro men indirectly. The indirect effect, especially upon the whites, was probably greater than the direct effect. The height of the pedestal for the white woman was equal to the depth of the furrow in the high cotton for the Negro woman. To the degree that sex became the prerogative of the women of the servant race, it became the scandal of the women of the master race. These originally robust Elizabethans tended to forget the words a later Englishman, Browning, put in the mouth of Fra Lippo Lippi:

> I always see the garden and God there
> A-making man's wife, and, my lesson learned,
> The value and significance of flesh,
> I can't unlearn ten minutes afterwards.

Of course, by the closing days of the ante-bellum South, they had Sir Walter Scott, and Victorianism, and Tennyson's <u>Dream of Fair Women</u> to help them forget. But even without these helps, they would have had to make of the white woman an a-sexual angel to balance the lightly sexed female they sought and both found and greated among the Negroes.

This dehumanization, this attempted divinization of the white woman and brutalization of the Negro woman, weakened the South when it began its fight for independence from the North. Someone has remarked that the martial spirit of the South at the opening of the Civil War suggests that the South itself was a woman, for whom each soldier ventured. This is a correct reading of the feminine quality of Southern culture. But when the South came to defend that culture in war, though it had all the great historic words men have inspired themselves with-- altars and fires, God and native land-- they hadn't fitted them together in one indissoluble pattern. For, as we shall see, though the God of this series was indeed Yahveh, the fighting Lord of a chosen people in a chosen land, the fires--that is, the homes, that is, finally, the women--the women had been split into two parts through the moral distortion induced by slavery; the white women, angelic beings, hovering high above the earth, like Arnold's Shelley, 'beautiful and ineffectual angels, beating in the void their luminous wings in vain'; the Negro women, so clothed in earth they could scarcely be distinguished from it, and suggesting to the late arrived puritanism of many Southern whites chiefly the fascinating diabolism of the earth. Yet they were an integral part of this native land the Southerner was fighting for, but, alas, divorced from Yahveh; while the white women, whom he said and thought he was fighting for, hovered too high above the land to represent effectively any god of the land.

Yet this picture is too heavily drawn. The Negro woman was far more complex than this; certainly the white woman was. She may have been considered in girlhood a Victorian angel, skimming even this lovely Southern earth without benefit of

ankles; but when she became a housewife she landed with a thud; and though she still remained the arbitrator of culture and the ruling voice in the home, she had to pay for these privileges even in the homes of successful planters--perhaps most of all there-- by carrying the heavy keys of the household, and managing for twenty-four hours a day a menage most of whom were devoted but children. Moncure Conway's mother writes to him in 1850 from Virginia: "I am the greatest slave here at any season to the servants of our household, who are raised in such a state of dependence of thought and action that they will not even make an effort to make their own clothing, --indeed are too stupid to know how unless I direct them. Oh, what a thraldom to me--the white slave-- mentally and bodily! I often think that if someone were to arouse me some morning from my sleep with the intelligence that everyone had left the premises, I should feel such a sense of freedom and relief from responsibility (more oppressive as I grow older) that I should be heard singing Te Deum Laudamus,-- could I but banish the knowledge that they would be in a state of extreme suffering and that their numerous babies would perish." (Autobiog. I, 250) It may be that the actual life of the South rested chiefly upon the women; but it is very doubtful if the dreams, both good and bad, did. These circled about white disembodied spirits, and dark dis-spirited bodies. What I seem to be saying here again is that the South failed to find the dreams that really expressed its desires... As W. B. Yeats would put it, it had neither the poets nor the saints through whom to sunstantiate its soul.

But the unconscious need for moral justification was not the only need that drove the white Southerner to empedestal

his own women. There was also the more clearly conscious need to keep the white woman from interfering with slavery. Empedestaled in the home, she gave the final word on domestic matters and on general cultural and religious matters. She was the divine Athena. But, so empedestaled, she was prevented from raising unhappy questions about the practical surrounding world, the core of which was the slave system. If she had not been, her sensitive, nineteenth century, humanitarian nature might not only have ameliorated the lot of individual slaves, it might also have set the wheels of emancipation turning. Feminist leaders had become aware long before the Civil War that discrimination against Negroes and discrimination against women were both parts of the same pattern. The Grimke sisters, who left Charleston in 1836, became both abolitionist and feminist leaders.

This willingness to let the white woman rule in the home but to deny to her any authority in the world is an indication of the corrupting influence of slavery. It was one of the main forces that split the South, in puritanical fashion, in two, driving a wedge between this corrupt world and another of angelic purity.

But now, with the world split in two by the wedge of slavery as interpreted by Calvinism, what became of God? If there are really two worlds, there will have to be two gods. Unless, of course, you run the full career of the Puritan-Yankee, and split the world into so many fragments that even Puritan-Yankee ingenuity cannot find a god to cover such a chaos, and so ~~they~~ give it up--first, any orderly search, then the chaos itself. Which is pretty close to where the typical American stands now.

But not the Southern American. Two gods is not impossible, though it does strain the devotee. The Southerner--

I'm still thinking of the white Southerner-- still worships, but the god he worships depends upon the situation he's in. As we suggested earlier, the increasing future-past tension produced by slavery pushed the nominal god of the South clean back before the Christian era into the form of Jahveh, the early tribalistic God of the Hebrews. Here was a god of a chosen people fighting for their lives amid aliens. In so far as Southerners were changed by Calvinism, they became a chosen people, and they were fighting at least for their way of life, between increasingly alien Northerners and African barbarians. Yahveh was a suitable leader for such a fight.

But the mood of these Southerners hadn't hardened entirely from the more receptive, inclusive mood of the early English settler, in which all the world was God's, and he was the God of all the world. Indeed, this early mood had been in a way softened by the pervasive humanitarianism of the nineteenth century, itself an indirect expression of the Christian influence and of the doctrine of the Incarnation. Yahveh, therefore, in addition to being a tribal and warlike God, put on at times the garments of his nominal son, the gentle Jesus, in whose name white Southerners administered the unjust and tribal system of slavery with considerable kindliness. But for the large issue of justice itself, the public issues of the peculiar institution, there was little concern. The institutions of this world, slavery among them, were created by God for life in this world; if they were attacked, Yahveh would defend them; indeed, he might even look toward Mexico and South America and Cuba in the hope of extending them. This world was as it was; we might be saved in another; even Negroes might be saved in another.

Now, it is true, Yahveh had begun as a god of this world--indeed, even of one mountain in it, Mt. Sinai--but under the pressures of Jewish history and the leadership of the Great Prophets, he had begun to assume the headship of all nations, and of an eternal realm lying either within or beyond time. As to the kingdom he--together, later, with his son Jesus--was determined to establish, the Kingdom of Heaven, there has always been confusion in the Christian mind as to its whereabouts: on earth, in heaven, or upon an earth become heavenly. I should say that, despite Greek ascetic influence and the crudeness of life in the Middle Ages, Christian thought has generally taken this world, and life in this world, seriously. Jesus himself set the model when he went about feeding the hungry and healing the sick. This particular aspect of Christianity slaveowners were happy to adopt; but the teachings of the great prophets about social justice, and the teaching of Jesus, the greatest of the prophets, on the same subject--teaching which got him into mortal trouble with the authorities--was another story. The South could not seriously consider this without destroying its economic and social order.

So the South, when it was thinking martially and defensively and in terms of a sacred soil, worshipped Jahveh, but when it was thinking about individuals suffering the hardships of life, it worshipped Jesus--the gentle Jesus, not the outspoken social prophet. Yahveh was a social god, but the society he represented was exclusive, being composed of Southern whites living in his land, the South. Jesus included all individuals, Negroes as well as whites. To any one in need he leant a sympathetic ear and a compassionate spirit, but his kingdom was not of

this world. Beyond time, beyond place, those who loved him might enter that kingdom at last. There, by the mysterious working of his grace, even Negroes and whites, slaves and masters, might sit down together. Meanwhile, here some men stood while others sat, and there was a place for every man. Even the Negro slave had his place, but in Yahveh's eyes, this was standing room only. Partly to clarify the social problem of who stood up when who sat down, the South developed a rich code of manners. Inevitably, because these manners were supposed to place people only in this world, and also because individualistic white Southerners had by the nineteenth century become strongly touched with a Calvinistic, even a puritanical concern for placement in another world also, the manners and the religion tended to break apart. This was the basic flaw in the structure of the South. We must now try to trace it.

CHAPTER IX

NO ROAD TO HEAVEN

All men have manners, if only accepted ways of doing things. But when we say, as it is often said of the South, that a particular region stresses manners, we mean that it ascribes unusual importance to the way of doing and saying things, as distinct from the things done and said. In such a culture, custom has unusual strength, social feeling is strong, and life tends to be a highly public matter.

The South stressed manners for several reasons. First, because it always felt a strong tie with the past, and one way of maintaining this view was through a complex of customary words and actions. Second, because a part of this tie consisted of the hierarchal structure of society, culminating in a landed aristocracy, and any aristocracy stresses manners, both because it has the time to embellish the brute facts of life, and because this embellishment is one of the means employed to separate the aristocratic group from the lower orders of society. In connection with its maintenance and development of a landed aristocracy, the South also adopted Negro slavery; and to aristocratic manners was added racial etiquette. The essential purpose of this etiquette was to keep apart those who had to live together. So racial etiquette both binds people together on one level and separates them at another.

This divisive function of racial etiquette only presents in an extreme form one function of all etiquette. For all etiquette exists partly to enable people to live close together without rubbing one another raw. There is in every man a longing

for society and a longing for privacy. An accepted code of behavior enables him to mingle steadily with society without being wounded too deeply by the contacts.

Now the South, laying little stress upon impersonal social structures--economic, political, etc.-- and therefore much stress upon personal relationships, inevitably developed a rich code of manners to govern these relationships. Herein lies the cause of the peculiar personal-impersonality of the Southerner. Ideally, he is happy to see you, he insists upon your staying, his life seems to turn around your entertainment--yet always there is a note of formality, you remain in a sense a guest, even today he doesn't drop easily into first-naming. In using however gently the shield of manners to hold you off and thus protect himself, he is also protecting you, and, perhaps more fundamental than this, respecting you. In thus treating you always like a guest, he is expressing his own faint sense that we are all guests here--guests of existence, making a brief visit to this lovely world. We are at home, yes, typically in a place made dear by long association, but, as I have said, this place lies under the sun, moon and stars, and its outer limits are lost in the Milky Way. To be at home is finally to be at home in the universe; as the favored guest is, who resides within familiar walls but looks out occasionally upon strange and endless landscapes.

This faint sense of at-homeness experienced by the Southerner is akin to the Celtic sense of the wonder and strangeness of the world. It appears among the Highland Scots and especially among the Irish. It is extremely doubtful, however, that either of these groups were numerous enough, or in the case

of the Irish came early enough, to produce this effect upon the Southern mind. The Scotch-Irish were also strongly Celtic, but according to Leyburn they were too realistic, hard-bitten, and restless to have retained in any appreciable degree the Celtic sense of life's wonder. Whenever Southerners, therefore, felt this mood, it was probably the result of English at-homeness combined with aristocratic formality.

Now, if society is not to explode, the men and the groups of men that it separates on the surface from one another must somehow be made to feel united at bottom. To state this differently, the sharper and more fixed the place, the more deeply must it be structured into the whole. The corrolary of this is, the more mobile and blurred the place, the less deeply is it structured into the whole; such a society will hardly explode; it may well fall apart.

If the social manners of the South expressed at their best the sense of existence and of man as a guest here, they expressed a religious sense. Perhaps the essential tragedy of the South lay in the fact that it lacked a religion to express that sense formally. Allen Tate has stated this lack. The South, he has said, should have been Catholic. It would have had, then, an inclusive religion to crown and improve its social order. For it had a social order that moved strongly toward community, though it was prevented from really approaching this goal by the presence of slavery, especially the exploitative slavery created by individualistic, Protestant moderns. It was these Protestants who gave the South its dominant religion. This religion, together with the kind of exploitative slavery

it fostered, effectively prevented the South from creating that community at which at least its social manners aimed. Scotch-Irish Protestants were the purest representatives of this religious individualism that prevented Southern manners from flowering in religion.

This is another way of saying that the formal religion of the South did not grow out of the complete life of the South and therefore could not crown that life with meaning. When pressure from the outside became too great the South cracked up. It has remained divided, even a hundred years after its collapse, because it never held within its mind the image of its desire. Today the Negro is creating a new image; whether the South can accept it remains to be seen.

I know of no better way to indicate this flaw than to compare a scene from South African Negro life with a scene (imagined) from the antebellum life of the South. The South African scene appears in Noni Jabavu's Drawn in Color, an account of the author's visit from England to her South African home upon the occasion of her brother's death. She is of the Bantu tribe, where native life depends heavily upon the family. "I thought how with my people, you are not often left to be merely your private self; you represent others, or others represent you, so that you are ever conscious of relative status, classification, interdependent relationships." This family had been disrupted by violent death, and extended ritual was necessary in order to reconcile its members to the disaster, and to bind them again to life, to the community, to the remaining members of the family. So, when it was over, she says, "At

last I left home, at peace with myself, ritually 'bound', reconciled, accepting what had had to be, all savage, unseemly emotions of revenge and hate extirpated, happy again like all of us." (P. 54)

In contrast to this, notice certain passages from Allen Tate's The Fathers, a tale of ante-bellum Virginia, especially the account of the funeral of Major Buchan's wife. Here are all the complex kinship groupings indicated by Jabavu among the Bantus. But the plane is mainly of this world; the sense of ritual, of religion, of the attempt to bind men to the universe from which death had severed them, is largely absent. The Universe is a blank, death is the abyss into which men fall from time to time. The best that can be done on such an occasion is to draw the remaining members of the extended family together, and in the reassurance of their company forget that the abyss exists. Says Lacy Buchan, through whose eyes the action appears, "Excessively refined persons have a communion with the abyss; but is not civilization the agreement, slowly arrived at, to let the abyss alone?" (p. 185)

Ideally, the rich family life of the Buchans, an expression of Southern culture, should have thrown some light into the abyss, some beam among the stars, should have been crowned with religion. The social life of the South should have rested upon the abyss. In spite of the excellence of the web, it was not so supported. The leaders at least of this complex society, however Christian in their profession, were touched with stoicism. They were individualists, not fundamentally a part of the complex play of society, supporting it passionately and fiercely in crisis but confused and dazed by

disaster. If they had really been stoics, they could have borne the destruction of the social order, holding themselves proudly aloof in an impersonal universe. If they had really been Christians, they would have recognized the aristocratic order as one of the changing forms of the eternal order, and even as it failed they would have been creating out of the Great Mystery another order. The fact that the South has been confused for a hundred years, and is still confused, suggests that the region was never really one.

In fact, the way the South fought the Civil War suggests the basic flaw in its religion. For a while we fought as fiercely as men have ever fought, and some Southerners fought fiercely to the end. But the South as a whole did not fight to the end. When that came, one-half of its armies were absent without leave, nor did Lee withdraw to the mountains. The life of the South was extremely rich but of relatively shallow rootage. We had the materials of a great religion--a rich world to be shaped for heaven--but we lacked a competent religion. Being richly rooted in people and place--in this dear and lovely world--we fought fiercely for it, But since this world was not clearly rooted in another--in spite of our devotion to states rights and the Constitution, trying, in vain, to make politics do the work of religion--we fell away as the fight grew hopeless. We were unwilling to accept reward in another world, we wanted it in this, and as it grew increasingly improbable here, we ceased fighting. We had all the religious words, we were defending Christian righteousness against modern paganism, and these words carried us fiercely to the top of Little Round Knob, but we couldn't stay there; and even as we went it was

a better show than a battle: the South at its most splendid, a sight to thrill forever the heart of the fighter; but not quite right. Perhaps Stonewall Jackson, Puritan as he was, might have made it possible; but Jackson was gone, and he was gone because he had gone riding where no sober general should have been.

Speaking to this same point, Christopher Hollis says (p. 177) "The South under defeat lost her philosophy, whereas the Poles and the Irish have kept theirs. For that of the former, unlike that of the latter, was based upon mere taste and not upon the rock of religious truth, outside herself." This is the weakness that we are trying to understand.

To recur to an idea of a moment ago: "Is not civilization," asks Lacy Buchan, "an agreement, slowly arrived at, to let the abyss alone?" Whether this is civilization or not, much of the South is suggested by the question. The abyss, of course, is the mystery of life, of God, of a possible heaven and hell. The South came very near to it, but refused really to consider it. It may be said for the South that at least it did not make the typical Puritan mistake, of considering the Abyss too closely, too analytically, too logically until by the nineteenth century it had pretty well disappeared, having been taken completely apart and dissipated by the analytical mind. The South never analyzed the Abyss away. It never analyzed anything away. It experienced the moments of life, it remembered them as images, little stories, which it told and retold, often with but the vaguest sense of their meaning; it remembered life as images, pictures out of the past, out of several conflicting pasts, as we have seen, the Middle Ages, Rome, Greece, ancient Judea. It contemplated these images, and to a degree became like them, but

because they did not agree among themselves, the South never came to agree with itself. Since it did not analyze life, it was little tempted to analyze God, the Abyss behind life. It simply saw life as surrounded by mystery, ever-present danger, perhaps ineffable glory. But though it did not analyze this away, neither did it contemplate it into real existence. If it had pondered more deeply the images of its daily life, it would have seen in them the eternal mysteries of its religion; if it had brought to bear upon them a probing imagination, it would have seen within them the minute multitudinous hells and heavens it envisioned on Sunday. It never forgot that it lived upon the edge of the great Abyss with its unknown terrors and glories, but it never learned that it lived within this Abyss or that the Abyss lived within itself! It had the great words, it has them still, but they remain too much memories of a largely outmoded past, not living images of the present.

In brief, as W.B. Yeats would say, the South never substantiated its soul. Considering the majestic fantasy of Mont-Saint-Michel and the heroic temper of social men enshrined therein, Yeats realizes that "only by the substantiation of the soul, whether in literature or in sanctity, can we come upon those agreements, those separations from all else, that fasten men together lastingly." (Essays, 340) The South possessed neither the literature nor the sanctity for such substantiation of its soul.

The South tried to live, on the one hand, by a highly social culture, on the other by a highly individualistic religion. The culture did not support the religion, the religion

did not support the culture. Therefore it could hardly aim at substantiating its soul; for, though much of its life was in this world, it did not really seek its soul here, and though much of its soul was in another world, it was a soul pale, anemic, alone in the vastness, and ill-nourished by the life-blood of this. Therefore, the South could create neither poets nor saints--I mean, great, region-shaping poets and saints. For it is such persons as these that shape a region, though first the region must have, by the grace of God, sufficient energy and unconscious purpose to create the poets and saints. They, as they come into being, offer a criticism of life. They create, in art and in life itself, the image of their world, of their time and their region, seen under the aspect of eternity. They substantiate, they make substantial, the soul of their people. Looking at them and their works, their fellows see where they are trying to go, wherein they have succeeded and wherein they have failed. The poets and the saints offer us a criticism of life; not just of life in the abstract but of our life now. The poets see our world, the saints--usually--live in it, in all its richness, complexity, and ambiguity; but they see this richness, complexity, and ambiguity against a simplicity that lies at the heart both of the world and of themselves. So we see ourselves with clearer eyes, in a longer perspective; so in this longer light we learn to question our complacencies, to quarrel with ourselves, to criticize our own lives and the life of our region.

The South was never able to create poets and saints, and so never really quarreled with itself. As we shall see when

we come to discuss politics, it became, on the contrary, adept in quarreling with others, and for this purpose it developed the instruments of rhetoric and eloquence. Yet even with its complacency and the great pride that before the Civil War accompanied it, the South's error was less than that of the Puritanical North. For the Puritan, who fought such long and stern battles within his soul, tended to be proud of his spiritual achievements. The Southerner, partly because he made no such great attempts here and therefore won fewer victories here, could remain fairly humble as he faced the great mystery. In the public world, however, the world of his person, his possessions, his land, he fell easily into pride, both because he was pre-occupied with these things and because he lacked poets and saints to warn him about this pre-occupation. Even so, however, pride in this world is less unhealthy than pride in another.

CHAPTER X

THE STOIC REMEDY

We referred above to the presence of Stoicism in the South. This idea needs further development. It will appear that at least the more cultured South tried to use Stoicism to bridge the gap between its social culture and its individualistic religion. From the very nature of Stoicism, the attempt could have little positive effect. Stoicism never built bridges; it only helped men of a certain type to accept, and live with, the gap. It could not complete, therefore, the incomplete life of the South.

Stoicism was from its inception a practical philosophy, that is, a kind of religion, the purpose of which was to relate this world to another, to enable man to live now as though in eternity. It is, and has always been, says Paul Tillich, Christianity's strongest competitor. In some of its attitudes, it is so close to Christianity that it practically merges with it, as we shall see when we consider its expression in the South. Like Christianity, it appeals to a world infected with failure; its appeal, however, tends to be to the spiritual aristocrat, who sees the world falling away from him, whereas Christianity's appeal is to any individual who had himself failed, regardless of the state of the world. Both grapple with defeat and human failure; but whereas Stoicism tends to be negative and impersonal, Christianity is positive and personal. Stoicism is philosophical-- in a moralistic way-- designed for strong men, enabling them to bear "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," to suffer life rather than to act upon it. Hence the term "stoical", able to bear pain, disappointment, failure, with composure. Both

Stoicism and Christianity show a high respect for man; but whereas Stoicism sees him as only a part, though a vital part, of an immense impersonal universe, Christianity sees him as a child of God. As a part of the universe, the stoic may simply accept and bow to its ongoing force, or he may if he wishes fight honorably against it though doomed to be defeated in the fight. As a son of God, the Christian does not fight against his Father; if he is willing to accept and cooperate with the divine laws he will find his Father most gracious even in apparently disastrous circumstances.

Stoicism has been most important during periods of social decay and downfall. It had more influence in late Greek and Roman society than at any other time. Perhaps it was important in the antebellum South because the social order was trembling.

Like Christianity, stoicism shows a sense of compassion for the human lot. But in stoicism this compassion tends toward inaction and toward restricting itself to sympathy and respect for every man who bears nobly life's ills, regardless of who he is and the station he holds. In fact the station makes no difference. The emperor Marcus Arelius said that man could be happy even in a palace. The compassion of Christianity, however, is an active compassion, aimed at righting the ills of life, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, saving the lost, and bringing all out of their pitiful situation into the glorious condition proper to sons of God. It is true that Christianity, at many times and in many places, has adopted toward this world the stoic attitude and maintained that a man's worldly state meant nothing at all. It is rather hard to distinguish such

Christians from Stoics; such people incline toward Stoicism because they do not really believe in the involvement of a personal God in this world, however you define personal.

The thesis that Stoicism has been an important influence in the South is advanced by Walter Piercy in an article in the "Commonweal". Though Piercy points out several instances of the direct influence of Marcus Aurelius upon cultured Southerners, his main argument is from the stoic quality of certain dominant racial attitudes held by the whites. He is particularly effective in arguing that in the present racial crisis Stoicism is not enough; what is needed is Christianity.

Stoicism would appear most clearly in the South among those of aristocratic background. One of the best expressions of the aristocratic credo appears in William A. Percy's Lanterns on the Levee. Percy quotes his aristocratic father as saying, "I guess a man's job is to make the world a better place to live in, so far as he is able--always remembering the results will be infinitesimal--and to attend to his own soul." ((74-5)). This is stoic doctrine: realize your small place in the total order, within that do your work, guard your soul. The attitude shows dignity and reserve, but it is not the outgoing attitude of the Christian, who acknowledges himself and his fellows potential sons of God.

Speaking of his father and his father's friends, Percy says: "Cap Mac and Father and General Catchings would have been at home on the west portal of Chartres with those strong ancients, severe and formidable and full of grace, who guard that holy entrance." And then he asks: "What was the pattern that gave them strength and direction, that kept them oriented, that permitted

them to be at once Puritans and Cavaliers", who combined the austerities of living and the courtesy and sweetness of life?

I suggest that the pattern was Stoicism. The Cavalier tended to be corrupted by the superficial grace possible to his privileged station; the Puritan tended to be corrupted by the inner sternness he developed to protect himself against superficial grace. The stoic held it was possible to combine sternness and grace, to be good even in a palace. There was at times an almost Christian lightness and relaxation in the hand he held upon the reins of self-control; it was not Christian only in the fact that it was he who held the reins, and who put himself through his paces; it was not God. He would be saved, if at all, by the delicate works of honor and dignity demanded by the aristocratic code, not by humble acceptance of the grace of God.

In the pity that Will Percy feels for unhappy mankind, we find Stoicism touched with Christianity. For Percy tends to feel compassion for all unhappy men whether they are worthy of it or not, and this is the Christian spirit; but he fails to feel himself involved beyond this mood of pity as not only the fellow-inhabitant of the world where unhappy men exist but as also in part its creator and sustainer. Like a stoic, he tends to accept the world and live in it with pity and restraint. Consider his little story about his Negro chauffeur, Fode. He pities Fode in Fode's unhappy world, a Negro among the ruling whites, but he fails to realize that he as a white helped to make Fode's world and therefore Fode. For at this point the stoic Percy intervenes: the world is as it is, created by the gods, Fode is as he is and must simply be respected as such. Granted that the Puritan activist needs a greater respect for personality than he has, the

stoic needs, from the Christian point of view, a richer sense of our tragic involvement in a world of things and people.

Finally, it is possible that in the character of Robert E. Lee there appears the faintest touch of this basic flaw at the heart of the South: the unresolved conflict between Christianity and Stoicism. If this flaw appears even in Lee, that is evidence of its much greater development in the South generally. For Lee was, and is, almost worshiped in the South because he balanced the virtues of the South almost perfectly within himself, and avoided almost entirely--some think entirely--the faults. He balanced the plantation and the farm, the seaboard and the piedmont, tidewater and the mountains, gentleman and Christian. Among his papers found after his death is the sentence: "A true man of honor feels humbled himself when he cannot help humbling others." (Bradford, 233) Here is honor, normally so closely related to place and pride, attended by humility. As to any flaw at the bottom, any unresolved question there, Lee's biographer Freeman thinks there was none. In his eyes--and they are indeed knowledgeable--Lee was through and through the great, simple, indeed saintly character he appears. Gamaliel Bradford expresses some doubt as to this perfect matching of surface and base. It was Lee, he says, "who wrote of his daughter, 'She is like her papa--always wanting something.' I wonder what he wanted," adds Bradford. For myself, I should never have raised any question about Lee except, first, because I know that legends make heroes more godlike than they are, and, second, because of my awareness of this Stoic-Christian flaw at the heart of the South. I think Lee illustrates this flaw, even though in its slightest form.

In the first place, we know he had the highest admiration for Marcus Aurelius, who seems to have been one of his favorite authors. He inherited this admiration from his father, "who placed that emperor high among his generated immortals." (Freeman, IV, 464) In the second place, there was Lee's sense of the smallness of human effort in the great sweep of history, together with a strong sense of personal integrity, in himself and in others. In regard to the first, he said: "The march of Providence is so slow and our desires so impatient; the work of progress is so immense and our means of aiding it so feeble; the life of humanity is so long, that of the individual so brief, that we often see only the ebb of the advancing wave, and are thus discouraged." (Freeman, IV, 484). In regard to the second, there is a revealing conversation recorded between a young friend, Belle Stewart, and himself in 1867. She had asked him why he was sad. He replied that he was thinking of the men who were lost after he knew it was all over. But he had not told his men the cause was hopeless because "that was a fact that they had to find out for themselves." This is a true stoic refusal to interfere in the destinies of others, even though such interference might save them.

There is also the matter of Lee's moralistic nature. This appears very clearly on various occasions. Freeman says ((I, 344)) that to those West Point cadets who wrote him as superintendent after their dismissal, "he always sent friendly answers, not always devoid of the sort of preachments that crowded his letters to his sons." At another place, Freeman calls him (IV, 502-3) "A gentleman of noble soul. For him as for his grandfather, Charles Carter, religion blended with the code of

noblesse oblige to which he had been reared. Together, these two forces resolved every problem of life into right and wrong. The clear light of conscience and of social obligation left no zone of gray in the heart: everything was black and white." It is upon such an assured ground that moralism rests.

It may be all right for a small man to be moralistic; maybe this is the best he can do; the greatest men are not. Lee was one of the very greatest men the South produced; the greatest of its great period when it was challenging the rest of the nation. But the South tended to be moralistic, and Lee, its greatest representative, illustrates the attitude. The South tended to be moralistic because it was not intellectual and philosophical, because of the public nature of its religion, even from the beginning a matter of form and works, and because of the belated and mindless Puritanism which came with the nineteenth century revivals. This tendency toward moralism made the South a ripe field for Stoicism, which set forth for men certain rules for life, especially in a decaying world. I should think that Lee's moralism was the product in part of a weakened Calvinism but in greater part of a Stoicism inherited from his father and highly suited to a Southern gentleman who was a puritan as well as a cavalier.

More difficult to understand than Lee's moralism, which appears simply as an unhappy though typical weakness in a man so great, is the rather marked contrast between the sense of assurance with which he moves in the material and moral world, and the sense of humility, incapacity and guilt with which he moves in the religious world. Freeman says that "over his moments as a soldier he hesitated often, but over his acts as a man never.

There was but one question ever: what was his duty as a Christian and a gentleman?... Everywhere the two obligations went together...He could not have conceived of a Christian who was not a gentleman." (Iv, 502-3). In contrast to this assurance was Lee's often expressed sense of fault and guilt in regard to God. According to Freeman's interpretation, Lee was a Christian and a gentleman who practically always acted without fear and without reproach. But how could a man be so sure of himself in this world when he was so unsure of himself in another? It is as if there are two worlds, and excellence in one has no connection with excellence in the other. In this world a man could be a gentleman and a Christian without any effect reaching over into the other. This seems to me an example of the basic flaw in the South: the existence of a social life so rich that to be a leader in that society--a gentleman--is also to be a leader in religion; that is, in which the social life is also religious; but with a religion radically different from the spirit in which the individual faced another world. There are really two religions here: the social religion of this world and the individualistic religion of another.

This equating of God--some god--with Southern life is suggested by Freeman's comment upon Lee's countless cousins, with whom he mingled extensively while acting as the executor of his father-in-law's estate, from 1857-1859: Their "faith in Virginia's political rightness was as unquestioning as their belief in God." With Virginia facing defeat, Lee wrote to his son in the spring of 1864: "If defeated, nothing will be left for us to live for...My whole trust is in God, and I am ready for whatever He may ordain." 'If Virginia fails, life fails' does

not agree with 'My whole trust is in God, though he may ordain Virginia's defeat.' In regard to the suffering of war and possible defeat, Lee seems to vary from the stoic attitude that we must bear like men all decrees of fate and the puritan attitude that a personal God is punishing us for our sins, and we must therefore repent.

General John M. Schofield, after four decades of Army service, said of Lee, "He was the personification of dignity, justice, and kindness." (Freeman, I, 346). This praise brings together Lee's inner and his outer life: dignity and justice softened by kindness. Perhaps as a soldier, Lee succeeded in bridging completely the gap between Christianity and Stoicism. But maybe the fact that near the close of his life he expressed the opinion that the greatest mistake he had ever made was to enter the army suggests his realization that deep within him there was a gap between the Stoic and the Christian, a gap that army life tended to blur. For the army lays the chief emphasis upon works, as a moralistic stoicism does; and also upon means in this world, not upon ends, certainly not upon ends in another world. Christianity points to such ends, and when Lee as a man considered these, he felt entirely inadequate. His sense of guilt may have been due to the fact that in choosing the army he had chosen a vocation alien to his most fundamental desires. Yet it must be remembered that he had chosen almost the ideal vocation for the Southern aristocrat and gentleman. Which raises again the question of the essential Christianity of the Southern gentleman.

Maybe there have been no essential Christians. I don't mean to criticize the South,--and certainly not Lee--

because even its greatest gentlemen failed somewhat of being Christians, standing with one foot still on stoic ground. My criticism is aimed at the fact that the South tried to effect the impossible combination of an inclusive social religion and an exclusive Protestant Chruch. And she did this because by this time the modern church had pretty well gone out of the production of saints, and as we have seen the South wasn't set up to create poets, and so she had nobody really to tell her wherein she was wrong.

For several reasons, Stoicism would have found a rich soil in the antebellum South. First, because of the rising individualism of the wastern world, of which the South was a part, an individualism which coincided with and was in part the cause of the decay of the inclusive community life of the Middle Ages. Second, because of the existence of slavery, increasingly under moral attack, impossible to defend in the humanitarian air of the nineteenth century and within a Christianity increasingly concerned about life in the world, but easy to defend by the stoic doctrine that a man's worldly condition does not matter. Third, because of the growing doubt within the minds of Southern leaders, a sense of the coming eclipse of the nation, a feeling of the possible breakdown of the social and economic order of the South. In such a mood a man, if he were a stoic, could retire to the inviolable castle of his own mind and watch with stern composure the playing out of the game.

But was there any such mood as this in the South? Was not the South, on the contrary, absolutely sure of itself, eager for a future separate from the Union, happily anticipating

a brief struggle to throw off the Union's yoke when it became apparent that the Union would resist? What was there stoical about this mood?

It is true, these were the chief voices, the loud voices. And these are the voices that we chiefly remember, partly because their seeming assurance forms such striking contrast to the disaster that shortly befell the South. But there were others, filled with foreboding. One of the earliest was Jefferson's lament over the evil of slavery, "I tremble for my country when I think that God is just, and his justice will not sleep forever"; and the same man, now grown old, upon learning of the passage of the Missouri Compromise, the first demarkation of free and slave states: "I trembled as at the sound of a fire-bell in the night." Moving forward thirty years, we come to Calhoun, certainly a fighter, no stoical acceptor of life as it is, a few months before his death: "The poor South! God knows what will become of her!"

Some ten years before this, William Gilmore Simms, probably the leading man of letters in the South and an admitted authority on the life of his times, was writing essays on Hamlet, and discussing the Hamlet quality of the educated Southerner. It is true, he admitted, that along the frontier Southerners are men of action, decisively meeting events as they arise; but along the Atlantic seaboard, the best of them, the best trained, the leaders, have become too sensitive, he says, too keenly aware of the difficulties and ambiguities of life, have pondered too long upon the event. When, finally, and partly because of their hesitation, the situation will have become

impossible, they may rush desperately into action as Hamlet did, destroying both themselves and those about them. This is partly what happened in 1861.

It is true that Hamlet, with his impressionistic, excitable nature was not a stoic. But the foreboding mood that made of some Southerners Hamlets could have made stoics of others. Related to this foreboding mood in the antebellum South is the nostalgic vogue of Scott's novels. Though this vogue is probably more important in relation to the rise of romantic sentiment in the South, it should also be mentioned in connection with this discussion of stoicism as a failure of vital drive and an acceptance of things as they are. For romantic sentiment is a running away from a present too dark and difficult to be faced and changed. Stoicism itself is a kind of romanticism, an attempt to save the individual amid a collapsing social order.

As for Scott, he was primarily the romancer of the age of feudalism, which in the growing strength of the Modern World was already a lost cause; furthermore, in his particular stories Scott was inclined to recount lost causes. Absorbing these romances, then, in the decades preceding the Civil War, the South may have already sensed its own Lost Cause to be, and was immunizing itself against defeat long before defeat actually came.

Finally, W. J. Cash is of the opinion that over against the complacency of the South--which we have already mentioned--there was always sat a "haunting fear and uneasiness." And Harriet Martineau, in her Retrospect of Western Travels, published in 1838, comments as follows: "Nothing could be gayer than the external aspects of these entertainments; but it is

impossible for the stranger to avoid being struck with the anxiety which shows itself through it all... I was never in Southern society without perceiving that its characteristic is a want of repose. It is restlessly gay or restlessly sorrowful. It is angry or exulting; it is hopeful or apprehensive... While everything is done that can be conceived to make you happy, there is a weight pulling at your heartstrings, because you see that other hearts are heavy, and the nobler the heavier...You reproach yourself because you...feel as if it were ingratitude to your entertainers not to think them the secure and happy people which, in alternation with their complaints...they assure you they are." (Travels, I, 238-9)

Is it any wonder that in this uneasy world many Southerners became stoics? It was a way of surviving the storm; it was not a way of bringing the ship into port.

CHAPTER XI

THE POETIC SOUTH: ITS SENTIMENTS

There's an adage, Poets are born, not made. According to the Italian philosopher Croce, the truth underlying this statement could be better put as follows: Men are born poets: the practical world, however, strips from most men their poetic characteristics.

This is especially true of the modern world. Here the thrust into the future is so great that men are largely concerned with getting there--though nobody knows where or even what there is--and have little interest left for the road, the passage through the world, life in the world. It is true that our leisure increases daily; and California, which boasts that it is today what the nation will be tomorrow, blooms in whole sections of houses the occupants of which are supposed to loll in eternal sunshine on the edge of gracious pools. But the drive, the thrust is still there, as the expressways attest: everybody madly going somewhere.

As I have suggested, the distinction of the South is that it has moved more slowly, more hesitantly, into the modern world than has the rest of the nation. The pace is now accelerating; where it will take us no one is sure--but, then, as I just said, no one is sure where the careening modern world is taking us. The charm of the South has been, and still to a degree is, its somewhat less than practical, indeed its poetic, quality. I know there are business men in the South as hard-headed as any in the nation; this has always been so. The eighteenth century Scotch-Irish were the 'Yankees of the South'.

But the Scotch-Irish changed even while they changed the South; and that leisurely quality which the South has emphasized, that air of detachment from the urgencies of life, is to a degree the detachment of the poet.

The South was too pre-occupied with creating a poetic life to create poets. Indeed, for the first two centuries, like the rest of the country, it was too busy gathering the materials for physical life. But, then, with the coming of great material wealth in the nineteenth century, and with a growing national life, why did it not, like New England, create a notable imaginative literature? For by poets I mean imaginative writers, in prose or verse; and by a poetic life I mean a life touched by imagination. The South is flowering in literature now in the twentieth century as New England did in the nineteenth. Why this century of delay? And if the South failed generally to create poets, imaginative writers, in the nineteenth century because it was too busy creating a poetic life, is it creating poets now because it has ceased to create a poetic life?

We seem to be raising the entire question of the causes and circumstances of poets. Are poets the direct expression of a poetic society or a reaction against a prosaic society? Are they chiefly concerned to celebrate society or to criticize it? Matthew Arnold called poetry the criticism of life, but Arnold was a lonely modern, cut off from the great inclusive society of earlier days. Shelley also suggests this attitude, when he writes: "Our sweetest songs are those That tell of saddest thought." But Shelley was a romantic individualist if ever there was one. And Robert Bridges, speaking of poets, wrote almost the other day,

> Our song is the voice of desire, that haunts
> our dreams,

A throe of the heart. ((Nightingales.))

W. B. Yeats also raises the question in its individual form,

> Does the imagination dwell the most
> Upon a woman won or woman lost?

And suggests in another place that the poetic imagination creates out of earth's inadequacy: "What theme had Homer but original sin?"

Yet it is said, truthfully I believe, that England in Shakespeare's day was "a nest of singing birds," and that the master rose on the shoulders of many lesser men.

Without trying to account for Shakespeare, I think it can be said that artists create partly to compensate for the inadequacy of the world. The antebellum South was both too satisfied with its values and at the same time too defensive to encourage and permit poets to speak freely. New England too had heavy streaks of complacency--e.g., the spiritual pride of the abolitionists--but it was not defensive, it even carried an air of victory, and its men of imagination had a chance to speak out. They also had the motivation, for the harshness of early industrialism in New England contrasted with certain at least superficial graces that were naturally a part of the old established agricultural order of the South. Among the New Englanders, there was Thoreau warning of the evils of a rising industrialsim, Hawthorne and Melville revealing the dark unplumbed abysses of life. If you call Edgar Allan Poe a Southerner, he was the distorted genius of the South, speaking of the desperate emptiness that underlay the smooth surface: his images are of iron walls closing in, of graves entombing the living. William Gilmore Simms shows with less distortion what was going on. He was so im-

pressed by the excellence of Southern life--which was related indeed to its poetry--that he was unable to draw as sharp and critical a picture as otherwise he might have. He was too provincial, too much of a Southerner, to apply to the life about him that criticism which true poetry through its imaginative insight applies. The poetry of Southern life itself prevented Simms from making such a fundamental criticism, both by seducing him by its charms and by constraining him by the unified and therefore strong culture it made possible, The South was too good--at least too pleasant and persuasive-- to make Simms a great writer, but, unfortunately, not good enough--as no society is--to get along without such writers.

As for the charm of the South, we shall consider this separately, though of course a part of it is the same poetic quality we are considering now.

The poetry of the South is a part of its sentiment. How is sentiment poetic; and why has the South developed a more than usual amount of sentiment?

Sentiment describes that fairly steadfast emotional attitude, usually positive, that relates people to places and to other people, and that has been developed over a period of time. Along with this attitude, and a part of its development, goes a certain degree of knowledge of the persons or objects in question. John Crowe Ransom has pointed out how close this knowledge is to the knowledge the artist has of his subject; that is, how close sentimental knowledge, using the term without derogatory intent, is to aesthetic, or poetic, knowledge. If, therefore, the South is a region favorable to the development of sentimental knowledge, it is also a region favorable to the development of poetic knowledge.

We have spoken of the Southern emphasis upon place, both physical and social, and have noted how this is conneeted with the Southern sense of time: to be bound by sentiment to a place is to view that place with memory and hope; through that place we are related to actions that once occurred there and to actions that may occur there.

We have also spoken of the South's tendency to move moderately through time, to carry much of the past with it, continually to transform the empty space of the future into places enriched by the past, at times, indeed, burdened by the past. Most contemporary Southerners have not solved this problem of time and space. Either they are lost in the past of an earlier South, gone now with the smoke of war, or, in reaction against this memory of defeat and frustration, they rush into a future opposed to most they have known. The reason the South handles so inadequately these ties of sentiment, which bind it together in space and time, is that she has never been sufficiently conscious of what was at stake, never really understood the poetry of her life. Perhaps this is part of her charm: she doesn't know why she is charming. I too can say a good word for innocence; but it seems clear to me that the South was defeated because she relied too much upon the surface of life; she accepted complacently the gifts which nature lavished upon her, it looked like a world you could live in without much thought.

The New England settlers, predominantly Puritan, were much more sceptical of the world, much more aware of its possible evil, and much more concerned, therefore, to use the intellect as a means of abstracting the good from the evil, God from the

world, and themselves from vile humanity. It is doubtful what good the intellect did them in their search for God, but it certainly led them to power over the world such as men had never seen, and since they had thought they were looking for God, they held this power as from him and as proof of the righteousness of their search. They proceeded to use it with unction.

The South, pursuing the course of acceptance of the world, not of Puritan denial, mistakenly felt that it could accept without much thought. Therefore it did not develop an intellectual tradition; its formal religion was largely customary, or, in later revivalism, impulsive and emotional. The truth of the matter is, it doesn't take much mind to deny the world and turn your back on it. Thus simplified, life--such as it is--is easy. The only hard thing is the first step, of turning your back. But if you're going to accept the world and life, as the South from the beginning tended to do, then you need all the mind you can command. If you're going to love the world, you must be forever defining your love. The basic problem suggested here is how to be at the same time relaxed and aware. The Puritan is too intense; life never gets at him; he analyzes it away with the abstract intellect. The Southerner is too relaxed, or, if intense, too simply emotional. He doesn't understand what is happening to him, nor the dangers which surround him. Like a good swimmer, he relaxes in the water; but he would have been safer and more successful if he had continually reminded himself that it was the ocean he was adrift in, and there were sharks there, or, more to the point, mermaids and langourous South Sea islands.

The South has relied upon sentiment; the binding together of space and time by emotional attitudes that have come into existence through time and bind people and places together. The clear fault of the South in this emphasis upon sentiment is sentimentality. I suppose all men are sentimental, but your Southerner is more publicly, frankly, and frequently so. The prevalence of sentimentality is inevitable among a people who give such large place to sentiment unchecked by thought, and not understood. The question arises whether the application of thought to sentimentality may destroy the sentimentality, since it will show us that we don't really believe what we say, or value certain objects as much as we insist. But if the emotion is a true emotion, if the sentiment is real, there is no reason that an understanding of the sentiment should destroy it. If the modern analytical brain destroys sentiments, it is because the modern analytical brain is concerned primarily with power, and sentiments usually restrain rather than create power. The South would have been much stronger if she had understood her sentiments, though perhaps the way to understand the sentiments is through the unifying power of the imagination, that is, through poetic, not analytical, knowledge.

But we have said that poetic and sentimental knowledge are closely related. Are we going to say, then, that the way to understand sentiment is in part through sentimental knowledge? Let us rather say, we understand sentiment through the knowledge which sentiment distills, and through the aesthetic knowledge that the poet or artist arrives at.

The trouble with sentiment is that it can exist in considerable strength without being accompanied by much knowledge.

A man who has lived and worked long in a given place, a farmer, for instance, may be so attached by sentiment to that place that he will refuse even an extravagant offer for the property. Yet he only knows he doesn't want to sell; he rather likes the place, he says. He doesn't know that what he likes is the way the water flows under the live-oak, or the way the full moon rises behind the barn. He is used to living here, he says, and doesn't want to move. Robert Frost says "We love the things we love for what they are," but our farmer knows only that he had lived here a long time and likes it. So sentiment becomes custom, and our farmer, if challenged, tends to defend custom for custom's sake, this residue of the past merely because it still exists. So he defends custom and the past against change and the future, without seeing in the custom any value beyond custom, or in change any positive value to offset the danger.

Now, custom, repetition, order is a value in itself and novelty, incomplete order, is, at least temporarily, a value in itself. Life consists in a balance of the two; this is in part a balance of the past and the future.

The South kept this balance rather well in the beginning. But, as we have seen in our discussion of slavery, it was especially the adoption of that mode of production that confused the Southern mind. As slavery became increasingly incongruous to the developing modern, democratic mind, it became increasingly difficult for the South really to think about the problems it raised, and increasingly easy to fall back upon the sentiments that had arisen in connection with it. Slavery tended to become right both because it existed and was customary, and because it had come to have a central place in the culture of the South. The slaves came

to be associated with places that the whites had made their own and to which they were therefore sentimentally attached; they also had their place in the total society, in which all other men also had places, and the sense of order thus achieved created in all the participants a valuable sense of belonging, though undoubtedly the whites felt this more than the Negroes.

Under the extreme pressure preceding and culminating in the Civil War, the whites defended themselves both by claiming that the custom was age-old and approved by God, and by emphasis upon the ties of sentiment that were supposed to bind--and to a degree did bind--masters and slaves together. But, as a matter of fact, they dragged God into it. One proof of this is the distance into the past they had to go to find him: a millenium and a half ago, on Mt. Sinai. This defense couldn't really satisfy even the Southerners, though perhaps a few theologians felt complacent about it. For the Southerners were also driving into the modern world, though at a slower pace, and with more confusion, than the Northerners; and the modern world, though it was exploitative, was also increasingly democratic and equalitarian. The proof of the dissatisfaction is seen in the thought of that most brilliant Southerner and American, John C. Calhoun.

We have already seen how Calhoun was trying to defend a customary, status, feudal society, where change is organic and slow, with the modern political methods originated primarily by John Locke for the purpose of destroying feudalism. He made this error because in his mind he was a citizen of a modern state but in his heart the exponent of a feudal world. His mind opposed his heart.

If the South had had poets-- outstanding imaginative writers--she would have done better in the long pull, though it is doubtful if even poets could have warded off defeat; they might, however, have helped her bear it better. She did not have poets because from the beginning she was too much interested in the public world and the easy acceptance of that world with its widening western frontier, too little interested in the imaginative and critical world of the mind. As we shall see when we come to discuss the politics of the South, she was more interested in that public quarrel with others, which appears in rhetoric, oratory, politics and war, than in the private quarrel with herself that the poet keeps alive. The poet seeks the total vision; sees the events of this world as hinting at or betraying the world spirit. It is paradoxical that the South had a total vision superior to that of the North; the proof is that the North drove more rapidly toward individualistic chaos and in part swept the South along with it. Yet the total vision of the South was sadly incomplete; it failed to set this world securely within another; along this crack the heart of the South divided. If the South had had poets she would have understood herself better, and perhaps corrected some of her faults. Particularly, she would have understood better her deep but vague sentiments, and might have been able to rear upon them a better defense than she did--that this was the way she had always done things, and, by God, she would so continue.

How would the poets have helped her? Most of all, perhaps, by expressing her deep but vague feeling about time and space. These were the sentiments upon which her life rested;

they were the source of her strength; they were also the source of her weakness, and contained the seeds of her defeat.

The religiously inclined person may say, The South was defeated because of a religious failure, and we have already noted that there was a gap between her extremely social life and her extremely individualistic religion. But this is to say that she did not set this world securely within another: she did not rest her space and time securely upon the universal and the eternal.

Now, all poets are concerned, the great poets clearly, with this world as seen in the light of another. "The light that never was on sea or land, / The consecration and the poet's dream," Wordsworth called it. Whatever this world may be, we apprehend it in terms of space and time; but, though all men occupy space and time, they occupy it differently. We have already noticed how Southerners have differed from non-Southern Americans in this: Southerners are more involved in time and space, that is, more attached to place. More attached to this world. This is exactly what strict Puritans said about Southerners even from the eighteenth century: they enjoyed this world too much. Adams, visiting Charleston in , was favorably impressed with the concentration of wealth evident in the great houses of Charleston, but was shocked at the pleasure Charlestonians got out of living in them. It was right-- it was indeed righteous-- to use the world to build houses, or, preferably, wealth-producing factories; it was wicked to enjoy these things.

Southerners never completely forgot another world, universal and eternal; they were indeed deeply aware of it, and

still are: the final mystery that surrounds us, in space and time. But they didn't wish to deny the goodness of this world while they were still in it. They were like Launcelot, after the final defeat in the West, going to tell Guinevere goodbye. Warned of the danger of seeing this consuming flame again, he replied, "I want to leave the world and not the shadow of it behind me." Southerners also, in their emphasis upon community, itself occupying a place within space, would have agreed with W. B. Yeats that it is impossible to pick up the world--even this world--except by the handle of the community. If not even this world, surely not another. And yet right at this point, the point of transition from an earthly community to an unearthly, the South became confused and failed. Unlike the true Puritan, the Southerner valued this world so much that he was bound to consider any other world in the light of this, but his earthly community, corrupted by slavery, simply could not serve as the model for an unearthly. If he had had poets, he might have seen a little better where he was right and where he was wrong, and might have made such adjustments as would either have warded off the war that finally came, or failing that at least have prepared him better for suffering such a defeat.

But how, you ask again? Well, take the matter of time. Southern settlers brought on the whole a happy sense of the past with them and looked to the future to yield them a more expansive copy of that past. But, as we have seen in our discussion of slavery, their fairly normal European movement into the future, became with the adoption of slavery an exploitative drive so violent that, in order to defend it, they had to dig up

and try to revivify the long-dead past. This defense became increasingly impossible and ended in military defeat. Yet even after that, and for a hundred years now, the South, more confused than ever about the part that the past plays in life, has been carrying that past like a dead body upon its shoulders, instead of standing strongly upon it as the early Virginians did.

Now, poets are concerned, sometimes terribly concerned, with the passage of time. Someone has said that the creative moment begins when a man, sharing a lovely moment, facing a lovely object, cries out, as Goethe did, "Verweile doch, du bist so schoen"-- "Oh, stay, thou art so fair." If the South had had poets, she would have understood better the nature of what she was trying to carry into the future; she might have learned, without disaster, that all things, including slavery and segregation, are transient, and when their time comes, they have to go, good and bad together. The South has always been strong because it has carried much of the past in its heart; it has been weak because it has tried to carry too much; much that its heart could no longer hold, and that therefore was a mortal burden. Poets would have clarified its heart, indicating which things were merely custom, now no longer useful and indeed dangerous, and which were deep human desires, even though expressed in transient forms.

This would have been a way of correcting the piety of the South. Not getting rid of it but correcting it, and balancing it against present ideals. Piety is devotion to the sources of our being. Piety is a form of gratitude appropriate to men. But in a sense all the past is the source of my being; more accurately, some of the past, is a source of my non-being; its continuance

within me stifles my being. Simply to be devoted to the past, just as it still exists in customs and institutions, is unworthy. One must be forever sifting the past to determine what is alive in the present or may live in the future. This the poets help us do. They reveal to us our hearts, and make clear to us what we recall with real devotion, what only for material interest or for custom's sake. They keep us from worshipping the past as a whole, or indeed any part of it. However deeply they may be involved, like the rest of us, in time--more deeply, indeed, because more aware of the beauties that time has brought--they realize that time, that brings all things, takes all things away; but also, that within these lovely, transient shadows there is a more than temporal world--sometimes we say an eternal world, of which time is but the hand on the clock.

The reason it's so hard to keep true piety from degenerating into an all-inclusive worship of the past is that a strong intellectual tradition--including a poetic tradition--is needed to act as a check upon piety, while piety, like other sentiments, tends not to arise where a strong intellectual tradition exists. The analytical intellect tends to prevent the formation of vague emotional attachments. This is really a problem of the modern world, which nobody has solved: How to understand, as your modern mind must understand, the deep attachments of the heart without explaining them away. We know increasingly more about the world and ourselves but increasingly we lack the will to live. Apparently Montaigne, that great early modern, solved the problem so far as it affected himself. Charles Williams says of him: "He believed in the old human <u>pietas</u> of religion, the religion of custom, of good tradition, 'of my king

and my nurse.' But he made a point of <u>believing</u> in it; he grew into some state of mind through it; he seems to have disarmed the soldiers who once raided his house through a serenity and courtesy not unlike St. Francis, though without the quality of shining ecstasy." (Descent of Dove, 193) So the great modern sceptic Montaigne kept his piety not as mere custom, which could hardly survive under the acid of his mind, but as one of the real bonds that bind men to the world and to one another. He didn't merely accept it; he really believed in it because he understood it. But, as Williams continues, "Unfortunately...the minds of his readers were not the equal of his own, and could not maintain his poise. His duplicity was split; his ambiguity was reduced to irony; and the quality of unbelief with which he believed was extracted and congealed. What Richelieu did politically, the readers of Montaigne did intellectually. National interests and mental relaxations combined to exclude metaphysics from culture. Ritual became nothing more than ritual, and the <u>pietas</u> of the Gascon gentleman was mechanized into official custom." (Descent of Dove, 194)

The South, unfortunately, never had a metaphysics, a philosophical tradition. Our manners, our religion, had deep sentimental rootage; but it was not extended by thought throughout the world and the universe. Not knowing what we were doing, we did it shallowly and sloppily. We tended to accept the world, with the attachments that bound us to particular places, and with the remembered images of those places; we did not affirm these images; we did not make a point of believing in them. In brief, we tried to live in the world, to be a part of the world, without real thought. We assumed too easily the goodness of the world and

our own good will. We made the opposite error the Puritans made. They thought too hard about their inner lives, or perhaps thought wrongly: with too much analysis and too little contemplation; until finally they thought them away. We thought too little, and so, though we have not lost ourselves in the alpine atmosphere of the analytical mind, we have lost ourselves in a Southern swamp of emotions and sentiments.

Take also our sense of space, and the need for poets there. Coming but recently out of Elizabethan England, the earliest Southern settlers, certainly the leaders among them, brought with them the feeling of great spaces, a feeling which the New World more than satisfied. This sense of a vast world to the west increased after the Revolution, when the Appalachians were really crossed and the tree-clad Mississippi valley stretched to the far horizon. Though by this time the Elizabethan flair for adventure was gone, dwindled now to a more prosaic search for rich land, the westward drive had been intensified by the coming of great numbers of Scotch-Irish especially to the piedmont of the South. With an old hunger for land, occasionally touched by the lure of distance, these people drove westward with perhaps more than Elizabethan intensity. But they were mainly seeking land on which to build a home, farm home or plantation home; they were seeking space to convert it into place. A place for themselves, first in the natural world, then in the human. Since the South was to remain chiefly agricultural, these places remained country, and were not subject to the increasingly rapid change which took place in the growing industrial areas of the North. The Southerner's tendency to move somewhat slowly through time, carrying into the future something of the richness of the past, was matched by his tendency to pause in space, to cut out

a place for himself in it as proof to himself of his basic feeling that he was surrounded by a friendly world. Inevitably he developed an attachment to such a place, and gathered much knowledge about it, some of it practical, as which soil suited which crops, some of it sentimental, as the piping of myriad frogs after the rain. He liked the place because the soil was good, but he also liked it because the piping of the frogs was familiar. Indeed, he also liked it because the woods lay like an arm about the end of the Burnt-House Field, the sun rose beyond Mill Branch and set beyond Black River, as did the moon and the stars night after night. He realized clearly what the richness of the soil meant: good crops, profits, a better house. He had only a vague sense of what his sentimental knowledge meant. As a Southerner the mystery of life and death was part of his religion; and doubtless from time to time, he connected the mystery of the wheeling stars and the passing seasons with the unknown meaning that it all might have for him. If he had had poets, imaginative writers, he would have come to understand these things better; at least to have been more substantially set within the world of nature. For poets see any place as symbolic of place itself, man's outer garment, the friendly yard looking out upon vastness-- or, it may be, the armed frontier beyond which lie all the forces of darkness.

Yet it was not in the matter of man's relation to the land that the South has suffered from the lack of poets. With this exception perhaps. For at least a hundred years now, the white Southerner has been too much inclined to identify himself as one who defends his land against dangerous outsiders rather

than as one who loves especially his bit of the earth. This long and failing defense has made him defensive. Poets might have kept his eyes more steadily on the things he loved rather than on the things he feared. And it was, first of all, a certain place he loved.

But the term place refers not only to nature but also to society. Indeed, even our relation to a place in the natural world, if it is that relation of sentiment we are discussing here, has social overtones. If one has established through time such a relation, he is not lonely even when alone, for the natural world seems to give back to him the concern he feels for it; if he were a poet, he might speak of presences in nature. When, in addition to this, one's family has lived for generations in one place, he is bound to it not merely by the vaguely felt understanding of the surrounding fields and woods, but also by the remembered presence of parents, grandparents, earlier inhabitants. On this piazza has grandmother sat and heard--with what emotions?--the far-off guns at Sumter; or stared at the pole-star over the pine, and wondered where the world was drifting. Walking these roads, he walks with men now gone, feels their confusion and their anguish in his own, and knows that because they undured he will endure too. So, through place enriched by time a man is set in the procession of the generations, and comes to feel that he has a place in the temporal sequence. Unfortunately, however, it is possible to respond merely as the grandson of a--possibly great-grandfather, repeating by rote what he has done, and be thus entangled in the past, rather than as a man who wishes to face his own world in the best spirit

exhibited by the past. It is really the poets who bring the past alive into our hearts. As in the Anglo-Saxon lament of Deor: "They also have endured; so may I."

It is when we come to place as social place that we find the Southerner becoming especially confused. For here of course interest entered. He was attached to the order of society under which he lived, not only by habit, not only by ties of affection for the people around him whom he had known for years in their several roles or places, but also by the material profit he gained from this arrangement. In addition to this, the whole movement from the medieval into the modern world has been marked by a changing attitude toward social place. Throughout most of the American colonial period, the generally accepted attitude, South and North, was that there is a place in society for every man, high and low, and a man is supposed to stay in his place. Actually, however, this theory was being rapidly undermined everywhere in the western world, and especially in America, where free land continually offered to men the chance to make for themselves a better place than that into which they had been born. Because of the more definite attempt in the South to create a landed aristocracy--the ultimate and the standard of place--and because of the introduction of slavery, the old idea of inherited place continued to hold away here long after it had virtually disappeared from the rest of the country. But even the Southerner, carrying much of the past with him, was also driving, sometimes fiercely, into the individualistic modern world. And, as we have seen, it was because he was trying to combine incompatible attitudes that he came to grief. This is seen clearly in the matter of social place.

Poets might have helped him to understand and overcome his confusion; an inclusive church too, itself poetic because of its inclusiveness, its universality, would also have helped. Unfortunately, he had neither.

In the older notion of place, changeless place, the slave had a place in society, into which he was born like other men, and in which he remained. But whereas the other men had been taught through centuries in Europe and by a universal church, which in its doctrine, its liturgy and even its practice included them all, that mankind was indeed one, held together in God's hand even in this world, the slaves had not been taught this, there was now no universal church to teach it to them, or to remind free men of this truth; and the modern world, rising in the West, and especially along the American frontier, was calling men out to an individualistic struggle, in which each one would take and hold what place he could. Throughout the period of slavery, the South tried ineffectively to make the slaves a part of the total community, especially through the establishment of sentimental ties with house servants; but lacking an inclusive, a poetic church, it was not possible to "place" this earthly community in a heavenly setting. The Southerner, predominantly an agriculturist, learned to place his farm beneath the starry heavens; he was less successful in placing the temporal world within the eternal; he simply failed to place the earthly community within a heavenly. He said, of course, that there was a heavenly community, to which the saved would be admitted, master and slave alike, but he made no serious attempt to prefigure this heavenly community

in his earthly community. Out of this earthly community men had to pass as lonely individuals into another world, into the order of the saved or the chaos of the damned.

The South could not really imagine a community of the saved because it had no real earthly community from which the imagination might take its leap; it had no real earthly community because it had no heavenly community to act as a standard. Even the leaders of the Old South, with their strong sense of place, of belonging, of community, to whom the slaves were "our people", were yet in part modern individualists, attacking the core of community, using the Negro slaves to increase their own place and power.

They told themselves the Negroes were at home here; they went to great efforts to convince both themselves and the Negroes that this was true. "My Old Kentucky Home," "Suwanee River", "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny", "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground." And indeed the Negroes were essentially Southerners, with an unusual capacity of making themselves at home in whatever circumstances they found themselves. But this realistic capacity covered tragic depths. Home wasn't really here. They were climbing Jacob's Ladder. Home was over Jordan, over Deep River, and they longed to cross over into Camp Ground. If the antebellum South had really listened to these spirituals, these true poems, it would have realized how hollow were its pretensions that Negroes were a part of the community. This was the deepest poetry of the South; it offered the truest criticism of Southern pretensions. It revealed how far from home was this society that laid so much stress upon home, how far

from a heavenly place was this society that laid so much stress upon earthly place.

The truth of the matter, as we have seen, was that even the white South was often uneasy and sometimes sick at heart; but it had no poets, no inclusive church, to tell it where it was wrong. How could one expect it to understand the prophetic voices of its lowest class, the slaves? So it kept on trying to make politics serve the purpose of religion, until politics ended in war, and war ended in defeat, and still the South didn't know why it had been defeated or what course might lead it upward again.

CHAPTER XII

THE POETIC SOUTH: ITS IMAGES

The South was poetic, not only in the nature of its relation to space and time, but also in its heavy reliance upon images. For the poet, the artist, is concerned first of all with the appearance, the sensuous impression of things; and when he reduces the world to words, he is concerned especially with the sensuous quality of the world and with the sensuous character of the words. In brief, the poet, the artist, deals with a concrete world, a world whose sights and sounds have meaning within themselves, a world which images forth its meaning.

This is the kind of world the Southerner has tried to live in; a world composed of a place, or places, embedded in time, growing out of the past and into the future; not primarily a world of process, spinning out of a largely forgotten, or denied, past into an unimagined future. Of course, process is inherent in all life: we are always going somewhere. But some of us see more clearly where we are going because we see more clearly whence we have come. We see more clearly the world that is gone and the world that is coming. In contrast to this, the extreme modern is so immersed in process and hurried forward by it that, though of course he sees some meaning in life, that meaning, instead of inhering in the scene about him, exists abstractly in some vaguely imagined world but slightly rooted in place. The Southerner, more poetic, tends to find meaning within the scene about him and within the remembered and anticipated images that attach themselves to this scene.

It has been remarked that one of the striking characteristics of the Southern writers of the recent Southern literary renaissance is their use of the concrete detail. These details are not used simply for the realistic purpose of producing the impression of actual life but rather for the imaginative purpose of suggesting the universal meaning that lies within the concrete. This use of the concrete image relates them directly to the entire Southern tradition, in which men have seen the world as a place to live in, and life as inhering in the objects, persons, and scenes that surround them, and not in some vague something lying beyond and outside life, to be come at only through a process of abstraction.

Now, this process of abstraction, through which a world supposedly more real and valuable is arrived at, is a process of the mind, an inner process. Of course, it is also by an inner process, a process of the mind, a process of abstraction, that we arrive even at the world that immediately surrounds us: the images of the objects that compose it have to be abstracted from the total situation to be recognized at all. But this is a limited abstraction, necessary for any understanding but very far from the extreme abstraction of the modern mind, which reduces all things to their molecular components and then recombines them in new forms, often useful but strange, sometimes fantastic, and recently extremely destructive. This emphasis upon a world continually rebuilt in patterns, desirable or not, suggested by the analytical mind, has not been historically the emphasis of the Southern mind.

From the beginning the Southern mind tended to see life primarily as a public, not a private affair. Life was

mainly what it appeared, what it seemed, to be. As we have said, the Southerner tended to accept the world, and himself as a part of it. He had his private life of course. But he was not concerned as the New England Puritan was, passionately to analyze that private life, seeking for truth somewhere within its darkest, or brightest, recesses. He had gone along with the world pretty well in England; he still carried rather clearly within himself the sense of the world community which he had inherited from the Middle Ages; sometimes a harsh, even a tragic community but a community nevertheless. He wasn't inclined to see himself snatched out of the world as a brand from the burning, bound to purify himself from a corrupt and corrupting world.

He was a man of considerable common sense. As Hannah Arendt explains, common sense is the sense that appearances make upon people. Everybody agrees that an oak tree is solid, whatever solidity itself is. The Southerner was inclined to trust the appearance of the world, and the things and people in it. If a man acted in a neighborly fashion, if he appeared to be a neighbor, he would be accepted as one regardless of the intricacies of his motivation. If a man followed the forms of religion, he was religious. If on the contrary, he refused to follow the forms, he was not only irreligious, he was also a bad citizen. This was essentially the attitude of the established Church, the Episcopal, and this was the general attitude of the early Southerner.

Now, all this emphasis upon the community, upon the public appearance, is an emphasis upon images, upon the look

and the sound of things. It has been remarked on several occasions that the religion of the South has been mainly a matter of a few dogmas to be accepted, a few images to be recalled. Whatever theology we have produced has been mainly a theology concerned with hammering home a few dogmas, not with investigating and understanding the meaning of these dogmas in the overall picture. And our religion, unlike that of the typical Puritan, has been little concerned with the passionate intellectual struggle to probe the mysteries of man and God, and the relation between them. We have sensed these mysteries; indeed, over the long run, the Southerner has continued to sense them, and to admit their reality, long after the non-Southerner, so far as consciousness goes, has largely analyzed them away.

In his regard for images, and for dogmas, like images, packed with emotion, the Southerner has remained religious--however one may value this religion. Undoubtedly this concern for a few religious images has added a solidity and a continuity to the life of the South; as its concern for more secular images has steadied the South and caused it to move more slowly into the modern world of process where change is all. But I cannot go entirely along with men like Allen Tate who argue that this concern with religious images has purified and ennobled the South. Whether the contemplation of images improves us or not depends upon the nature of the images we contemplate. The blood-soaked Cross, though intended to produce humility and self-reproach, may produce pride, harshness and cruelty. I do not

question the Southern emphasis upon images; whether in secular or religious matters men usually act, not for reason's sake, but because of the appeal of a picture, a phrase, an emotion-charged fraction of life. One of the main functions of the reason, it seems to me, is to unravel and understand the drives that inhere in the images, in order that we may strengthen a drive by adding image to image or weaken another by pitting image against image. The South has not done this sufficiently. Often it has got one image in its mind as a horse gets the bit in his teeth, and has run away in defiance of other images it would have done well to recall. Either the South has not thought enough--as we have said, the South has not had an intellectual tradition--or, perhaps, the South has not considered closely and long enough the images around which it has built its life. It may be that the South needed, and needs, a form of thinking foreign to the modern world, different from the analytical thinking which has produced this world. For the South has moved more slowly than the rest of the country into the driving modern world of process; it has carried with it more of the medieval world of pause, and place, and image. In a traditional society, such as the Middle Ages, yesterday's scene changes so slowly into today's, and today's into tomorrow's, that no one realizes a change is going on and things take care of themselves. But in a culture like the South, where tradition and change are perhaps equally balanced, men have continually to balance against one another the images out of the past to determine which are suited to the present and the future. Men have to consider more carefully the images.

In our discussion of place in the South, we noticed that the South got into trouble because it did not have the poets--or the saints--to tell it what its particular relationship to space--and time--meant. It ended by being enslaved by place because it could not universalize that place, and enslaved by time because it could not eternize that time. The failure to understand the images is the same failure, for it is through the images that we are bound to space and time.

I recall an incident which illustrates how images steady us. My grandmother, who died in 1919 at the age of ninety-four, had seen much hardship during her long life. I can hear her quavering voice still as she sang the plaintive melody:

> O Land of Rest, for thee I sigh
> When will the moment come
> When I shall lay my armor by
> And rest in peace at home?

But then the courage, the drums, the echo of the bass:

> We'll work till Jesus comes
> .....
> And then be gathered home.

There is no question in my mind that the first lines expressed for her the pathos of life, the chorus the determination to live regardless of the hardship. This is the acceptance of life's mystery expressed in simple images.

The Southern stress upon manners is at the same time a stress upon public life and a stress upon images. Manners are to be seen. Indeed, Weaver suggests in <u>Southern Renascence</u> (p. 28) that the South appears to the North like a composite of images, a kind of tableau, "interesting,

even fascinating, to look upon, with its survivals of medievalism, its manners that recall vanished eras, its stark social cleavages, its lost cause, its ballads and sentimental songs... It is so strange that one cannot conquer the feeling that it must be in some degree fictionized." Because of this impression, says Weaver, the North never really credits the suffering of the South.

As we have said, the South tends to live in public and to hide its deepest heart. It is concerned with entertainment, with pageantry, with the mere fact of living. Its life has taken place largely out-of-doors, in public, and there it has created its chief art, oratory. But all this emphasis upon public life can also be used to hide the heart, as manners serve not only to bind people together but also to keep them apart. In regard to the heart, the South has shown a stoic reserve. Unlike most Americans we have been tragic, but unlike the Spanish we have not spoken about it. The North is apt to hide such minor frustration as it has felt through serious attention to business; the South is apt to hide its far greater frustration in its light and often playful manner. Being less serious about business than the North, it is felt by the North to be flippant. Perhaps whatever style it has lies just here: that it is superficially light but deeply serious.

The existence of a kind of aristocracy in the South suggests this same stress upon the surface, upon images. The Southern aristocracy never gained hereditary titles; it was continually being modified by the arrival of newcomers from the lower ranks, and by the disappearance into those ranks of

former aristocrats. Yet even so, it revealed at least one mark of a true aristocracy: its members were public figures, to be seen. The aristocrat is responsible not only for government, but also, in the largest sense, for manners. This is not to say that the manners of the aristocrat were to be copied by the common man; indeed, there was an aristocratic etiquette that was in many ways different from that of the common man, and was indeed intended to set the aristocrat apart from others. The aristocrat was to reveal, to make public, what life could, and should be. He walked, he acted, he spoke as a man should. Though the poor man, bowed beneath the burdens of the day, might never really hope to adopt the aristocratic bearing, yet he knew he was of the same society as the aristocrat, he belonged to a group where men might walk, and talk, and act in the aristocratic manner. This is one of the reasons why men have upheld aristocracies in the past: they show us what life can be, what it is, ideally, to be a man. I am not saying that the image presented by the aristocrat has ever been perfect; indeed, it may be very far from the Christian image; I am only saying that men live, not mainly by exhortations, but by what they can see. One function of the aristocrat was to give men an image of humanity touched with splendor. This brings us to a consideration of that elusive appeal that for many has surrounded the South.

CHAPTER XIII

"ALL THAT GLISTERS"

The realistic, earthy attitude of our century of total war, an attitude as common to Southern writers as to any, has blown the myth of the magnolias sky-high. They used to stand for a rare supernal innocence. Now even the street-cars are named "Desire," and the only reason we haven't had "Adultery Under the Magnolias" is that the dead fallen leaves are too harsh and noisy.

If the haunting appeal, the memory of Southern splendor survives the naturalistic barrage and penetrates our minds at all, it receives a doubtful welcome. For, touched as we are by liberalism, believing in freedom and the rights of the underdog, we wonder if we should entertain this antique attitude. Is it not, was it not, based upon racial exploitation and discrimination, and therefore not really paid for and not to be approved of?

We can admit the South as a whole paid too much for it; the total history of the South indicates this. To admit this is to admit it was not the pure gold it may have seemed at times to devoted Southerners. It is not to admit that it had, or has, no value. This needs to be said especially to modern man. Men do not live simply to live, to work another day, to eat another meal. Men live because life seems to hold more than this. Men live greatly, and create great societies, when they feel a quality of glory, of splendor, beneath, behind the surface of life and occasionally breaking forth in light.

Our mixed reaction to this quality of the South is illustrated by the response of a New England friend of mine to an article I wrote several years ago. I had leaned heavily upon the natural charm of an old South Carolina tide-water plantation: the live-oaks draped in spanish moss, the sleepy reaches of the river. In the conclusion I had pointed out how blind to the total situation the people who had once lived here were. My friend was angry on two counts. First, because he had been entranced by a picture which was later revealed to be largely illusory; second, because he had permitted himself to be entranced by a picture built, he felt sure, upon an immorality. Behind his reaction lay hidden the question: what is the relation of charm to goodness, of glory to truth, of manners to morals?

To what degree the South possessed historically this charm, to what degree it still possesses it, is a question we shall consider. The myth, of course, says it possessed it. Now, myths are based upon reality, even though in a given instance the reality may be little more than a state of mind, the abiding wish that certain things may be true. It isn't difficult to find within the South of the last hundred years sufficient motive for the creation of this myth. Through war and reconstruction, the Old South fell swiftly from high estate to low, from honor to degradation. Furthermore, as we have seen, the South, even in its greatest days, was never entirely sure of itself. It was therefore almost inevitable that in the disappointment and confusion of the post-Civil War period, the white South should remember only the charm of ante-bellum days, and should dream without knowing it was dreaming of "fair women and brave men".

But, strangely--or perhaps not so strangely--the South was aided in its creation of this dream by the North. For, now that the economic threat of the agrarian South and the moral threat of the slave-owning South had been removed, Northerners could afford to praise the charm of the South, certainly of the ante-bellum South. Not only could they afford to praise it; in a sense they could not afford not to praise it, For they had pretty effectively destroyed it, and in a not too charming fashion, and the easiest way to forget their actions, was to praise that now harmless qaality of remembered charm that contemporary Southerners were insisting upon.

But this is only to say that the post-war South, with considerable help from the North, created such a myth of the Southern past as would soothe the heart and quiet the conscience. The important question, then, is this: was the myth built upon anything more than post-war need? Had there ever been in the South a quality of life that might properly be called charming, enchanting, or splendid? The question is very difficult. The ante-bellum South is diffused in such a golden haze that it is almost impossible to determine what splendor was really there and what was only attributed to that earlier time by the unhappy post-Civil War generations. We, today, reacting against the myth- making propensities of our grandfathers, are inclined to deny the whole thing. In my opinion, this is as erroneous as to accept it all. I believe there was in the South, I believe there still is in the South, something of that quality which the myth enshrines.

It is my purpose here to try to describe it, to indicate its causes and its serious defects. I shall also touch upon the problem of its essential relation to goodness. It is possible that the South failed because she misunderstood the problem; it is possible that she failed because there is no solution.

What is this quality which the myth enshrines? I think it may be variously defined as charm, enchantment, splendor, glory. Of these words, the mildest is charm, the strongest glory. I think more people would recognize the charm than the glory, partly because charm is more pervasive and abiding, glory more limited and transient. A person may be consistently charming, he is glorious only in "glorious moments".

But if one recognizes the charm of the South more readily than the splendor, it is not simply because charm is more persistent and pervasive, it is also because of the feminine connotation of charm and enchantment, and the masculine connotation of splendor and glory. As I have already argued, the culture of the South was predominantly feminine. This explains the feminine character of its pervasive, and evasive, appeal. Indeed, the more masculine traits of splendor and glory are those masculine traits that appeal especially to women; aesthetic rather than moral traits.

It is undoubtedly this feminine quality of the South that has attracted the interest of the more masculine, the more solid, sober, realistic North. Woman is, or at least was, at both the base and the pinnacle of Southern life. For the feudal slogan, "Dieu at le droit," the South tended to substitute "Ma dame et le droit." This made of woman both the

beginning and the end of man's endeavors. Of course, this combined subordination and superordination of women was the work of men, since this is still predominantly a man's world. It may be, then, that our talk about the solid, realistic, masculine North in contrast with the shadowy, romantic, feminine South is merely what men choose to think about the nature of men and women. Maybe the men are the romancers, the women the realists. This doesn't matter, so long as we agree that the basic temper of the North inclined to the realistic while the basic temper of the South either inclined to the romantic, or possessed much more of the romantic than the temper of the North; and that these contrasting temperaments to some degree attracted each other.

But this isn't quite true. The South has never been attracted to the North as the North has been to the South. Doubtless, the North has had something the South has lacked; primarily driving energy and business sharpness; and the South is now increasingly eager to possess these traits. But it wants them because of the higher standard of living they will bring, not for themselves; whereas the Southern traits we're talking about have never brought anything in any market, and could hardly have been admired by the North because of their monetary value.

That is, not until recently. For it now appears to the wizards of Madison Avenue that charm has monetary value. I call them wizards on purpose: they're going to charm us into buying their products. But this is a most recent occurrence. This, if I may say so, is the illegitimate union of North and

South. This is that mongrelization the white South has been so afraid of but never could recognize when it saw it. Maybe this is what happens when a business culture destroys ligitimate charm. Unable to resist the still seductive South, it has produced this illegitimate offspring.

But, as I said, this is very recent and doesn't help us define the charm that has been historically credited to the South. Until the recent past, this charm never brought anything in any market, and had no monetary value. Perhaps this suggests a clue as to its nature. As money is a highly specialized form of exchange, so money is usually exchanged for special values; for special skills and products. This is exactly what the Southern quality we're talking about is not. It is not special, it is general. Not exclusive, inclusive. Said Barrie: "Charm is that which if a woman has she needs nothing else." A more haunting definition is that by Camus: "Charm is the ability to get the desired answer without asking the question." Charm is then the expression of the entire person, hinting at the total situation, suggesting life itself. It is not special but general; it always implies completeness and wholeness. This becomes clear when we compare the words <u>charm</u> and <u>enchantment</u>. Both have the quality of magic, both arise from a situation or a person. Charm is simply a lesser enchantment, enchantment a greater charm. They are alike in that they are expressions, complex, unanalyzable, of the entire person or the entire situation. They suggest wholeness, they exist only where wholeness is.

It may be a diabolical wholeness, as the terms <u>witch</u> and wizard, dealers in charms and enchantment, suggest. It is

far less apt to be a godlike wholeness. There was St. Francis, but he was only one. Apparently the union of charm and goodness is hard to come at in this world. It may have been inevitable that the South should fail.

As for splendor and glory, it's a little harder to realize the wholeness they suggest. Take the adjective splendid. It comes from the Latin splendidus, and means shining, and the shine of most things is superficial, the effect of reflected light. But the shine can only exist where there is a sun to cause it and eyes to see it; that is, where there is a world, where there is at least some kind of wholeness. Or take glory. The word immediately connotes war and--at least once--the shine of armor. But the real glory of the soldier lay in his courage, his loyalty to something larger than himself, his willingness to sacrifice his life for the larger whole. The glory of his paraphernalia was only the outward look of this inner wholeness.

The phrase "the charm of the South" seems a more natural and true expression than the "splendor" or "glory" of the South. Partly because it is more vague, and evasive, and indeed modest; partly because, being all these, it is--shall I say--more feminine. It may be that women make better Southerners than men. It may be that the men were more imbued with that lust for the future--the abstract, formless future--that became the earmark of the North. It may be that because of this they could less successfully show the quality of completeness that all our key words suggest. It may be of course that men never can show this quality of completeness as successfuly as women can. Regardless of all this, it is certainly

true that a part of the appeal of the South was not real but phony, fool's gold, and we who are attracted by it need to test it all.

A talented andtraveled friend of mine once remarked, "The appeal of the South is simple enough; it's the appeal of the fairy-tale. Everybody wants to believe in fairy-tales. The simple evil; the simple goodness; the quick reverses of fortune. The South is a strange, a magic land, where anything may happen." As I shall indicate, I think the appeal of the South is more than the appeal of the fairy-tale. But I might point out that the fairy-tale, like poetry, clarifies our desires, pin-points our wishes. The world of the fairy-tale is not the world we live in; our world is much more resistant, obstructive; but how we wish, sometimes, we could manipulate it more easily! It may be that the South did, foolishly, envisage the world too much in fairy-tale terms; but it did something in creating at least a superficial image of human desire.

I should say that the charm of the South is more closely allied to the charm of light opera. The lovers meet, and laugh, and weep, and sing against the sunny background. We know, of course, that life isn't like this; but, oh, we say, if only it were! We are filled with nostalgia for lost innocence.

This is part of the appeal of the South to the contemporary world. Caught in our rushing, urban, industrial and international world, we recall with nostalgia what seems an idyllic past. Especially do we think of the South in this connection, both because the South is that part of the nation that has the richest past, much of it still alive, and because

there is already in existence the myth of golden South.

But beyond this appeal of the South to the nation in the present and indeed since the Civil War, was there in the Old South an actual way of life that created this quality of charm, at moments perhaps of splendor? As I have said, I think there was and to a degree still is.

The most evident fact, and the one that has remained unchanged from the beginning, is the perennial appeal of sunny lands to people of colder climates. At its extreme, this is the appeal of the tropics, with its strange and glamorous fruits, its bright contrasting colors. The South, of course, is not tropical; only the southern fringe is even subtropical. Yet it abounds in vast and mysterious swamps, where the gray moss hangs like a dream--or a nightmare; and everywhere the woods, fed by heavy rainfall and hot sunshine, are forever reaching out to repossess the fields. To a northern people, used to a spare and orderly nature, and influenced by the presence of such a natural world to be spare and orderly themselves, such a luxurious world has tremendous appeal. Not that these people from a sterner climate would be happy remaining in the relaxed air of, say, the Deep South. Most of them, unless they had retired, would soon long for the stripped, productive nature of their own towns and fields. But all northern people dream of sunny lands, certainly those from cold, fog-bound shores; some "island-valley of Avilion,"

> Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
> Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
> Deep-meadowed, happy, fair with orchard-lawns
> And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea...

Something of this is the natural charm of the South even today;

the sunny, December pines of Pinehurst and Camden and Aiken, the shining black water of low-country rivers, the shadowy live-oaks hung with spanish moss.

It is the open, sunny quality of the Southern scene that makes it so easy for the people who live there to feel themselves a part of the whole. The world belongs to them and they to it. It is this sense of man's life as being rounded by and included in nature that supports, deep down, the flash of glory that, at rare intervals, accompanies Southern life. A more stern, a more separative nature, would not permit men so easily to identify themselves with the whole.

The natural scene has remained largely unchanged. But there was more to the charm of the South than this. If this had been all, there might never have been a war. The South would simply have flowed along until Northerners had made enough money to use it as their winter playground. Then they would have come, paid for the sunshine and the equivalent of the motels, and gone North again in the spring with everybody satisfied. But this was not all. What the South had was more than climate. It had an openness, a frankness, a charm of manner--to relate it to the climate, a sunny quality--which created in the North, along with simple approval, some envy, and some anger that people should seem to be happy in such an evil society.

The natural charm of the Southern scene was very soon accentuated by the presence of great landed planters, in Virginia first, then in South Carolina. I do not say these planters always bought fairly this appeal, nor that it was always founded on character; many of them were slick politicians,

ruthless adventurers. To some degree, however, even these, under the weight of landed possessions, grew in strength of character and became worthy of the public responsibility that had become theirs. Whether they became morally responsible leaders or not, however, there was a spaciousness, a splendor however superficial, in the long avenues, the fields running to the far woods, in the later South the snowy cotton fields, the broad hospitable piazzas or galleries, and occasionally the glint of white columns in the morning sunlight. And there were often handsome men and gracious women on these piazzas, walking on these lawns, handling fine saddle-horses. Undoubtedly this had at times the quality of light opera; especially as the outlook for the South grew darker, these social manifestations grew lighter, until one is finally amazed at the gay parties in Richmond, when the city was almost surrounded and many of the participants were wounded soldiers; and one begins to wonder whether this gaiety was as superficial as it had appeared on the broad piazzas and lawns, whether these people were not of a breed that had learned to smile even in the face of death. However that may be, in earlier, peaceful years, they had smiled and chatted and sung together, as though life were light opera; and undoubtedly many of the less fortunate who observed them--though not all, for there were strong partisan natures in the South--many of the less fortunate felt about them as one feels about light opera, that this is the way we should like to live if only we could live this way; that though we know we cannot, we should like to play life, and have time for all gracious words and actions. We have noticed

already the emphasis of the South upon play. This was a part of it. Admittedly, too few people were playing at the expense of too many; but at least the leaders of the South knew-- and maybe the generality-- that there was more to life than Carlyle's "Work, for God's sake, work!"

It is, however, unfair to the aristocracy of the antebellum South, certainly of the eighteenth century South, to suggest that they thought only of play. Like any aristocracy, they thought of themselves to a degree as being in a play--though perhaps few of them phrased it in just these words. In part, they were fulfilling the immemorial role of the aristocrat. It is the nature of an aristocracy to be observed, to be in the public eye. It is true that an aristocracy, usually being wealthy, can buy broad living space, both outdoors and in, and might be expected thereby to gain privacy; and in a certain limited physical sense this is true; but with the space and the wealth go servants, who will observe and note. Consequently, the aristocrat learns to live as ever in the public eye. The truer aristocrat he is, the more seriously he assumes this responsibility. This is the responsibility to act like an aristocrat; with that assurance, ease, and grace, with that dignity and command, which every man would adopt if he only could.

The aristocrat's assumption of public and political leadership is naturally most in evidence. But an aristocracy is never maintained solely to carry on the government, though in assuming such a responsibility the aristocrat usually wins great material benefits. An aristocrat is also maintained simply to

stand in the public eye, to walk and talk as men should walk and talk, to act the human part. During most of man's existence on earth, men have been too busy trying to survive to do much at living as they would, even indeed, at getting any clear idea as to how they would. With our recent rise in the general standard of living, and the increasing democratization of our life and thought, we have largely forgotten that we need someone to show, not merely tell us, how to live; someone to give us the living image of a man. This was one of the main functions of an aristocracy.

I said that the aristocracy of the South was in part fulfilling the immemorial role of an aristocracy. What complicates the matter is that they were doing this only in part. They were never a true, old-world aristocracy, with title and position descending from father to son, but a brief aristocracy of a few generations, rising out of the commonalty by both luck and ability, descending to the commonalty again when luck or ability failed, surrounded always by commoners who here and there as the years passed were breeching the aristocratic ranks. Much of the concern of the Southern aristocrat, therefore, was with staying on friendly terms with the commoner, who held continually increasing political power, and who in time might well belong to the aristocracy himself. The Southern aristocrat could not, therefore, play the aristocratic role with characteristic assurance. The newer the frontier on which he found himself, the less assurance he could muster.

But though the South never created an aristocracy of the first order, it did create an aristocracy, that is, a group

of men who felt a high responsibility to the public and who assumed with some dignity the roles of leaders. The poet Yeats, himself an aristocrat in temper, remarks that in all vital cultures men have the sense of filling roles. They play their parts, they have their places in society. The criticism of the Southern aristocracy is not that they played parts, but that they played with divided minds and confused hearts. The parts they assumed were not great enough, or not assumed with sufficient devotion. They lacked the philosophers and the poets, they lacked the intellectual structure, indeed they lacked the church that would have clarified their minds and unified their hearts. They were too eclectic, too unintellectual. They tended to think of themselves as the new Romans. They adopted Roman names, they gave their slaves Roman names. It was not enough, primarily because it could not be deeply believed in. For they were trying to return to that ancient twilight of stoicism through the mist and broken light of a millenium and a half of Christianity. The role as they played it was too limited, too social and political. As we shall see, the South overplayed its political hand at the expense of its religion.

They didn't really know what they were doing. To the Southern aristocrat, life was a game which he played according to the aristocratic code, and he played it out to the bitter end: the well-bred young men of the South showed up well both as officers and privates, in the trenches of Petersburg and, as we have seen, in the ball-rooms of Richmond. Playing this large and manly game, they created at times the

effect of splendor. But with the downfall of the South, something went wrong. There appeared now a fissure between this world and another that cracked the heart of the South after this world had failed. They had played the game for this world. They had not realized it might be for another too. Their actions under the Southern sky had not been projected against an eternal sky. They had not known how to relate worldly fame to unworldly goodness. Certainly they had had no Dante to project against the eternal sky a divine comedy which would have included their worldly games. Indeed they had had hardly any poets even to attempt this.

Unlike Puritan New England, the South was not inclined to deny the world and scorn earthly glory. On the contrary, it was inclined to accept the world, but with too little thought and understanding. The Southerner's society was set up for this world. When he faced another, he tended to face it like the stoic, alone, all the rich ties of the world swallowed up in mystery or annihilated in nothingness. The splendor that had touched his days, if he were an aristocrat or susceptible to the aristocratic appeal, faded swiftly now; it could not break into that ineffable splendor that the Puritan sought and occasionally found in God. For not only the Southern aristocrat, but also the Southerner generally, had assumed, too easily, that God was in the world, some aspect of it; and it was this assumption that lay behind his search for fame and glory in the world. He had assumed that life was good. But he had failed to consider sufficiently--to contemplate--the images of the world he loved, failed to harmonize them and

thus to universalize them. The possibility of splendor was always present, but it was a local, or an earthly, splendor. It was the splendor created by an aristocracy that did not really understand and accept its function in the world. If failed, as I have said, because it was an incomplete aristocracy, hanging between the Middle Ages and the modern world, continually deteriorating under the individualistic thrust of its members, and without a universal church to clarify and crown its aspirations.

Part of the legend of Southern splendor, and perhaps also part of the reality, is connected with that aristocratic type, the cavalier. I have tried to avoid giving the impression that New England was Roundhead, the South Cavalier. That is nonsense. A small number of defeated cavaliers did flee to friendly Virginia during Cromwell's Protectorate; a few were important. If they tempered Southern society, it was because that society had certain leanings in that direction already. Certainly their tendency to the broad and lavish life, their gambler's propensity to win all or lose all, lent color to the South. They held both their possessions and themselves loosely, they threw themselves into the game, win or lose. Splendor by its very nature cannot accompany lives that are held too closely and prudently. There must be daring, the risk of all for all, in material things, at its height in spiritual. This was the spirit of the cavalier, and it was the presence of this spirit, carried first perhaps by but a few, that helped to touch the South with splendor. This may have been on many occasions a cheap and showy splendor. Doubtless it never served to produce careful, prudent citizens. Speaking of this

touch of chivalry in the South and its effect upon dramatic action, William Temple Graves says ((CARD 306)): "Insofar as it is sacrifice in terms of drama, large or small, and offers a man a gallant picture of himself, Southerners do, perhaps, respond more than others to the chivalric impulse...It may be that there were few cavaliers in America but there has been a legend of cavaliers. There has been a tradition of light-hearted, dramatic, notwithstanding disinterestedness."

This whole sense of the brave show, the spacious and splendid life, symbolized by an aristocracy, was accentuated in the nineteenth century by the romantic impulse, which came to America some fifty years after it had come to Europe. For Romanticism emphasized the importance of the individual, and the whole Southern sense of life as a public affair, which we shall return to shortly, was already stressing the individual as he stood among his fellows. Romanticism also came to the North, but there, as we have seen, it expressed itself largely in the individual flights of transcendentalism. In the South it was, strangely, a much more social affair: the Southern romanticist, keenly aware of the importance of public life, became romantic even in public and as a member of the society at large. This suggests that the society at large may have been romantic. If so, it carried within itself, by definition, a touch of strangeness, something of the uncommon, the rare. It may be that the appeal of the South we are examining was, and is, simply the appeal of the romantic to a generally realistic civilization. However, this distinctly romantic quality seems not to have appeared in the South until the Romantic

Movement reached these shores. The eighteenth century Southern provincial and American was rational, a planner not a dreamer, having small regard for what we call romantic strangeness. When this appeared, it expressed itself in two main ways. Its serious expression was the drive toward Southern nationalism, which parallelled the contemporary European emphasis upon cultural nationalism. Its less important drive was its return to the Middle Ages in its leisure-time activities: the reading of Sir Walter Scott's historical romances, and the running of tournaments, with scarves and pennants, knights and ladies, and a queen to be crowned. There must have been, therefore, at least throughout the seaboard South, a considerable feeling for what was felt to be the charm and splendor of the Middle Ages. The European Romanticist returned to the Middle Ages out of the surrounding ugliness of early industrialism and across what he felt to be the barren rational eighteenth century. The Southern romanticist also passed over the eighteenth century, though it was far less rational, far more human, along the American frontier than in the salons of France; but as to his own contemporary world, he was not only fleeing from it, he was also celebrating it. His interest in the Middle Ages was probably motivated in part by his growing unhappiness over an economic and social system that was being increasingly condemned and was increasingly imprisoning even the whites within its harsh walls. Perhaps he turned to the Middle Ages partly in order to forget the darkening world about him. But he also thought he saw in the Middle Ages, not the opposite of his life, as did the English romanticist, but its ideal and crown.

The question then becomes, To what degree did there really exist in the South the quality of strangeness, of charm, perhaps of momentary splendor which these Southern romanticists claimed? We have seen evidences of this quality in the Southern scene itself, and in the Southern aristocracy. Let us consider now more generally the life of the people.

We have already suggested that the essential appeal of the South is the appeal of wholeness. The basic weakness of this appeal, as we shall see more clearly, is that the wholeness it aimed at was limited and incomplete. It was wholeness at a certain level, and that not the highest. It is this failure in height--or depth--that dimmed the splendor of the South and falsified its charm. The wholeness sought was too much of this world, too little of another. But whatever charm and splendor it possessed was due to its accent upon the whole, though on too shallow a level. For it is the realization of wholeness that causes experience to emit charm and splendor. The moment, the word, the gesture, the action shine because they mean, suggest, symbolize far more than themselves. The prime illustration here is the mystic vision.

When I point to the mystic vision as the ultimate in glory, I seem to let the South out entirely, for the South has been almost entirely lacking in mystics; to find a hint of them, you must go to Puritan New England, and to the greatest of the Puritans, Jonathan Edwards. There were moments in the life of Edwards when the glory and splendor of God suffused the world; every bush burned. I'm not quite sure what place Edwards found for man in these visions. In his theology men were such vile worms that they would simply have been consumed

by this glory. But I'm not concerned about the nature of Edwards. I'm concerned to point out that glory and splendor are related to a sense of wholeness. It is significant that, desiring to speak of this quality in the life of the South, we have to go beyond the South, to inward, Puritan New England, to find an illustration of what we mean. Since this prime illustration occurred in New England, it would seem that, instead of suggesting glory as a quality of life in the South, we should mark it as especially a quality of life in New England and in the northern tier of states influenced directly by New England.

This should have happened; and this was the hope of Johathan Edwards. Perhaps it was the hope of all true, early Puritans, who were sent into the wilderness to find God, to meet him face to face, to behold his countenance undimmed by earthly veils, however lovely. Why did the hope not materialize? Indeed, why did the South, where men were less concerned to find God in the wilderness, find more glory in life?

I can only suggest the answer. I make it from where I stand, both within and without the Puritan fold. It seems to me that the Puritans asked too much of men; aimed too high; were proud in doing so and became more proud because they had done so. Martin Luther, with Edwardian intensity, could behold the glory of God sustaining, without evident supports, the earth and sky, and lamented the fact that men had to see the pillars. Indeed, except for the rare few, men do have to see the pillars. The early Puritans of New England emphasized inwardness too much. Go too far inward, and even though you search for God there, you will find a wilderness.

One cannot say in a few words what really happened to the early Puritan vision of New England. In general, being too intense to be sustained, it broke in two. One part became the beautiful but vague and etherial idealism of Emerson; the other the materialism of the Yankee trader. Emerson remembered the other-worldly light; the Yankee trader the worldly commitment. The light still lingered, palely, about Emerson's study at Concord; it had faded completely from industrial Lowell.

The South, essentially non-Puritan, never aimed so high. The Southern settlers were as religious as the New England Puritans, but in a different way. For the most part, they weren't seeking God in the wilderness, wither of America or of their hearts. They assumed--as the event was to prove too easily--that he was with them, a part of the world they'd left, a part of the world they'd come to, his presence suggested and acknowledged by the public worship held in the Episcopal Church. They were inclined to accept the world with its combined good and evil, to accept themselves, only quarreling with themselves, and with God, in their most private moments and about their most private affairs. For they had, as we have seen, a strong interest in public life, which took the form in this new country of a strong interest in politics. Not cherishing, and therefore not realizing, the inner vision, they had but little of the Edwardian sense of the ineffable glory of God. Concerned on the contrary, with the public life, first of the local community and later of the province and state, they developed a strong sense of that earthly glory which is the crown of public effort. Though they were not unaware of tiny flecks of glory that shone

throughout the world--for they were religious--they never really succeeded in relating these to public glory, and all of it to the glory of God. Perhaps public glory cannot be related to the glory of God. Perhaps when men seek glory they turn away from God.

As Hannah Arendt points out, in THE HUMAN CONDITION, modern man hardly seeks glory of any kind any more; he seeks material advantage. Not seeking glory, he naturally misses it; but he is aware of his lack of it by the vacancy and boredom of his life. Robert Penn Warren says, in "Brother to Dragons,"

> the only
> thing in life is glory.....
> ...Drink's a kind of glory too, and man
> Can't live without some glory after all,
> Even a poor kind.

The modern world has forgotten this. The contemporary South hasn't quite forgotten it; the Old South knew it very well.

Concerned as we are with politics largely for material advantage, it is difficult for us to realize that men have been concerned with politics, with public position and responsibility, largely for the satisfaction of being in the public eye, of receiving such limited or large glory as the position bestowed upon them. It is here that one charm of the historic South lies. Practically every man was concerned, outside the limits of his private advantage, with the public world, with a part in it, if the chance seemed right, with a splendid part in it.

Such action, in Hannah Arendt's definition, is action itself; it is done not so much for what may come of it, but because it itself is valuable in the very doing: the stance,

the gesture, the stride, the eloquent word. The proper reward for such action is glory; the esteem, the admiration, the wonder of other men. We have already said that the South carried this esteem and this wonder too far; it asked of politics what politics could not give; it paid too much for the splendid forensic battle; trying by political action to force the nation to remain agrarian, it had its own agrarianism destroyed.

If the Puritan failed because he sought God too privately and intensely, hoping to find heaven's glory here unadulterated by the things of earth, the more relaxed Southerner failed because he was too much concerned with men, with public affairs, with the appearance of things. Being thus concerned, he found a public glory in the gestures and words of his leaders, but he did not think enough, he did not probe his life, or life itself, earnestly and passionately enough to discover how the glory he saw hinted of, or at times detracted from, the glory of God.

For one thing, he imitated the chivalry of the Middle Ages; but, as Yeats would say, he did not substantiate this in a great poetry or an inclusive religion. The soaring cathedrals of the Middle Ages are rooted, most vividly through their flying buttresses, in earth. Rising out of the dirt, the pain, the frustration of mankind, they point toward God. It is this recognition of the contrast between the actuality of life and the hopes and dreams of men that give them their real splendor. Medieval knighthood was far from being an ideal profession. It was often a dirty business in a dirty age. But at least men tried to hold all things together under the eye of the church;

and knighthood was one of the means toward this end. How could the showy knighthood--the Chivalry, they called themselves in the late antebellum South--how could they represent such an inclusive vision? In no true sense did the slaves belong to the life the chivalry defended. Furthermore, most of the chivalry had by that time adopted, at least in spirit, an individualistic Protestantism that, instead of bringing the slaves into the community, was effectively excluding them from it.

Glory accompanies the sense of the whole. The South attained to a greater sense of the whole than did the North because both temperament and conditions kept Southerners more aware of the whole than was possible in the business-oriented, and therefore private, life of the North. But the South, failing to find a religion suitable to its life, partly because it had in slavery a life unsuitable to any religion it could come up with, failed to gain consistently that sense of a universal and eternal whole which is the source of essential glory.

As the nineteenth century passed, the South found the earlier sense of glory increasingly blurred. This happened for three reasons. First, the frontier accented individualism; the community grew weaker, community standards more lax, the sense of the public eye less important. Men still sought glory, but they sought it now in less reputable ways: gambling orgies, fights, drinking bouts. Second, with the increasing chance of wealth on the moving frontier, men became increasingly materialistic, absorbed in getting rich, concerned about the main chance. This is essentially private life;

there's no real glory in it. Third, revivalistic religion, natural along the lonely, individualistic frontier, made approval and condemnation more private and inward, turned men from outward honor and shame towards inward justification and guilt.

It is noteworthy, however, that in the revivals themselves, the coming of inward goodness was expressed most publicly, sometimes most dramatically. Men turned from the limited splendor of drunkenness, gambling, and violence to the inverted splendor of a striking public repentance. They sinned splendidly; they repented abjectly. But as the splendor itself had become a limited thing, implying not the wholeness of a community but only the wholeness of an individual's will at the moment, so the repentance itself tended to be limited, expressing mainly the determination not to be that kind of fool again.

If we turn for a moment to the heroic annals of the Civil War, we shall find an image where the completeness of individual and group shines with splendor. It was at the Battle of Shiloh, in the spring of 1862. The Confederates were advancing doggedly through the peach orchard where the bullet clipt petals were floating down. They advanced, says one commentator, with bowed heads as against a snowstorm. The words suggest to us the pure intensity of the fighters, their wholeness of will, their subordination to the job in hand. These farm boys had faced storms before. Now, again, with bent heads, they advanced together through the falling flowers.

The charm, the splendor, perhaps the glory of the South went pretty much to seed along the swiftly expanding frontier, and under the influence of revivalistic religion. But this still leaves the question open as to the relation between this quality in the South and moral or religious goodness. Did the South buy this at the expense of true goodness? If men must have glory in some form, even in drunkenness as Warren argues, is this an evidence of man's weakness or of his strength?

The key to glory is wholeness. When Jonathan Edwards saw the world suffused with glory, he saw it suffused with God, the universal inner fire. Few men attain to this sense of wholeness. Certainly the American South has not been the place to create such men. The basic question is, did the glory that the Southerner strove for, and at times attained, lead him toward this universal glory or away from it? Was it for the total man strength or weakness.

What he attained, he attained because of the sense he and his fellows had of a man's part in the social whole. He had it because he was playing his part in the show, acting his role. The glory was the spirit of the whole reflected from him. Alexander Pope, writing in the eighteenth century and, significantly, an ESSAY ON MAN, said,

> Honor and shame from no condition rise;
> Act well your part, there all the honor lies;

This is the century that created the great early South. I have already referred to the idea of W. B. Yeats that in all great cultures men have had the sense of playing roles,

of acting parts. And, though Yeats does not say so, it is probably this sense of every man's being a part of the whole that gives to great cultures their sense of greatness, their touch of glory.

But now, does any man play a role before God? Is not a man's realization of God either his realization of his own nakedness and barrenness, or entire forgetfulness of himself in the mystic vision? In neither case does he act a part at all. It is true that the priest acts. It is the function of the priest to act out before God the role of man, so that men may see what the human role is. But the human role before God is one of abnegation and self-forgetfulness; and it is almost certain that the priest, acting out this role, does not generally experience the presence of God. He is not "practicing the presence of God," be is revealing the proper attitude of man before God.

In the great society, men are supposed to live in the public eye, seeking honor and avoiding shame. In the Christian life, men are supposed to call no one good but God, to pray in secret, to avoid letting the left hand know what the right hand does. How is one a Christian in the great society? How do we adjust--is it possible to adjust--goodness and glory?

I suppose the answer is, the glory must always be held subject to the criticism of the goodness. The weakness of the South was not that men sought glory, but that they did not remember that glory is held under God, that all human acts are subject to divine judgment. This is to say what we have said already that the social order of the South was not crowned

by, nor did it live under, the continual judgment of its religion. The Southerner did not use the glamor and splendor of this world to remind him of another; rather he let it blind him to the existence of another. He found this world so satisfying in its public display and political action that he made of it most of his life. It is true, he did ~~not~~ possess an inner private life, where, alone, he faced life's mystery. But this, among the best of the Southerners, tended to be a rather passive acceptance of his own smallness in the universe, and a stoic willingness to accept the mystery in itself and in its working out in life; hardly the Christian's concern for a positive relationship with the mystery, and the expression in the world of this positive relationship.

It was the gap between the quiet, retiring, inner goodness of men and their large and free expression in the public arena that helped to cause the misunderstanding between North and South. For there was no such sharp division in the North. Public life there was less the forum, where one strove for glory, than an extension of the market, where one strove for profit. Laws tended to be passed rather to benefit the lawmakers and their friends than to strengthen and make more splendid the community itself. This happened in the North both because of the relative weakness of an aristocracy with its code of noblesse oblige, and because of the greater emphasis upon business and private profit there--itself partly an expression of the Calvinistic theology. In the North, then, public life was more largely an extension of private life.

This being the case, men were more apt to use public life, not only to increase private profits, but also to extend private beliefs and judgments. It was much easier there to project goodness into politics, and to use laws as a means for the extension of goodness. The Southerner, believing in a much sharper division between private goodness and public glory, continually felt that the Northern politician was a hypocrite--as he himself certainly would have been if he had projected his private ideals into politics. The Northerner, on the contrary, looking at the realistic nature of Southern politics, the insistence upon political balance and harmony, the refusal to discuss ideals in the public forum, concluded that the Southerner had no sense of goodness at all; that he was personally as bad as his realistic politics made him appear. Our conclusion is that this judgment was unfair. At the same time, we have to admit that the Southerner left a dangerously wide gap between his private goodness and the power world of his politics.

Stoicism permitted this gap. In the stoic philosophy--or religion--the individual stood in direct relation to the universe, a minute though free element in that universe. Valuing so highly the individual, the stoic played down society and all forces beyond the individual. A man was free to resist them all. As for himself, the stoic would not use the forces of society even in the attempt to help other men; this would show a lack of respect for their personalities. It is this extreme emphasis upon the individual that has made stoicism popular among self-reliant people especially at a time when the social order is going to pieces. We have already suggested that the rather widespread appearance of the stoic

attitude in the Old South indicated a premonition of the impending breakdown of society.

Let us summarize here our conclusions about the pervasive appeal of the South. It was and is in part legendary, in part real. Its reality rests upon the importance of the community and the public conduct of this community in the South; upon the relative importance of the whole as distinct from the individual detail. It is this concern for some harmonious whole, whether of landscape, of a social group, or of a political state that gives to life in the South that evasive charm or that sudden touch of splendor. The corroding acid was the presence of the Negro slave. He was here because of the modern individualistic concern for private profit and advancement; and this motive, operating both within and without the South, led the nation into the fierce divisiveness of a Civil War and prevented the South from ever attaining that universal, that religious wholeness, of which her social order dreamed.

Milton calls the desire for fame "that last infirmity of noble mind." Perhaps this can be said of the South: she desired fame too much, goodness too little; but her infirmity was that of a noble mind. This infirmity led her from the beginning into the political world.

CHAPTER XIV

POLITICS INTO RELIGION

The South has always been a great land for politicians. This isn't mere happen-so. It results from the character of the people and the nature of their life.

Certainly the character of the early settlers was modified by their life here. It is highly probable, however, as I have already pointed out, that these early settlers brought a predominant attitude that inclined them toward politics. From the beginning they tended to be interested in public rather than private affairs. Where the strict Puritans of New England were deeply concerned about a man's inner life, his conscience, his most private moods and aspirations, the more relaxed Southerners tended to lay stress on public life and to value a man for what he appeared to be! As for a man's religious life, the established church and the accepted moral code would take care of this. He would go to church, he would follow the code; beyond this, he might or might not have visions of the greatness and goodness of God and of his own weakness and sinfulness; these were his private affairs.

This sense of the public, this regard for public judgment, was connected with the sense of community. When we say, as we have said, that the Southern settlers brought more of the past, of Old England, of the Middle Ages with them than did the more separatist group that settled New England, we are saying that they brought also a stronger sense of community. For the movement from the Middle Ages into the modern world was, perhaps most of all, a movement from common life to in-

dividual life. The rise of modern man is the rise of individualistic man.

It may seem at first glance that the villages of New England, themselves copied from the Old World, indicated a closer relation to the medieval community than did the isolated farms of Virginia. But the villages of New England were mainly structures of prudence: protection against both the weather and the wiles of unbelief. They were primarily religious settlements--autocratic religious settlements. The rulers knew that it was much easier to control the lives of people living close together than of those scattered far apart. As for the danger from Indians, it is possible that the Northern tribes were more warlike, and probable that the Puritans were more suspicious, since they were certainly more suspicious in general than were the more relaxed and accepting southern settlers. They would indicate their suspicion by huddling together in towns, and this might well increase the enmity of the Indians. But there is on record an early opinion that the northern Indians were indeed more warlike than the southern. Varazzani, an Italian traveler, who visited the eastern coast of North America during the early sixteenth century, reported that after passing the 44th parallel--the present Philadelphia area--he found the more northerly Indians as rude and ill mannered as he had found the more southerly ones courteous and gentle; so barbarous, he says, "that by no signs, that ever we could make, we could have any kind of traffic with them;" We also know that the early Virginia settlers were inclined to treat the Indians moderately, and

even set about organizing a college at Henrico for their Christianization. This trusting spirit, however, was pretty well destroyed by the great massacre of 1622.

The Virginia Company had tried to make the early Virginians live in villages. They had not succeeded; either because the general trust in the world about them, or the lure of profit from tobacco, or both, were too great. But these settlers, moving up along the rivers clearing land for tobacco, were not misanthropes. Indeed it can be argued that in the long run their fairly isolated lives made them even more desirous of company, and more sociable, than were the town dwellers of New England. Perhaps the main thing is that the more balmy climate of the South lured them into the open, and thus in the long run made of them individualists who, somewhat strangely, were fond of company and sensitive to the will of the loosely organized community.

Now, as Hannah Arendt points out in THE HUMAN CONDITION, making a living, the economic life, was considered by the Greeks, and indeed by most men until we enter the modern world, a private affair. Public life was, pre-eminently, the life of politics. This became the ideal of the South during the eighteenth century. It was assumed that working men, business people, had little time, interest, or ability for politics. It was also assumed that the men who attained prominence through the ownership of property--in the South mainly landed property-- should assume public responsibilities and should become political leaders. This was their obligation, and their honor. Since this was the most honorable

thing a man could do, all men valued politics, discussed politics, took such part in politics as their economic situations and the customs and laws permitted. The southern settlers were therefore disposed, by their basic attitudes and ideas, to value politics and the public life.

They were also disposed to public life, and to politics, by the circumstances of their lives. The man who makes his living on farm or plantation is in the public eye. People can see what he's doing, can guess pretty well whether he's failing or succeeding; though he may live far from his neighbor, the neighbor usually knows his situation pretty well. There is certainly no anonymity, and a purely private life is an impossibility.

Politics--local politics first--was strongly emphasized in the South because there was need for strong local government on the loosely strung-out farms and plantations. This was centered in the plantation government itself, an autocracy controlled by the planter. But neither planter nor farmer was primarily concerned with a strong centralized government. Such a government is of value primarily to trading and manufacturing interests, which depend upon distant communication, transportation, and finance. The interest in politics in the South began at home, was home-grown, and when it did spread to the national arena, was still primarily concerned with the local situation, and with national power only so far as that was necessary to protect the local situation.

In the Province of South Carolina, almost from the beginning, local and state politics were very important. South Carolina was, for over fifty years, the "Southern Frontier":

England's frontier against the great empires of France and Spain. And, so far as the colonists could see, it was nip and tuck as to who finally would control North America. It was only after 1732, with the settlement of Georgia--at first a narrow strip in eastern Georgia--that South Carolina ceased to bear alone the burden of the Southern frontier, and could relax somewhat her concern about Spain and France. But having stood in this exposed position, having occupied this bastion, for fifty dangerous years, South Carolina learned from the beginning--indeed, learned too well--that government is important, that political power is important. It was this insistence upon political power that made South Carolina the leader in establishing the Confederacy.

The South also emphasized politics because of its aristocratic leanings. All aristocracies have to emphasize political power, since they are a small minority with special powers and privileges, and since they are concerned to maintain the status quo. Especially was it necessary to emphasize politics in the kind of aristocracy that existed in the South. For this was no titled, no permanent aristocracy. It was composed for the most part of men who had risen to power in this country, and who also, as time passed, realized that through carelessness or dissipation they could lose this power. These men were surrounded by the many who did not belong to the aristocracy but who remained on the outside only because they had as yet shown insufficient energy or had lacked sufficient time to amass enough land to lift them to the ranks of the leaders. But there they were, all the way from the neer-do-well to the successful yeoman farmer who was rapidly on the way to prominence.

One man in the community might belong to the aristocracy, but there might be several others whose children might ~~have~~ rise to that position. Because, therefore, of this instability, of this ever-changing personnel, the Southern aristocracy, the gentry, were always conscious of the needs and the responsibilities of their position.

The question arises here as to the degree of control exerted by the aristocracy of the South upon the life of the region. To what degree did they control the political destiny of the South? They probably controlled it pretty completely in colonial days. The landed aristocracy of the South had copied their lives upon those of the English gentry. Most of the common people of the South, coming from the same background, accepted and approved of this organization of society. It is true that the more the frontier expanded and the further the settlements lay from the seaboard, the more the frontiersmen were removed from the influence and power of the coastal aristocracy, and the more they thought and acted for themselves. This became especially true with the great influx of Scotch-Irish during the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century. But the great sweep toward democracy did not really begin until the Revolution. During the colonial period generally the South had an aristocratic government.

Indeed, as Edmund Wilson has pointed out in Patriotic Gore, the great sweeping pictures of the Southern aristocracy that long ago became a part of the Southern myth are not based upon the final days of the antebellum South, but upon its colonial period. This was the time of the great plantations, of eithteenth century courtesy and gallantry, of charm and of

intellectual culture. With the coming of the nineteenth century, this world became increasingly insecure, and increasingly lost the influence of its simple dignity. William H. Prescott, speaking in 1859 of his own state, South Carolina, indicated his realization of this. "Forced, perhaps by circumstances to think of ourselves more than was profitable, we have learned to talk about ourselves much more than was needful. We seem, somehow, to have become uncertain of our old position. I cannot help thinking of those days not so far removed, when South Carolina stood among her sister states with no defiance on her brow, no hatred in her heart--admired, honored, loved." ((Wallace, Hist. of S. C. III, 77))

The South lost its simple dignity because the Revolution not only freed the colonies from England, but also gave voice and volume to the will of the common man in America. Following the Revolution, the frontier exploded across the Appalachians into the great central valley, and this movement swept democracy upward and lessened correspondingly the power of aristocracy. It is significant that during the first half of the nineteenth century voting and office-holding rights were steadily extended until by the time of the Civil War over most of the South these rights were held equally by all.

As to the manner of aristocratic control, even in colonial days it was rather a matter of personal influence than of actual power. The yeoman farmer, the renter, the laborer, followed these leaders because they believed in them. In cases where an individual did not command respect, he was apt not to receive it. As a rule, he commanded respect. But the further west the

tide of settlement flowed, and the briefer, therefore, the period during which a man had held leadership in a given community, the less influence he had.

One other thing should be said about the interest of the aristocracy in politics. They emphasized politics both because they had to to maintain position and because their culture told them that this was the responsibility of the man who had economic power and resultant leisure. Seeing them concerned about politics, the average man also became concerned, both because he made no absolute distinction between himself and them, and because the movement of the frontier threw him more and more upon himself. In fact, in both politics and in manners, the aristocracy of the South served the usual function of aristocracies: to give to society in general an image of the way to live. Not that the poor struggling farmer thought he had to live like an aristocrat--that would have been foolish, and would have been putting on airs. But he was made aware that there was more to possessions than the possessions themselves, that they demanded a certain style of living, and that when he reached that point he too would adopt that style. Meanwhile--and this is important--he would live even his poor and hard life with what style, however simple, he could command. In an expanding America, this style demanded an increasing concern with politics.

Up until, say, the Missouri Compromise of 1820, we have in the South simply a healthy interest in politics. A highly social people, a people who love to take part in public action, a people moving rapidly out from under aristocratic control

into the wide reaches of the frontier. But now begins that quarrel with the North which in the end will make the South desperate in its use of politics, will indeed make it assume that politics can defend any situation regardless of the moral nature of the situation itself. Burlingame points out((Am. Conscience 251)) that the agitation over the Missouri Compromise "was not to keep the land from ruin, but to maintain a balance of power in Congress between the slave and free regions. For the first time, then, we see a definite political division based on the institution... So the aspect of slavery as a political weapon further diverted consciences from its moral color."

In brief, politics began to take on the character of religion. This was the result primarily of tremendous pressure from the outside, but it was also the result of the tendency of Southerners to consider religion a matter of certain public forms and of certain private attitudes and beliefs--attitudes and beliefs which related one to God and which were of no real concern to other men. In our dealing with other men we could act politically.

This may not be too bad if there is a basic agreement with the men we deal with as to the nature of life and its fundamental values. Given such agreement, we can safely throw all our problems into the political arena. But it was the unhappy position of the South that, in the first place, she never came to any sure agreement even with herself and, in the second place, she found herself in increasingly bitter disagreement with the North. It has been said of the South that, unfortunately, the political questions she had to face were often matters of life and death. Through the middle of the nineteenth century,

she was defending a slave-based society, a society resting upon a certain kind of exploitation of labor. This was opposed by the at least nominally free society of the Northern states--though this "free" society also showed considerable exploitation of labor. Furthermore, the South, because of the nature of its slave labor-- a race in appearance very different from the whites--had superimposed upon its economic scheme a social scheme. This, by the way, is the nature of any plantation system, and the heart of the South was the plantation system: a plantation system is not only a system of economic relationships, it is also a system of social relationships. This means that the plantation system in the South became a way of life; and the relationship between whites and Negroes, as determined by this plantation system, also became a way of life. The white South became increasingly unable to imagine a life wherein a different set of racial relationships might obtain. To challenge the economic system of the South, therefore, was to challenge its way of life; that is, to raise a life-and-death issue.

It is also true, as Allen Tate has suggested, that the religion of a people is directly related to the way it makes its living. This is not the Marxist doctrine that religion is the mere shadow of economic life. It simply maintains that men relate themselves to the material world and the spiritual world in the same way; their view of the material world is, with the proper changes, their view of the spiritual world.

Now, when, as in the South, the relation to the physical world through the plantation system and chattel slavery has

become a way of life, to attack this basic productive system was to attack even the religion of the South. To make this worse, the religion of the South, as we have seen, was never really codified: always there was a conflict between an inclusive social order of status, and an exclusive social order of individualistic democratic progress. Therefore, to raise questions about the religious order of the South was to raise questions about the most fundamental and the most uncertain point. This consequently aroused the South to the most desperate defense.

So political action grew more intense in the South. For we had here an aristocracy, dependent upon a graduated society which ideally rested upon religion and was crowned by religion, engaged in an increasingly stern struggle, both with a rising democracy within its borders actuated by an individualistic religion, and with an even more extreme democracy without its borders. As this struggle grew more intense, political action increased in importance and public life became more and more constricted. Men sacrificed personal freedom in order to maintain slavery and the entire social system based upon slavery.

A part of this freedom was the freedom the artist, the poet, must have if he is to express his vision of society. We shall refer to this again. Here we wish to note that always there have been men in the South who realized that the region was paying too much attention to politics. Most of the following references are to South Carolina, but since that state has certainly been as politically minded as any other Southern state, they need not be discounted. Early in the nineteenth century, Governor D. R. Williams tried to persuade the state to balance agri-

culture with manufacturing, in the attempt establishing a clothing and hat factory at Society Hill, but the state refused to follow him, continued to plant cotton, tried nullification because of the high tariff, and, as the historian Wallace says, "futilely sought a political remedy for an economic ill."

Of course the prime illustration of South Carolina's emphasis upon politics is John C. Calhoun. In a senatorial debate of 1837, Calhoun formulated a brief for the South. "Defying those who would industrialize the nation, Southerners thereafter took refuge in a doctrine of localism and depended upon the constitution to protect their institutions from outside assault." (("The South in American History", by Hesseltine and Smiley.)) In brief, Calhoun would control by politics, not by economics, national economic forces.

~~Come down to the 1850's.~~ In 1853 we find the South Carolina leader, Benjamin F. Perry, lamenting that the South's-- or at least South Carolina's-- obsession with national politics had taken the leaders' attention away from the economic needs of the state. Perry said, "What might not South Carolina now be if her Calhouns, Haynes, McDuffie's, Hamiltons and Prestons had devoted their great talents and energies to the commercial and internal improvement of the state instead of frittering them away in political squabbles that ended in nothing."

One of the serious writers of South Carolina in antebellum days was Thomas Ravenal, who has left us his JOURNAL. Speaking about the question of slavery in the territories,

Ravenel said, "Our people do not reflect enough upon these things for themselves, but are led on by politicians and made to think that our safety, honor, self-respect and our very existence depend upon these issues."

There is an almost humorous instance of this tendency in a list of certain alumni of the University of South Carolina published in 1901 and called "Jewels of Carolina". The list includes only "generals, governors, congressmen and senators."

About the same time, in 1907, one of the leading sociological thinkers of the South, Gardner Murphy, speaking about the antebellum beliefs of the South in regard to states rights, constitutional liberty, etc., said this, "These faiths, however sacred to us, are today irrelevant. Slavery, secession, were ended at Appomattox, and whatever may have been their former justifications, they are to be justified no longer." Murphy called these political beliefs faiths, and this is what they largely were. South Carolina not only emphasized politics, South Carolina--and the South--tended to replace religion with politics, and to make politics, religion and the moral life one.

And, then, when we come to our own decade of the 1950's, we have Ulrigh Phillips, the Southern historian, saying in effect that we are again in the situation of a Southern writer of 1860, who declared that our problems were more than politics, not to be settled by the political wisdom of Webster, Calhoun and Clay, but were social and industrial. The writer of 1860 asked, "Is it unjust to hold the Negro in bondage? Is Negro slavery inimical to the rights of white men? Is it best for both, the white and the black man?" These are moral and religious questions. These are not political questions. But the South insisted on discussing only political questions.

Still thinking of the past decade, we may ask, What white Southerner has talked about human rights? We insist upon talking about states rights. The emphasis upon civil rights is an emphasis upon human rights; note how bitterly the white South fights against any talk about civil rights. This is the same Southern tendency to keep questions in the political realm, and to prevent them from becoming moral and religious.

The Southerner's interest in politics and public life, the result both of his basic outlook and of his situation vis-a-vis the North, worked against the development of an interest in the arts. It must be recognized, of course, that for a long time pioneering conditions in the New World made interest in the fine arts impossible. But when wealth and leisure came, an interest in the arts did not follow. Southerners were inclined to take their literature, their poetry, from the North or from Europe. It is probable that from the beginning the set of mind of the dominantly Puritan New Englander turned him more toward art than did the mind of the Southerner, The original Puritan settlers emphasized the inner life. It is true that they also tried to set up, as the basic structure of their outer life, a theocratic state, but the test for citizenship in this state was, in the beginning, an experiential one, and the experience demanded was religious. From this inner life, it was easy, when the proper time came, for the Puritan to move, on the one hand, into the literary life, whose operation is private though its product is given to the public, or, on the other, and as the "Yankee" into the "private life of profit." Living more in the public world, the Southerner

felt his obligations as being more in the public world. As soon as he could relax the material struggle, he felt called to public life, and to politics.

The effect of this sense of public obligation is illustrated in the life of the Charlestonian, Hugh Swinton Legare. Legare's deepest interests were literary; he developed these interests through a stay in Europe; he should have been a writer. But public opinion forced him into law and politics. There his literary studies were rather a handicap than a help; he had to achieve against them rather than with their aid.

An instance of this public opinion is shown in a criticism of the minor Georgia poet, Richard Henry Wilde. Wilde spent six years studying in Europe. Of his use of this period, a friend of his said: "The mission to which Mr. Wilde addressed his faculties and gave years of toil in Europe was not in harmony with his relative duties to mankind and with that position which his eminent talents and finished education had secured from the world. [(In Europe))] there was delight for the senses, but mildew to the heart. The voluptuary, the man of fashion, the idler, were gratified; but the moral hero, the public benefactor, the man of enterprise and the scholar of a just ambition, desirous to leave a record of popular utility, would turn with generous self-denial from such enchantments." It is interesting that in this view the function of the scholar is not to conserve truth, or to discover it, but to leave a public "record of popular utility." ((Miller's Bench and Bar, II, 260 by Wade in LONGSTREET, 190)).

Also apropos this Southern concern with politics, there is the comment made by a Virginia tutor, probably from New

England, in 1837: "A knowledge of the politics of the day turns to a very good account as almost every gentleman here is more or less a politician." ((Eaton, Southern Civilization, 316)) And one of the characters in A. B. Longstreet's novel JACK HOPETON says: "Everywhere else there are numerous roads to distinction; here, there is only one--politics." (Wade, LONGSTREET, 191))

In New England the Romantic Movement expressed itself in the transcendentalism of Emerson and the humanitarianism of Thoreau--and, indeed, of James Lloyd Garrison. There was no such expression in the South. Well, there was Edgar Allan Poe, one of the greatest of the American romantics; but he was practically driven from the South. And there was William Gilmore Simms, a romancer who in some things rivalled Cooper, but whose strength often fades off into sentimentality, and whose hope was perhaps as much to be accepted among the gentlemen of Charleston as in the literary circles of America.

This suggests the kind of handicap the South has always put before its would-be artists. It isn't simply that it has condemned them for pursuing their more private lives, it has lured them into public life. Simms wanted to write, but he also wanted to be a country gentleman. The South, seduced by the charm of the world, was now seducing its own artists.

In contrast to this, there was little in the early industrial society of New England to seduce Emerson and Thoreau. They were angry, they were disgusted with their society. Therefore they were strongly moved to create, through art, a world of their own. The Southern writers found their society too

attractive to offer any strong criticism of it. They tended to go along with it, to reproduce it, with its show, its sentimentality, its occasional splendor.

As we shall see a little later, the South lacked individual literary creators, poets, partly because Southerners in general were engaged in the public enterprise of creating the South. Of course, they were in the first instance making a living, like men everywhere. But this living tended to be more than the private world of profit; it was also the public world of human relationships. The charm, the appeal, the poetry of the South lies partly here, that men were engaged, sometimes to their own economic hurt, in creating a public world. They did not feel they needed poets, to express for them the dissatisfactions of life; life had too many satisfactions in itself. The fact is, such a people need poets, and religious thinkers, and philosophers, perhaps more than any other. Loving the world, finding satisfaction in the world, but without poets, philosophers, and religious thinkers, they become complacent and sentimental. As the South did.

There's one other thing to be said about Southern politics and the romantic impulse of the South. This impulse did not express itself in transcendentalism and humanitarianism; it did express itself in regional politics, in the cultural nationalism of the nineteenth century. Here, instead of the single person's being glorified, the entire region was. Following this impulse, the South thought increasingly of itself as a distinct nation, radically different from the North. It was this influence that brought freedom to the European dependencies in South America, and freed Greece from the Turks.

Byron, who wrote appealingly of Greece and who, indeed, gave his life in the Greek fight for independence, was very popular in the South. When the South left the Union, then, it was seeking not only economic self-control but also that political self-control that it felt, romantically, belonged to it as a nation.

So much for the most important circumstances that not only rendered the South politically self-conscious but that led it to emphasize politics beyond reason. Let us consider now the essential weaknesses of Southern politics.

The basic weakness papears in the thinking even of the South's greatest statesman, John C. Calhoun, to whom we have already referred briefly. In his politics, Calhoun was a faithful follower of John Locke. Locke had laid the foundations for modern politics, the politics proper to individualistic, democratic man, determined to break away from the authoritarian institutions of the past and to set up, in the light of his own reason, rational institutions suited to his individualistic purposes. The first aim of Lockean politics was to break the hold of the traditional, feudal, sacred past. John C. Calhoun not only adopted this rational politics, and learned how to manipulate it so that he was able to lead the South for more than two decades; he even attempted to add to its armory the device he called the concurrent majority.. On one level, it was entirely reasonable that he do this, since he represented a minority and was therefore forced to encumber and delay majority action as long as possible.

But what was he using this complicated, checks-and-balances Lockean politics for? To maintain in power a region that

at least in the thoughts of its leaders was highly conservative, even feudalistic. He was using the politics of a rational, individualistic society to maintain a pre-rational, organic society, where custom and tradition, and not reason, had been the moving force. To put it briefly, he was trying to maintain a feudal society by the very methods evolved by Locke to destroy such a society. In such an attempt, even in the absence of outside interference, the political means would change or destroy the social end. The outside interference came, finally in the form of the Civil War, and made academic the question as to what would have happened if the South had been able to continue for some time this self-defeating course.

As to the question, Why did Calhoun and the South attempt to follow such a contradictory course, the answer is that this was merely the public indication of that contradiction that lay, as we have seen, at the heart of the South. For the Southerner was trying both to hold on to the past and to grab the future. And the farther west he went, and the longer he lived there, the more impelling the lure of the future became. But the more compelling also the drag of the past, as embodied in chattel slavery. Calhoun with his clear, logical mind, simply made apparent the division that lay at the heart of the South.

His personal life also illustrates this division. He was the son and grandson of Scotch-Irish frontiersmen, hard-driving, logical, looking to the future. But he married into the low-country, plantation aristocracy of South Carolina--though the woman he married was a cousin, also a Calhoun. In the long run he brought to the defense of this aristocracy the logic and drive of a Scotch-Irish frontiersman; in other words,

he brought to the defense of the past the instruments of the future.

He had to fail, the South had to fail.

Another way of saying the same thing about the South is to say that the effective political images of the South were too far from the images about which its most distinctive hopes clustered. This is the case even today; perhaps more today than ever. The political images were the product of the modern world, rooted in Locke. The Constitution, States Rights, State Sovereignty, Checks-and-Balances, Individual Liberty. As would be expected of modern creations, these are high abstractions. I don't mean they aren't real, that they don't carry terrific emotional weight. I only mean they are considerably removed from that concrete reality of the everyday world, of the definite place, of the present time in which, as we have seen, the Southerner tends to live. This reality is represented by the warmer, more human terms: home, kinsman, hospitality, kindliness, courtesy, courage, and honor.

The Southerner tended to accept these basic, concrete facts of his life as he accepted life in general. He did not build a great poetry upon them, or a philosophy, or a church. Therefore, he never really understood them; never knew them in their universal and eternal meanings; never lifted them out of the moving pattern of his life and contemplated and criticized them. Both lured and forced into the wider, more public arena of politics, he gave his attention, his thought, and his emotions to political slogans. He supposed that by defending the political position represented by these slogans, he was

defending his life. He was trying to defend by political means human and religious values which he really didn't understand. Consequently, as we have seen, the means themselves, politics, became imbued with a religious quality, and political defeat, finally military defeat, seemed to be the defeat of God himself.

Perhaps the Southerner who carried furthest this belief in the importance of public life and politics was Thomas Jefferson. Because of his greatness, and his importance in the founding of the nation, he strongly influenced the South in that direction. Jefferson was an eighteenth century rationalist, who apparently felt that a man's religion, so far as it was not a reasonable matter, was a purely private matter, without public effect and of no public interest. He felt, as Allen Tate puts it, that man's destiny could be encompassed by politics. This was the expression of the eighteenth century belief in man's control of himself by reason. All that was needed was a group of rational institutions, and this Jefferson, and others, attempted to provide in the American government. Calhoun, who also believed in reason and tried to get men to follow it, came increasingly to the belief that men acted only from interest; that despite the political safeguards Jefferson and the others had set up, the majority, which increasingly meant the North, would treat the South in whatever way it thought most profitable. There was little place in Jefferson's mind for this kind of irrational selfishness. Of course, Jefferson'soo distrusted power, distrusted it extremely, but he felt that it could be prevented by political checks and balances. But the question still remains, If the people are

watchdogs over their rulers, who is the watchdog over the people? Under the theory of the divine right of Kings, God supervised the rulers. In Jefferson's democracy, the people took the place of the kings, but nothing took the place of God. Therefore the tyranny of the majority, which Jefferson was beginning to fear before his death, and which Calhoun fought futilely against.

Though Jefferson with his theory of religion as private and politics as the one public business increased greatly the original tendency of Southerners to live and move in the public arena, he also helped to set in motion an opposing tendency. The deepening religious interest of the South during the nineteenth century was to some degree a reaction against Jefferson and deists like him. He of course, with Tom Paine, was the best known of the deists-- or "atheists" as their opponents usually called them; and it was partly in fear of such men that nineteenth century revivalism went to the extremes it did in the South. But this religion was still a private affair between the individual and God, however public its revivalistic expression may have been.

Now, as we said, the Southerner in his absorption in politics brought into clear consciousness certain effective but highly abstract phrases, or images, like the Constitution, States Rights, etc., and thereby pushed into the background the simple homely images by which he really lived. But in this regard Jefferson was too abstract even for the South. As early as 1800, according to Jenkins in his Pre-Slavery Thought in the Old South, ((p. 63)) Jefferson was being attacked because

of his abstract political theory. Everyone admitted that he was a great speculative thinker. But this frightened the slaveholding South, which was aware of the extremes that had followed the rights-of-man theory in France. Such an abstract theory, acted upon in America, would destroy the entire slave system.

It appears, then, that Jefferson was suspected by religious people because his rationalism left little room for religion, and by slaveowners because his rationalism might leave little room for slavery. He was properly feared by both, since his nationalism was a tool that would not only help free the enslaved but also help to break the life-giving bonds that tie men to the corporate community and to God.

Here again, in Jefferson _versus_ Calhoun (and Calhoun _versus_ himself), we see the mortal conflict that lay deep in the heart of the South. In the decades preceding the Civil War, Jefferson's influence waned, the rights of man were driven underground. Yet even as this was occurring, the aristocracy was losing ground and the South was becoming more democratic. And, to jump to the present, what do we have? Southerners swear by Jefferson, he is the patron saint of the Democratic Party, and yet the caste system advocated by Calhoun is still the fact in most of the South and the ideal in much of the white South. We are still in the woods.

We may consider this attempt to substitute politics for religion from another point of view. As regards forms of language, the South has been noted for its rhetoric and its eloquence. The purpose of such speech is to persuade others.

If you describe this type of speech as carrying on an argument or a quarrel with others, you may describe religious speech, at least in part, as carrying on an argument or a quarrel with God. The great Judaeo-Christian example of the quarrel with God is the Book of Job. By and large the South-- the white South, that is-- has never really quarreled with God. In accord with its highly public temper, it has been inclined to be complacent about the more inner, or private nature of its life, to accept the world and itself as given, and to go on from there. It could do this, first, because the world as given was, at least for the white South, an unusually pleasant world, and second, because as soon as this world came into conflict with the North, there was always a sufficient quarrel with non-Southerners, a quarrel which for a long time the South had some chance of winning, to keep the South occupied. Men are hardly going to quarrel with the very nature of things so long as there's a considerable chance that they may change the arrangement of things. The South, therefore, the ruling South, that is, both from temperament and from the nature of its political situation, spent most of its energies quarreling with men and had little left for any quarrel with God.

The quarrel with God is in a way the quarrel with oneself. We have spoken of the lack of poets in the South. "The poet," says W. B. Yeats, "quarrels with himself, the rhetorician with others." For a long time the white South was too busy quarreling with others to quarrel with itself. Therefore the lack of poets; therefore the lack of a social-minded church. Within recent years both of these lacks being filled, and

primarily because of the long failure of the South to succeed in its quarrel with others.

But the Southerner was not the only American who laid too much emphasis upon politics. For certain reasons, he laid more than any other American, but all Americans have been politically minded, and have tended to try to make politics do the work of religion. The failure of the South, at least vis-a-vis the North, was that the religion the South had did not strongly re-enforce its politics. Let us contrast for a moment the interplay of politics and religion in the North and in the South.

At the very beginning, in New England, the state was the arm of the church, politics one of the means to religion. Though this relationship soon broke down, the tone accompanying it still exists. Politics can still be made to wear the aura of religion.

According to W. L. Miller, this was clearly apparent in the American Revolution. At that time politics demanded that we speak to the world in political terms, such as "inalienable rights." "But those terms, in and by themselves, would never have supplied the drive to victory, however mightily they weighed with the literate minority. What carried the ranks of militia and citizens was the universal persuasion that they, by administering to themselves a spiritual purge, acquired the energy God had always, in the manner of the Old Testament, been ready to impart to his repentant children. Their first responsibility was not to shoot redcoats but to cleanse themselves; only thereafter to take aim." ((Smith and Jamison, I 333.))

Smith and Jamison, in their Religion in American Life, ((p. 350)), suggest that one enduring result of the Revolution was the belief that it hadn't been revolutionary, but simply a protest of native piety against foreign impiety. In this connection, it is significant that though the French Revolution was against the church and religion, the American Revolution had no such object. As a consequence of this closeness of religion and politics during the Revolution, the foreign visitor Grund was able to note in the 1830's that Americans looked to religion to promote civil liberties, and so religion took color from patriotism.

Southerners were, therefore, only Americans in their inclination to make political liberty a faith, and to crown politics with the aura of religion. What distinguished the Southerner in antebellum days was the gap between his politics and at least an important part of his religion. As the Civil War crisis approached, both the North and the South tried to find religious support for their respective political positions. Religion was, however, a much greater aid to the North than to the South. This was because the individualistic social order of the North was closer to its individualistic Protestant religion than the social order of the South to essentially the same religion. The South was trying to fight a conservative war, though its citizenry was strongly touched with democratic Americanism and expressed this in their individualistic Protestantism. After the South had been attacked, its soldiers could fight for "hearths" and "native land", but they became confused as they tried to incorporate in their aims God and their altars. For this was the same individualistic Protestant

God the Union soldiers were fighting for. And the social order out of which the Union soldiers came stood for democracy and the individual and progress and the future. The god of the North was more strongly and variously attached to the life of the North than was the god of the South to the life of the South. The life of the South did not support as completely its politics as the life of the North supported its politics. It was perhaps because of this wide gap between its life and its politics that the South laid more weight upon its politics than they could bear; indeed, tried to make politics bear the weight of religion.

As a result, the political role became a matter of life and death. The players, who, originally, had entered the forum mainly because they liked the action and the applause, now began to see themselves as acting "in the great Taskmaster's eye." When, with political (and military) defeat, he let them down, they were let down indeed: the game of life seemed lost. For a hundred years now the South has been trying to discover new rules under which the game can be played.

CHAPTER XV

"THE TRAGIC SENSE OF LIFE"

During this period the South has developed a tragic sense of life that is peculiarly its own. The Southerner as an American believes in success, takes individual defeat as a temporary setback, and has never known national defeat. As a Southerner, however, he has known both national defeat and long frustration. Both white and Negro Southerners have known this, but because it has been different, and because they have taken it differently, we shall discuss them separately, taking the whites first. And because the seeds for this tragic sense of life were present in the South even among the whites before the Civil War, we shall limit this chapter primarily to that earlier period.

The defeat of the South may be called, not incorrectly, a tragic defeat. For, though it is not difficult to understand why the South was defeated, it is not possible to view that defeat with complete satisfaction. Too much goodness was involved in the downfall, some of which America could use even today. It was the South's possession of these strains of goodness that gives to its defeat a tragic cast. Like the typical tragic character, the region, for all its excellence, had its fatal, its "tragic" flaw.

Yet, though the history of the region may be called a tragic history, the Southerner himself does not strike one as a tragic character. I know there are exceptions. In the summary eye of history and certainly of myth, South Carolinians generally acted like tragic characters in the late 1850's.

"Hotspurs" they were called, ~~and they were called~~, and they rode fast, proudly, even insolently into the darkening future. This was true tragic hybris, and if these figures are typical Southerners, then the Southerners are tragic figures. Unfortunately, in the parade and bluster of the last decade, the South has underscored a part of this image; any nobility, however, that may have been connected with 1861 is largely absent. Indeed, the South has rebelled and blustered so much that many non-Southerners think the Southerner is like this. This opinion is due to the poor press the South gets. This isn't quite true. The press, being what it is, the South gets the kind of press you'd expect. If our politicians put on circuses--and they do--why should a circus-hungry press--and people--disregard them?

Yet, whatever outsiders may think, I doubt if knowledgeable Southerners will agree that this insolence, bluster, and parade is an expression of the essential Southerner. Nor would they be inclined to say that the Southerner is a tragic character; indeed, I think this is about the last thing they would say. Such a characterization would run counter to their whole sense of the Southerner as relaxed and humorous. If this estimate is correct, then we have the situation of a people of a generally non-tragic character suffering, as a people, tragic frustration and defeat. This suggests that Southern history should not have happened to Southerners; and it may be it is this not quite suitable combination of people and events that underscores the quality of pathos that haunts Southern life. I was suggesting this quality when, in an early chapter, I referred to early Southerners as children entering

unawares the dark woods of the modern world. Pathos--and childhood--suggests innocence, which in the South is curiously mixed with the knowledge of evil; it suggests also the feminine culture of the South.

Perhaps I should sketch the nature of the tragic character. The image has been clarified for us by two great ages, the late Greek and the Elizabethan. These were ages in which men thought highly of man, ages of great attempts, great achievements, and great failures. In the tragic vision, the individual hurls himself against the walls of ignorance, or custom, or church, or state, or even the vague but still massive walls of life itself, and is in the end stopped by these wall or impaled upon them, but is remembered because of the great attempt he made. The literary tragedy is man's tribute to the stripped will of man; a recognition of its worth and of its doom within this limited world.

Dealing with great attempts and great failures, tragedy always raises more or less clearly the question of justice. What is justice? Is it attainable in this world? Though only Prometheus shows a god fighting and suffering for man against the gods, all tragedies raise more or less clearly the question of the justice of life. This is one of the great questions, and historically men have imagined tragedies as being enacted by men of at least earthly greatness, aristocrats, nobles, kings. With the coming of the modern world, the importance of admittedly great men, aristocrats, nobles, and kings, has faded, and the average man has become of increasing importance. It is difficult for us now to raise the great questions because we do not think greatly enough of man. Only great men acting greatly can raise great questions.

But though we live in a world short on heroes--short on tragic heroes--we also live in a world infused with a sense of tragedy. One of the great books written by an early precursor of that world was entitled "The Tragic Sense of Life", and was published in 1913. Its author, Don Miguel de Unamuno, was one of the early existentialists. Though it may be impossible to define existentialism, one of the main attitudes held by the men who are called existentialists is of life as a desperate affair, the individual forced moment by moment to create his own life, to use a phrase from Unamuno, "in the depths of the abyss".

Though the typical Southerner is not, in my opinion, a tragic character, he has a deeper sense of life as tragic than do other Americans. Whether this makes him more of an existentialist or not does not yet appear. Since existentialism is in part the intellectual expression of extreme and isolated modern individualism, it would be somewhat surprising if the Southerner with his strong social sense should be an existentialist; and yet in his emphasis upon the concrete, upon the present moment, upon the fact and not the theory, he shows an existentialist attitude.

We now go back to the beginning to determine how the Southerner developed whatever tragic sense of life he has. He began, as we said, with a fairly relaxed, acceptive air. There was in the attitude of his immediate predecessors, the great Elizabethans, the makings of tragedy; Raleigh spoke of the "star-stretched greatness" of man, reached too high himself and was cut off. But no great degree of this carried over into the commercial Southern settlements; and, as the seven-

teenth century yielded place to the eighteenth, men became more practical and more limited in their interests.

It is true that the frontier, which from the beginning exerted some influence, and which from the Revolution on was a magnet, accented individualism and the tendency of the individual to rebel against outer control. But the looseness of social organization in the South and the general tolerance of individualism was usually so great that men did not need to rebel in order to express their individuality. The nature of the life itself gave them sufficient latitude.

Then came the Scotch-Irish, a darker, more wilful, more passionate breed of men. Life had treated them more harshly in the Old World, and they were prepared, both by their experience and by their strict Calvinism, to live it more harshly in the New. They seem to have been aware, as we have said, of their tendency to individualism and lawlessness, and were generally disposed to set up quickly a strict church that might restrain their rebellious natures. Nevertheless, the very existence of such a strict institution within a region otherwise unrestrained must have inflamed rather than restrained the spirits of some men, and developed in them that proud individual will that could brook no interference and that in its complete working out might become truly tragic.

Where the restraint worked, however, and doubtless in most cases it did, it was a puritanical restraint; and puritanism is hardly the soil for the tragic character. It is true, there are differences of opinion on this question. Joseph Haroutunian, in his book <u>Piety versus Moralism; the Passing of</u>

the New England Theology, sees a sense of the tragedy of life as essential to Calvinism. On the contrary, Perry Miller, an authority on New England, argues that Puritanism lacks a sense of tragedy. I am inclined to agree with Miller. The Puritan relied too much upon the Covenant with God, of which, as time passed, he made a legal matter. Though this did not remove entirely the mystery of God, it pushed it into the background. It is true, the Puritan learned how to face a hard world, but this tended to make him hard and narrow and to prevent the great sweep of the truly tragic character. Also, in a sense, he did not find the world really hard, since he was assured that God meant it all for man's good. He tended, therefore, to play down that tragic sense of the great mystery and impossibility of life. In the puritan view, life is hard but never unjust.

If the coming of the Scotch-Irish, then, pushed the Southerner toward the tragic sense of life, it was rather because of their bold thrust and passionate intensity and not because of their strong puritanical leanings.

But though the continuing moving frontier tended to bring out those individualistic and indeed insolent characteristics that mark the tragic character, this tendency was counteracted in the South by the order and restraint needed for the conduct of a complex organization like the plantation, and, more importantly, by the increasingly necessary unity demanded of the white community because of slavery. Before the end, this unity was demanding that men keep silent on the subject of justice. There was no time to raise the

question of universal justice when Southern whites, theoretically democrats and equalitarians, were holding Negroes in bondage. There was no room for rebels against either God or man.

Yet, even while Southern whites were becoming individually more social minded, less individualistic, less rebellious and potentially less tragic, the South itself was taking up a course that would bring disaster, and was developing and permitting to be developed in its citizens a singleness of purpose that might eventuate in tragic action. The question of justice was being increasingly raised, but instead of being that universal justice with which tragedy is concerned it was political justice within the union of American states. Here we see again the South's tendency to reduce all questions to politics, and then to take sides as though one were standing with God against the Devil--as Dr. James Thornwell, at the beginning of the Civil War, said we were.

But it should be pointed out that this singleness of purpose, this wholeness of heart on at least the political level was not merely the result of the increasing tension over slavery, it was also due to the original social nature of the Southerner, his tendency to merge private and public life, his concern for the entire community. This concern gave him a certain whole-heartedness, especially in moments of crisis. I say a certain whole-heartedness, for, as we have seen, his heart was never whole at the deepest level. Standing with considerable wisdom between the past and the future, he was yet never clear as to just how he stood: now he sought too desperately the future, now held too hard to the past. Being thus not clearly placed in time--though, even at that, he was

more clearly placed than his Northern compatriot--he occupied an uncertain position in eternity. He couldn't really decide how God stood in regard to it all.

Caught in this deep uncertainty, and having as neighbor a region whose citizens were certain what time was for in the business either of saving souls or making money, the Southerner drew together with his region and headed into a struggle which he did not completely want and therefore a defeat which he was not prepared to suffer.

Whatever degree of wholeheartedness the Southerner attained, at whatever level he found his heart whole, he attained at the same time some degree of innocence. We approach here that delicate problem of the relation of innocence and guilt in the Southerner. It has seemed to many outsiders that the white South, nominally Christian, yet supported by a patently unjust labor system, ought to be overwhelmed with guilt. It is possible, indeed probably, that the South's burden of guilt for its treatment of the Negro is far more stifling than we realize. It is probable also that the failure to admit, perhaps even to recognize guilt, is due in part to complacency, moral obtuseness, hardness of heart. But I think there has also been a strange quality of innocence in the South, the result of the interaction of the people and the situation. It was in part this innocence that made the less innocent, more sophisticated North suspicious and angry; it seemed to the North like sheer deceit. It was also this innocence that helped to take the South down the disastrous road it followed. Perhaps this innocence was in part the innocence of the tragic

character. What were the grounds for its existence in the Southern character?

What are the grounds for its existence anywhere? The main ground is wholeness: the fact of wholeness creates the quality of innocence. Usually when we think of innocence we think of the child and of the saint. They are very much alike but very different. The Christian admonition is to become like little children. The child is innocent because his world is still whole, undifferentiated, unbroken, the counterpart of his own simple, impulsive inner life. It includes even the moon in the sky as a toy to be played with. The saint is innocent because his world, having been broken, is whole again, the counterpart of his own continuing inner life. It is sometimes said that innocence means newness, detachment from the past, life just in the present. This does describe the innocence of the child: he has no past to incorporate into the present or to keep out of the present. It does not describe the mature innocence of the saint, an innocence filled with sophistication. As the Bible puts it, be wise as serpents and harmless as doves. Whatever innocence the average man may reveal, it lies somewhere between these two poles, the innocence of the child and the innocence of the saint. The saint, too, lives in the present; but it is a present into which has been incorporated, as into one whole, all the richness of the past; and to the saint's view all the past is rich, all an evidence, somehow, of God's love.

So, in attempting to understand the innocence of an individual, or a group, it is not enough to say that, like the child, they face the world with no memory of the past, detached, uninvolved, with clear eyes. The question is, not how limited

and restricted is the view, but how well organized it is, how well everything in it hangs together. According to our analysis, the early Southerner brought much more of the past into his present than did the early New Englander; but it was the Puritan New Englander who was oppressed with the sense of guilt, that is with the absence of innocence, and not the Southerner. The truth of the matter is, the Puritan was more burdened with the past than was the non-puritanical Southerner. The Puritan deliberately cut himself off from the past, and from much of the world, because he could not incorporate it into his vision of life. But he had to hold himself separate from it and it was this separation of himself from a part of himself that gave him the sense of guilt. To the Southerner, the past and much of the present were woven together into his world; and since he had had to cut himself off from less than had the Puritan, he felt a stronger sense of wholeness and therefore exhibited some quality of innocence.

In fact, much more than we are accustomed to think, innocence is the product, not of the novel, never before apprehended moment, but of the slow accretions of custom, undisturbed, undivided by the acid, analytical mind. W. B. Yeats, wishing for his daughter the gifts of innocence and beauty, asks:

> How but in custom and in ceremony
> Are innocence and beauty born?

Whatever innocence existed in the South was in part the product of "custom and ceremony": the casual and yet effective binding together of men and of groups of men, of the past and the future, in one society. In so far as this was effective, men lived in it without thought; they were innocent of thought; they were innocent.

In an isolated, customary society it may be possible to be fairly innocent of thought without falling into disaster. But the South was never this kind of society. Increasingly, during the early nineteenth century, the western frontier pulled away from the seaboard, increasingly the strain along the Mason-Dixon fault grew greater. Twisted and compressed by these inner and outer forces of change, the South dreamed ever more deeply of the now-vanished custom and ceremony of the eighteenth century plantation. In most of the stories of this time, written either in or about the South, the plantation is the Southern ideal. But the actuality about which this plantation myth was built was the long-vanished seaboard plantation of the eighteenth century. The contemporary nineteenth century plantation had fallen into decay along the seaboard, and along the frontier was bursting at the seams as it responded to the expanding individualism of the time and the place. The old completeness, the old self-contained assurance, the old accompanying innocence was disappearing. With this growing separation from its early self and from the rest of the Union, the South began to develop a sense of guilt.

The individualistic, separatist spirit of the Scotch-Irish, accentuated by a century on the frontier, increased this sense. For the Scotch-Irish were the most puritanical group in the South, and as such were furthest from innocence, most conscious of guilt. The Puritan felt guilty first because he felt his separation from God. Attempting to close this gap, he cut himself off from the world--Oh, he developed in the North the Yankee, to manipulate it, but neither he nor the

Yankee could afford to love it. Disentangling himself from the world, therefore, and from love, he increased his sense of guilt; and the more he made of the world a wilderness of stone, the guiltier he felt. The only way out of the wilderness is the lightning flash of God's grace, as on the road to Damascus. Without some such intervention, he is headed for wilder wildernesses, and the further he goes to find God, the less God is there.

The Scotch-Irish, the "Puritans of the South", were prevented by their own modified Puritanism and by the inertia of the South from wandering so far. But they did help to develop the sense of guilt which for so long lay obscured, like a hidden strain or stain, beneath the fairly placid surface of Southern life.

It is well at this point to contrast a sense of innocence that appeared mainly in the North during the mid-nineteenth century. The paradox is that it appeared there, in a rapidly disintegrating individualistic culture about the same time as a quality of innocence was being canceled in the South by a growing sense of guilt. As Henry Nash Smith has pointed out in Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth, the innocence of the North was produced by the presence of the vast, untouched reaches of the West, the innocence of which, it was believed, would make innocent the men who settled there. In these untouched spaces, they would be washed of the evil and guilt of the past. The wholeness of nature would make man whole.

I should add to this that the burden of guilt, heavily imposed upon New England by the strict Puritanism of the seven-

teenth century, and by the progressive loss of wholeness in the increasingly intense individualistic struggle of the nineteenth century, had become too much for men to bear. At last they reacted against it, and, like Romantics, concluded that in the innocent world of nature they would become whole again.

It was an impossible dream. For they carried with them into this spacious new world the same constrictive, individualistic, rational, guilt-laden minds they had developed. The West may have been, as they put it, "The Garden of the World", a new Eden for a new Adam. Only, Adam wasn't new. He brought with him his individualistic and increasingly materialistic drives. The Garden was so rich that, beginning as a subsistence farmer, Adam soon found himself involved with the rise and fall of world markets, and, even more desperately, with the financial power, expressed especially through railroads and banks, of the East and of the wicked Europe he thought he had left behind. By the end of the nineteenth century, the dream of innocence was gone. Its disappearance is recorded, for instance, in Howe's The Story of a Country Town, and in Hamlin Garland's Main-Travelled Roads. When the western fringes of the Garden became the dustbowl of the 1930's, it was clear that nature, if ever innocent, had been sadly tarnished by man.

The Southerner had no such heavy burden of guilt to be relieved of. True, he had the evil of slavery. But, especially during the eighteenth century and along the Atlantic seaboard, he had handled this with such a sense of the completeness of total social order and with so little sheer, disruptive individualism,

that he had developed little guilt in regard to it. He had therefore less need to pin his hopes on the untouched, virgin, and innocent world lying to the west. In fact, from the very beginning he had been more inclined than his Northern counterpart to accept the whole world, himself included, with its mixed good and evil. His innocence, indeed, lay partly in the fact that he accepted the world, though, undoubtedly, much of this apparent innocence was complacency. But as he came to depend increasingly upon slavery to take him swiftly into the future, he found himself losing progressively the wholeness of his early view, found himself turning increasingly to the past to justify himself, found himself therefore increasingly entangled in the past, and therefore increasingly burdened by the guilt caused by this incongruous involvement. He could not go West like the simple, free Northern yeoman. He actually took slavery with him; or he looked forward to the benefit, and the burden, of slavery on the frontier; or he looked forward to the difficulty of living as a simple yeoman in a region where at least some others would own slaves. And the more, and more rapidly, he moved, the less he found about him the old, established, customary, and therefore in some degree innocent, community; and the more, therefore, he was aware of the guilt that accompanies all separation caused by the desire for individual advancement. After the bitter defeat of the Civil War, and forced now into subjection to a nation of which he felt himself but insecurely a part, there is no question that he would enter with little innocence any West left to conquer.

But this takes us ahead of our story. If the Southerner's growing sense of guilt had been properly related to the social

order that was its chief cause, he might have corrected the flaws of that order without a disastrous war. But under the influence of the puritanical Scotch-Irish and the growing individualism of the nineteenth century, he came to connect his guilt simply with his separation from an abstract God, and not from God as He might appear in other people, including those held in slavery. Indeed, the more guilt he felt for his private sins, the less he felt for his public, though all the time it was the existence of slavery, increasingly condemned by the growing humanitarian spirit of the nineteenth century, that furnished the reservoir of unconscious guilt that spilled over into conscious guilt for personal sins.

We have, then, in the South, at the close of the antebellum period, a badly confused society. It was a society being disrupted by the individualistic pull of the West, by its own deepening sense of guilt, the result largely of the slave system but attributed to personal sins, and by the moral and political pressures of the North. As a protection against these disruptive influences, the South developed a superficial assurance in regard to slavery and a loud Southern nationalism.

This struggle within the South was a tragic struggle because it resulted from a flaw within a society which revealed many excellencies. Among these, I need mention only the courage advocated and exhibited by any aristocracy, the strong sense of social duty within a society of admirable looseness--the individual balanced against the group--and a will to freedom at almost any cost. We have to admit that the social unity of the whites and their will to freedom was in part a reaction to the presence of Negro slaves. Nevertheless, these characteristics were within limits excellent ones. Furthermore, the

slaves were also in a limited way a part of the community, the older the plantation as a rule the more truly a part. Unfortunately, as we have seen, they were supposed to be a static element in a dynamic social order, and therefore could never find any true place.

The Southern intellectuals and artists--unfortunately, there were too few of them--sensed the tightening struggle, the darkening air, but without really understanding it. William Gilmore Simms, as we have already pointed out, one of the best informed men in the South, was fascinated during the 1830's with the problem of Hamlet. He saw sensitive seaboard Southerners as Hamlets, faced with social problems too complex for solution, and in danger, therefore, of adopting desperate remedies. Says William R. Taylor, in Cavalier and Yankee, Simms "came to look upon his own personal lot and that of the South as essentially tragic. The South in its newly awakened consciousness was seen as necessarily at war both with itself and with the larger American society of which Simms continued to feel himself a part." ((p. 292))

During the same decade, the thirties, the South Carolina intellectual, Hugh Legare, commenting upon a visit to Versailles, wondered why "a society so charming and so accomplished [as our lowland aristocracy] be doomed to end so soon, and, perhaps, so terribly." "We are (I am quite sure) the last of the race of South-Carolina. I see nothing before us but decay and downfall." ((Quoted by Taylor, p. 55.))

Taylor goes on to say that, for Southern visitors abroad during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Europe was "a mirror which threw back a distorted image of what was happening

to the South, an image which threatened revolution, class warfare and the extinction of polite culture...The South saw itself as experiencing in a few years a historic decline which in Europe had spread over centuries...The idea of the gentleman underwent an equally abrupt change, and Jefferson's conception of a natural aristocracy made up of men of superior virtue and superior talent tended to be replaced by an image drawn from revolutionary Europe of the gentleman as a doomed aristocrat. Among Southern intellectuals, tragic exaggeration was all the rage." ((p. 52))

Discussing this sense of a Southern doom, Herbert M. McLuhan writes: "The passionate and tragic sense of life as opposed to the life of multiple and divergent purposes is already discernible as a basic life-style long before the Civil War, as the work of Poe strongly testifies. The ominous sense of fatality that was already haunting that life comes out in all his work." ((Southern Vanguard, 114))

In the social world of the South, however, this growing sense of doom was being balanced and wherever possible drowned out by lightness and gaiety. We have already given Harriet Martineau's report on this, and seen how the so generally assumed lightness and ease overlay a deeply disturbed mind and heart. The South had early stressed the graces of life; a people concerned with public life, they had developed and enjoyed it. As the scene darkened, therefore, they became increasingly gay, trying to overcome the darkness with a little light, trying like the dancers in Brussels on the eve of Waterloo to drown with music the sound of the approaching guns. But

this gaiety was more than a pose; it was an expression of the life-style of the South; it danced in Richmond drawing-rooms throughout the long assault.

Here, in these drawing-rooms, was exhibited both the strength and the weakness of the South. Here was a people, on the surface and in public gay and happy, in private and in the depths of their hearts torn with fear and anguish. They danced like ladies and gentlemen, smiling, never admitting 'how ill all's here about the heart." It's a fascinating attitude; within certain limits highly admirable. But there are limits, and the end is confusion. No man need wear his heart on his sleeve, but sooner or later the outer must echo the inner, the world the heart. This is the composite vision which the great religions, however precariously, achieve. Perhaps the South has charmed men because it has danced so well above the abyss, but sooner or later the piper has to be paid. The South has been paying now for at least a hundred years. There are some recent indications that she may be on the verge of bringing together the inner and the outer worlds, of finding a more solid floor for the public dance than the aching hearts of separate individuals.

As for the Negro in the South prior to Emancipation, it can be said of him even more certainly than of the white that he was not at heart a tragic character. He had no part in creating his harsh American fate; and it is possible that he possessed a native temperament which enabled him to bear that fate better than he might otherwise have. It should be said immediately that even the existence of racial temperaments is doubtful. However, Herskovits thinks that the Negro does show at least

two important racial characteristics: an unusual degree of both reserve and resiliency. The American Negro seems to show this now; this may be, however, the result of his American experience. If it is native, the Negro is not a typical tragic character. For traits like these enable men to bend before the storms of life and stand upright again, not to crash in pride and magnificent ruin like the tragic hero.

The American Indian is often contrasted with the Negro in this regard. In early colonial times the Indian too was enslaved, but tended to break under the strain. The white man has a sentimental regard for the Indian on this score. Remembering his own love of freedom, he says in admiration, "The Indian was too proud to be a slave." He forgets that he himself came by this pride fairly recently. He also admires the Indian because he had to push him fiercely foot by foot back across the American continent, and then, to salve his own conscience, he felt sorry for him because he had thus disposed of him. It has also been suggested, by Herskovits I believe, that the American plantation was more bearable to the Negro than to the Indian because the Negro's agricultural life in Africa had been far more like the plantation than the Indian's hunting life in America.

The important thing is that the Negro does not seem to have brought to his American experience the tragic temperament nor to have developed it here. This is not to say that there were no typical tragic individuals among the Negroes: bold, imprudent, single-hearted men who would be free or die. Generally, however, such men seem to have been lonely, scattered

individuals. The mass of Negroes were more realistic, prudent, and pliable; they estimated correctly the overpowering weight that could be quickly massed against them, and accomodated themselves, with whatever grief and pain, to this weight. Even as they moved slowly towards the work-goals their masters set them, so they moved slowly toward the goal of freedom that doubtless all of them desired.

At one level, however, the Negro moved more rapidly and directly than the white. This was the religious level. He was not confused, slowed down, and turned aside by the contradictory wishes that filled the white man's mind: both to maintain the total community remembered from the medieval past and to move more rapidly into an individualistic, exploitative future; both to accept the world, with its pleasures and pains, its mixed good and evil, and, in revulsion, to deny the world and run frenziedly after God. The Negro was caught in a changeless plantation-and-slave system, he had small chance to exploit anybody, and there was little place for puritanism in his rich, warm love of life. Perhaps he loved the immediacy of life more because, being kept so close to it, there was little else he could see. He has, in these latter days, and among a growing middle class, developed at times a strict puritanism; but this can be explained mainly as a reaction against the mythical love of life which in part his condition stimulated in him and in part the paler whites attributed to him.

I think we may say he was deeply religious when he came here. Life was not the simple measurable thing he could see; behind all actions, objects, moments there were presences with which a man had to deal. When, therefore, the whites offered

him some aspects of Christianity, partly to salve their consciences, partly to encourage obedience and order, he was quick to take what was offered him as the religion of this new land, which was now his, or at least in which his lot was cast. What he received, he interpreted in the light of his own experience. Doubtless in those areas where the paternalistic system worked best, especially in the old seaboard states, he came finally, through the limited and sometimes prudential affection he received, to a sense of God's love as expressed in the simple figure of Jesus: child--and he loved children--and finally lord and master. But--what the whites had not intended--he came through the Old Testament to the sense of God's justice which finally would save "his people". He saw himself as one with the Israelites in bondage in Egypt, acted out their suffering and anticipated their escape. This story meant nothing to the whites; it had been too long since they had been slaves; it never even occurred to them that it could have meaning for the Negroes; and though the Negroes in their spirituals sang this story openly before the whites, the whites thought the verses merely odd and interesting.

The Negroes remained for a long time in the house of bondage, and it was while they were there that they discovered the strength which lies beyond tragedy. They pled with God, they argued with him, they enacted through the years Job's great drama. They came out finally where Job came out: they accepted the hardship, suffering, and mystery of life, and they experienced occasionally the splendor that falls across the path of those who do not deny the night.

A people not deserving the hard lot which befell them, maybe they had to do this to survive. But they did it. Maybe the Southern white hasn't done it because he hasn't had to. I suppose the question is, how much defeat does a man have to suffer before he begins to capitalize defeat? I dare say this depends upon the man. The point is that even before the Civil War the Negro had learned the lesson. The whites hardly see it yet. At the opening of the Civil War, though there were a few who sensed the falling darkness, the majority were bright, too bright and insolent, riding high toward a defeat they were not prepared to suffer, and would, even a hundred years later, find it hard to understand.

CHAPTER XVI

A PAUSE FOR REFLECTION

Let us summarize what the Southerner was on the eve of the Civil War, poised precariously at what seemed the zenith of his achievement. Only as we understand what he was then can we begin to understand what he has become in the last one hundred years.

As we have seen, he was aware through his most perceptive observers that he had already passed the zenith. "The poor South!" said Calhoun in 1850. "God knows what will become of her!" But such perceptive observers were few. The mass of Southerners felt that the South was still riding high; and an increasing number of Northerners felt it was riding too high for the safety either of Northern, that is, Christian, ethics or of industrial profits.

Looking back now, we can see that the critical moment in the life of the South probably came about 1820, the year of the Missouri Compromise. By that time the institution of slavery had so woven itself into the regional life that the South was bound to present an unavoidable moral and economic challenge to the North, and, in defense of itself, would inevitably be drawn into moral and political conflicts which would undermine it.

During the early part of the nineteenth century, the Southerner expressed a group of interests that so balanced one another as to set up within him a series of healthy tensions--tensions strong enough to drive him forward but not strong enough to bring on disastrous inner or outer conflict. The

most important of these were as follows: first, the tension within time itself, between past and future, expressed mainly in the tension between aristocracy and democracy, between the plantation and the frontier; second, and related to this, a tension between the dream and the reality, between romance and realism; third, a tension in space between the regional and the national; and, finally, a tension between the outer political world and the inner religious world.

As to the tension within time, between past and future, this expressed itself as the tension between aristocracy and democracy, which was, in part, the tension between the plantation and the farm. The most important step toward the democratic future and away from the aristocratic past was the American Revolution and the consequent opening of the transmontane frontier. The days of the great plantations, upon which the aristocracy rested, had gone with the abolition of primogeniture and entail. The seaboard plantations had also been severely damaged by the loss, in Virginia, of the prime money crop, tobacco, to the richer lands of Kentucky about the close of the eighteenth century, and, further South, by the over-production of cotton through the opening of the fabulous black lands of Alabama and Mississippi during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Yet the plantation was still the dominant ideal whether on the seaboard or along the frontier, and the possession of a plantation gave, in time, certain aristocratic privileges to the possessor. Though family became less important every decade, there was still the general conviction that some men were intended to lead, and the possession of numerous acres was one title to leadership.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and as a partial result of the disappearance of the great stable plantations of the eighteenth, there began to appear in the minds of at least many white Southerners a growing tension between the dream and the reality. This expressed itself especially as a tension between the past and the present, for the dream was not a utopia, to be attained in the future, but a Golden Age remembered from the past. It was during this quarter-century that, with the aid of writers both Southern and Northern, the legend of the plantation arose. The stories generally calimed to be describing nineteenth century plantations, but they were really recreating imaginatively the great plantations of the eighteenth century. This imaginative effort was evidently due to a growing uncertainty about the present and a consequent nostalgia for the past. For the present, certainly in the seaboard states, looked bad. The soils could not compare with the new soils of the frontier, the population was fleeing west to richer lands, andserious men were deeply concerned over the economic future of their states. It is significant that the plantation legend of the South, though it received its final form in the days of the Redeemers, from 1880 to 1900, was already flourishing before the Civil War. Even then, while some Southerners rushed westward, others looked longingly backward; perhaps some looked longingly backward even as they rushed westward.

Now, of course, there is always this tension within men, this desire to hold on to the past even while taking hold of the future. Indeed, this is what life, developing, is: the

continued incorporation of the new into the old. The situation in the South was as yet hardly dangerous; but as we look back upon it now, we see the South becoming sentimental about its past. This is a part of the unrealistic, romantic quality of the South, but there are several significant things about this romanticism. First, it was a looking backward, toward a Golden Age, not a looking forward toward Utopia, as in New England, where there was, in transcendental idealism, a romantic looking forward. The South would have said--and probably still would say--that it had few illusions about the nature of man; men would not become suddenly good; it wasn't, as the romanticists thought, simply a matter of changing a few institutions. Of course, the South could hardly think of changing any institutions, what with slavery weaving itself ever more closely into its total life. So it did not become romantic in its conception of man.

Even its romantic nostalgia for the past was unlike the same nostalgia which had recently appeared in Europe. There it was a reaction against both a dehumanizing industrialism and a dehumanizing eighteenth century rationalism. The industrialism--except in its extreme variant, the plantation economy--had not appeared in the South; and the eighteenth century rationalism had been muted by New World conditions. The Southern romantics, therefore, had no cause to jump over the eighteenth century as they looked toward the past. The eighteenth century plantation was still their ideal, though, it is true, they went back to the Middle Ages for the feudalistic aura they conferred upon it. In brief, there was a real and continuing economic base for the romantic life they imagined. Here, then, more than

a hundred years ago, we find in the South that intricate mixture of the romantic and the realistic which W. J. Cash describes.

As to the tension between the region and the nation, this was, in 1820, beautifully balanced. The region did not exist yet as a solid political entity; this was to result from the loss of the Civil War. However, it had already begun to realize itself, as John Alden points out in The First South. "The First South frequently behaved as a section before 1789", says Alden. "It was increasingly taken for granted by men of the Revolutionary generation that the South was a distinct area with special and common interests that could not be ignored in the affairs of the nation." ((p.7)) In comparison with the national feeling that exists in the United States today, that existing in the first half-century of the nation's life was relatively weak. The paradox is that that region which today has the least national feeling--or, let us say, the least clear, unmixed national feeling-- that is, the South, had about 1820, the most. It was New England that had the least. New England had threatened secession before and during the War of 1812. The South had strongly supported this war, and for some years afterwards it held this as a reproach against New England. From this point of view, the true patriots then resided in the South. It was only when the rising political strength of the New England manufacturers made that region a threat to the agrarian South that the South began to focus its patriotism upon the region. From then on until the Civil War it tried, unsuccessfully, to draw the West to its aid against what it thought were the unAmerican policies of New England.

When it finally withdrew from the Union, it did so in the belief that the Union had been false to the original compact, the Constitution.

In 1820, however, such a desperate measure was hidden in the future. The aged Jefferson reacted to the Missouri Compromise as to "a fire-bell in the night," but it is doubtful if many were aware of the far-off danger. The Southerner, as we have said, having emphasized place, and places, and a man's place in the world, and being concrete-minded, not abstract, was honestly attached to his local community and, if he belonged to one of the original states, to that state and the political government he had known longest. He was also deeply attached to that more abstract unity, the young nation, partly because he had fought hard for it and had been most important in organizing it, and partly, if he came from one of the newer states, because he was conscious of his need for a strong central government to aid him in conquering the wilderness.

There was also at this time a reasonable tension between politics and religion in the South. Though men's interests rested heavily, and increasingly, upon the slave system, these interests had not yet become so entangled with ideals that men could not consider them in political debate. The question of slavery was still argued on both economic and moral or religious grounds. There were as yet more abolition societies in the South than in the North. The final full-length debate on slavery came in the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1831-'32. By a very small vote, the proponents of slavery won. Then came the abolitionist attack from the North; and from that time on slavery became increasingly the way of life of the South and a sacred institution; and Southerners, defending it politically,

began to pour into that defense a religious drive that should have been directed, not to political defense, but to moral and religious understanding and reform.

As we have seen, the Southerner was inclined from the beginning to consider religion a private matter, important, fundamental, but still private; most of life was public and political. When, under the pervasive influence of slavery, public life became critical, he poured into that life a passion heavier than it could bear. Against this passion stood the opposing passion of the abolitionists. The political forum could not contain the contestants; they adjourned to the battlefield.

The point of this summary is this: the Southerner as we know him today, though he is the clear and as yet unhappy product of the last century and a half, existed so strongly as a definite American type before this time that we can still see the original visage, however marred or sublimated it has been by the fires of history. Our task now is to define these changes and relate them to the original.

C. VANN WOODWARD

The Unreported Crisis in the Southern Colleges

Assaults on academic freedom have been mounting in recent years. . . . A distinguished historian reviews some of the most humiliating cases and points out where resistance can work best.

ON June 1, 1961, after the riots in Montgomery and Birmingham, Professor Robert M. Wallace of the University of Alabama wrote to fourteen college and university presidents of the state: "The bleak and frightful truth is that . . . it is dangerous for an educator to stand openly, actively, and vigorously for decency and moderation." In spite of a decline in outright violence, academic freedom is still taking a beating in the lower South, from Texas to Florida. Faculty dismissals and harassments have been increasing, and reprisals against students reached a new peak this year. The outstanding cases of academic freedom and tenure in the files of the American Association of University Professors increased from thirty-seven in April 1961 to fifty-five a year later. Twenty-three of the cases and a majority of the institutions censured are in the South.

When I visited more than a score of Southern campuses during the spring term last year I found some of them nursing fresh wounds, others worried over immediate prospects, and several in the midst of crisis. The fundamental trouble is that for the last two years a wave of reaction—led by the White Citizens Councils, the John Birch Society, and the Ku Kluxers—has clashed with the great movement for Negro rights. Both movements are not involved in all cases of academic freedom, but when they are the troubles are intensified.

What the colleges are up against is illustrated most recently by the high-handed firing of Professor Rupert C. Koeninger of ***Sam Houston State Teachers College*** at Huntsville, Texas. A native of Texas and head of the college's sociology department for fifteen years, Dr. Koeninger is described in a petition signed by 175 of his 190 colleagues as "the most eminent professor on the campus." Several of his colleagues planned to resign in protest. An investigating committee of the Texas Association of College Teachers reported that everyone interviewed "spoke in highest terms of Dr. Koeninger as a man, as a teacher, and as a citizen . . . the pressures operating . . . seem to stem from the John Birch Society in Huntsville and from Mr. Ramsey's unhappiness over some of Dr. Koeninger's political activities."

Chairman C. S. Ramsey of the board of regents is the brother and law partner of former Lieutenant Governor Ben Ramsey. The investigating committee described the professor's political activities as "not only proper but . . . sanctioned by the statement on political activity adopted by the board in 1949." One such "activity" was a speech in 1955 factually reviewing the first year of school desegregation. When the board met on May 22, 1962, to take final action, Chairman Ramsey flatly refused to reveal any charges or bill of particulars against Dr. Koeninger or to give any reason for firing him. "This is like a blindfolded boxer entering the ring against an opponent who can see," declared Koeninger's attorney. "It's impossible to defend your client properly when you haven't any idea what he's been accused of." Ramsey refused to see a representative of the American Association of University Professors, saying, "I am a busy man."

This was not the first time that rough-riding governing boards in Texas had applied their philosophy of academic freedom. In July 1957, the board of ***Texas Technological College*** in Lubbock went into secret session, excluding the

president of the college. They came forth with the announcement that they had unanimously voted to fire three professors—Byron R. Abernethy, professor of government with more than ten years service, Herbert M. Greenberg, assistant professor of psychology, who had come in 1955, and Per G. Stensland, professor of education, who had been at Tech since 1952.

NO CHARGES STATED

TWO of the professors learned of their dismissal through the press and the third was out of town. The faculty immediately condemned the action as a blow that would "destroy faculty morale," and Dean R. C. Goodwin said there was no question of the professional competence of the men dismissed. The board nevertheless refused to reconsider its action, to give the dismissed men a formal hearing, or to state the charges against them. The faculty and the state press believe that the professors were dismissed because of their political, social, or economic views. Abernethy was an outspoken member of the liberal wing of the state Democratic party; Greenberg conducted an opinion poll on school integration; and Stensland organized discussion groups for adult education. The investigating committee of the AAUP justly found the board guilty of "arbitrary action and a flagrant denial of the principles of due process."

J. Evetts Haley, a member of the Texas Tech board of directors, figured recently in a more physical assault on academic freedom. Haley, a cattleman and a former candidate for Governor, had previously offered a resolution at a board meeting deploring "the unctuous and dishonest cloak of 'academic freedom'" and promising "tax-paying parents of Texas" to run the college without regard to "left-wing clamor, innuendo, and agitation." In May 1961, at a showing of the House Un-American Activities Committee's controversial movie, "Operation Abolition," at ***West Texas State College,*** Haley exchanged sharp words with John W. Cooke, a history instructor, who challenged the fairness of the film. Though Haley is not on the board of the college, he had its president call Cooke into his office the next day. There in the presence of the president, Haley and his son berated Cooke for political heresy and followed through with a physical assault. They swapped several punches before being separated. Instructor Cooke was not fired, but he took a job elsewhere and did not return.

These vigilante tactics are not confined to Texas. A recent victim in Florida is Thomas P. Hardeman, assistant professor of philosophy at the ***University of Tampa.*** Although technically a member of the faculty until August 1962, Hardeman received notice of his dismissal in June 1961, and was not only forbidden to teach but banned from the campus for the ensuing year. The dismissal followed an attack on Hardeman by the "Florida Coalition of Patriotic Societies," headed by Sumter Lowry, a Tampa businessman and retired National Guard general. Lowry is a member of the John Birch Society's "Committee of Endorsers," and his son-in-law is head of one of the Tampa chapters of the society. Dr. David Delo, president of the university, denied that the Birchite attack was the reason for Hardeman's firing but announced that "I will certainly tell him to keep his mouth shut." But the professor refused to stop speaking in favor of the United Nations and the World Court or to give up his opposition to the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Birch Society. He was fired without a formal hearing or written charges against him.

The weaker institutions are more vulnerable to pressure, but the big state universities of the lower South have also suffered indignities. The ***University of Florida*** at Gainesville, for example, submitted to an outrageous inquisition three years ago. It was conducted by a committee of the state legislature, headed by a gubernatorial candidate, which held hearings for seven months on or near the campus. With the aid of lawyers, police, detectives, and paid informers, the committee dragged in hundreds of witnesses, mainly students, to testify against professors. Disclosures of political heresies were disappointing, but sexual deviations supplied headlines.

Louisiana State University managed to stave off a full-scale legislative heresy hunt in 1960-1961, but in the process was compelled to sacrifice a professor who became embroiled with influential members of the legislature over public-school integration.

Faculty resignations at the ***University of Mississippi,*** which is under constant harassment by politicians, have been crippling. Within one recent two-year period nearly a fourth of the faculty resigned. Undeterred by this, powerful

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C. Vann Woodward, the author of "The Burden of Southern History" and other books, is beginning his duties as Sterling Professor of History at Yale this fall. Born in Arkansas, he was brought up in the South, and taught at Johns Hopkins. He has won the award of the National Institute of Arts and Letters and the Bancroft Prize.

members of the State Senate undertook more than a year ago to make an object lesson of William P. Murphy, a prominent member of the Law School faculty. His offense was membership in the American Civil Liberties Union and an openly professed opinion that Supreme Court decisions are the law of the land. After extended leave of absence that probably avoided outright dismissal, Professor Murphy recently resigned to accept a desirable job elsewhere. His former colleagues, along with all other teachers in public institutions of the state, are still required by law to file annually a list of all organizations to which they belong or to which they have contributed. An Arkansas statute of exactly the same kind was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 1960, but Mississippi continues to enforce her law regardless.

The ***University of Alabama*** still lives in the shadow of the Autherine Lucy mob incident and the Ku Klux. Though Klan activity has abated, a man who calls himself the National Grand Wizard and was prominent in Governor John Patterson's 1959 campaign, runs a filling station adjacent to the campus. Last year he told the university newspaper that, "If anyone can stop integration at the university, the Klan can do it," and that he had "a definite plan of action." In March 1961, hooded men took a ministerial student from his church after an integrated seminar, blindfolded him, took him out of town, and beat him. The University of Alabama is still under judicial order to admit Negro students and still postpones integration.

No university in the South has a prouder tradition of freedom nor a more spirited faculty than ***Vanderbilt.*** But early in 1960, while tempers were hot over sit-ins, Mayor Ben West of Nashville took offense at a Vanderbilt Negro divinity student, James M. Lawson, Jr., who said publicly that the law had been used "to keep the Negro in his place." As a missionary to India, Lawson had studied Gandhi's doctrine of passive resistance. He had taken no part in the sit-ins, but refused to forswear future participation. Chancellor Harvie Branscomb with the support of the executive committee of the trustees expelled Lawson on the ground that he identified the university "with a continuing campaign of mass disobedience of law as a means of protest."

The faculty's protest stirred national interest. When Chancellor Branscomb refused to yield, twelve professors of the divinity school, led by Dean J. Robert Nelson, turned in their resignations. Eventually Dean Nelson's resignation was accepted and the other professors reluctantly withdrew theirs with the statement that Nelson's dismissal was "unjust and ungracious." The faculty retired from the fight with bruised consciences and damaged morale.

A PROMISE TO PURGE

THE plight of the Negro colleges is much worse than the cases so far cited. Fifty-one such colleges in the South, twelve of them open to white students, are constant targets for attacks on the Negro rights movement as well as on academic freedom. Presidents of state-supported institutions in particular must walk a tightrope. Typical of the reprisals and harassments that president, students, and faculty can suffer is the recent history of ***Alabama State College*** in Montgomery.

Birthplace of the nonviolent crusade against segregation led by Martin Luther King, Jr., Montgomery was the scene of the successful boycott to desegregate city buses in 1956 and the mob attack on Freedom Riders in 1961. On February 25, 1960, thirty-five students from Alabama State College staged the first sit-in demonstration in the Deep South. When Governor John Patterson threatened to expel them from college, a thousand fellow students demonstrated on the steps of the state Capitol—once the Confederate Capitol. Montgomery police then arrested thirty-four students and a faculty member at a protest meeting near the campus and threatened to close the college. At the Governor's request the State Board of Education at once ordered the expulsion of nine students, placed some twenty on probation, and started an elaborate investigation. For several months a police inspector appeared on the campus almost daily to question students, attend their meetings, and collect evidence. The investigation "uncovered" at least eleven faculty members who were not "loyal" to the institution.

Then on the demand of Governor Patterson, President H. Councill Trenholm promised "to purge the college of disloyal faculty members." If the President failed "to straighten out the situation," Patterson announced that he would "find someone who can." Before the end of the term seventeen members of the faculty resigned, some under pressure, some in fear of reprisals, and some for other reasons. Professor Lawrence D. Reddick, chairman of the history department for five years, was the only one fired. He had already resigned effective August 31, 1960, but on June 14, without any warning whatever, Patterson denounced him on television as "a Communist sympathizer and racial agitator" and

demanded that President Trenholm dismiss him "before sundown." The president did just that.

A teacher of twenty-seven years' experience, Dr. Reddick was the author of a biography of Martin Luther King and a companion of King's on a trip to India. He made vigorous demand for his rights and received the full support of the American Association of University Professors and the American Civil Liberties Union. In spite of this, he was dismissed in violation of his contract, without a hearing, without seeing the charges and evidence against him, and without salary due.

The humiliations of President Trenholm were not yet ended. Before the television camera Governor Patterson exacted from him promises to keep "a close watch" on students, to retain only such members of the faculty as maintained "proper conduct," and to "enforce more strictly" the admission requirements for students. The opening of the college the next fall was long delayed while the president personally interviewed applicants. He required all to sign an "oath of honor" pledging "gentlemanly" and "ladylike" conduct, and inquired closely into their associations and acquaintances. The president admitted numerous candidates, including the president of the student body, only on probation. Enrollment fell off sharply, vacancies in the faculty remained unfilled, and the Southern Association of Colleges, which carried Alabama State on its probationary list of accredited institutions, dropped it. And in spite of Trenholm's compliant policy, Patterson removed him from office and placed him "on leave."

In the meantime Tennessee, Georgia, and Louisiana followed Alabama's example. In April 1960, the Tennessee State Commissioner of Education instructed all state colleges to "dismiss promptly any student . . . arrested and convicted on charges involving personal misconduct."

In May of the following year, fourteen students at ***Tennessee A & I State University*** in Nashville joined the Freedom Ride through Alabama after the sponsoring organization, CORE, had decided the going was too rough and called off the ride. The Tennessee students survived the riots and imprisonment, but Governor Buford Ellington saw to it that thirteen of them were expelled from college without a hearing. Under threat of a student boycott of commencement, the Governor permitted the fourteenth student to graduate with her class. The others brought suit and eight of them were ordered readmitted by a federal court.

After the mass demonstrations at Albany, Georgia, which led to the arrest of seven hundred Negroes last December, the president of the local college suspended more than forty students for "conduct detrimental to ***Albany State College,***" in sharp contrast to the lenient treatment of the white students who demonstrated a year before in *favor* of segregation at the University of Georgia. In January, some thirty Negro students of ***Alabama A & M College*** joined sit-in demonstrations at Huntsville in northern Alabama. Whereupon Governor Patterson removed the president of the college with the professed purpose of finding another "who will require discipline, make the students behave, and make them study."

In President Felton G. Clark of ***Southern University,*** Louisiana found a disciplinarian who needed little gubernatorial prompting. The largest institution of higher learning in America with an all-Negro student body, Southern occupies a new campus full of striking contemporary architecture near Baton Rouge. Last December more than a thousand students from Southern marched to Baton Rouge jail to protest the imprisonment of twenty-two fellow students. Police broke up the demonstration with tear gas and jailed fifty. The next day the State Board of Education ordered the automatic expulsion of any student arrested or jailed and forbade all unsanctioned demonstrations.

President Clark not only complied with the board ruling but closed the university until after Christmas holidays. Students had scarcely returned when further protest prompted Clark to close the university again until further notice. He ordered every student off the campus with his belongings by five-thirty that afternoon. Upon reopening ten days later, the president required all students readmitted to register anew. The purpose, according to the Baton Rouge *State-Times,* was "to weed out trouble makers." The number denied readmisson has not been revealed, but a hundred students were simply not informed of the reopening and some two hundred were readmitted on probation after "good citizenship" pledges. Among those who did not return, according to well-informed faculty members, were many of the best students and campus leaders. "We at Southern," declared President Clark, "are interested in education, and nothing else."

Privately supported Negro colleges have put up a better defense, but they are by no means immune from state pressures. Sit-in demonstrations by students of ***Talladega College,*** which has a few white students, brought Alabama's Attorney General MacDonald Gallion down upon them last April with an injunction prohibiting

all such demonstrations. In the midst of a desperate campaign for Governor in May, Gallion followed up by threatening to revoke the college charter. He dropped the proceedings after losing his race.

Under pressure from state officials, President Frank R. Veal of ***Allen University*** in Columbia, South Carolina, asked in June 1957 for the resignation of three faculty members who held strong views on racial equality. They refused to resign, and the board declined to approve their dismissal. The State Board of Education, with Governor George B. Timmerman, Jr., as chairman, then denied Allen graduates certification to teach in public schools. Since Allen is largely a teachers' college, this was a deadly blow. The president desperately renewed his efforts to get rid of the objectionable professors, only to be officially informed that the African Methodist Episcopal Church which contributed to Allen's budget would withdraw all support if it knuckled under to the Governor. President Veal was clearly damned if he did and damned if he didn't. At this juncture Governor Timmerman attacked the professors, without naming them, as "Communist workers" and abused the Allen board for reappointing them. The chairman of the board ruthlessly overrode opposition at the next meeting and ousted the professors without a hearing. He told the press that he "assumed the restoration of our certification would follow." It did, a month later.

The subjugation of ***Benedict College,*** a Baptist affiliate also in Columbia, followed the same pattern of threats and humiliations. The dismissal of three faculty members violated all accepted principles of academic procedure. The professors were not given a hearing or confronted with specific charges, and such tenure as they had was ignored. Both Benedict and Allen were later censured by the AAUP. The Governor retorted that academic freedom was becoming "an instrumentality of treason." Under a new administration Allen University has recently apologized and offered to make amends to the professors, and the AAUP has removed its censure.

APOLOGIES and restitutions may help injured individuals and reputations but they cannot compensate for timidity and shame in the classroom, nor dispel the cloud of distrust and suspicion between trustees and state officials, between faculty and administration, between students and teachers. What happens to the pursuit of truth and the advancement of learning in such an atmosphere as the heresy hunters and thought controllers have created in parts of the South can only be conjectured.

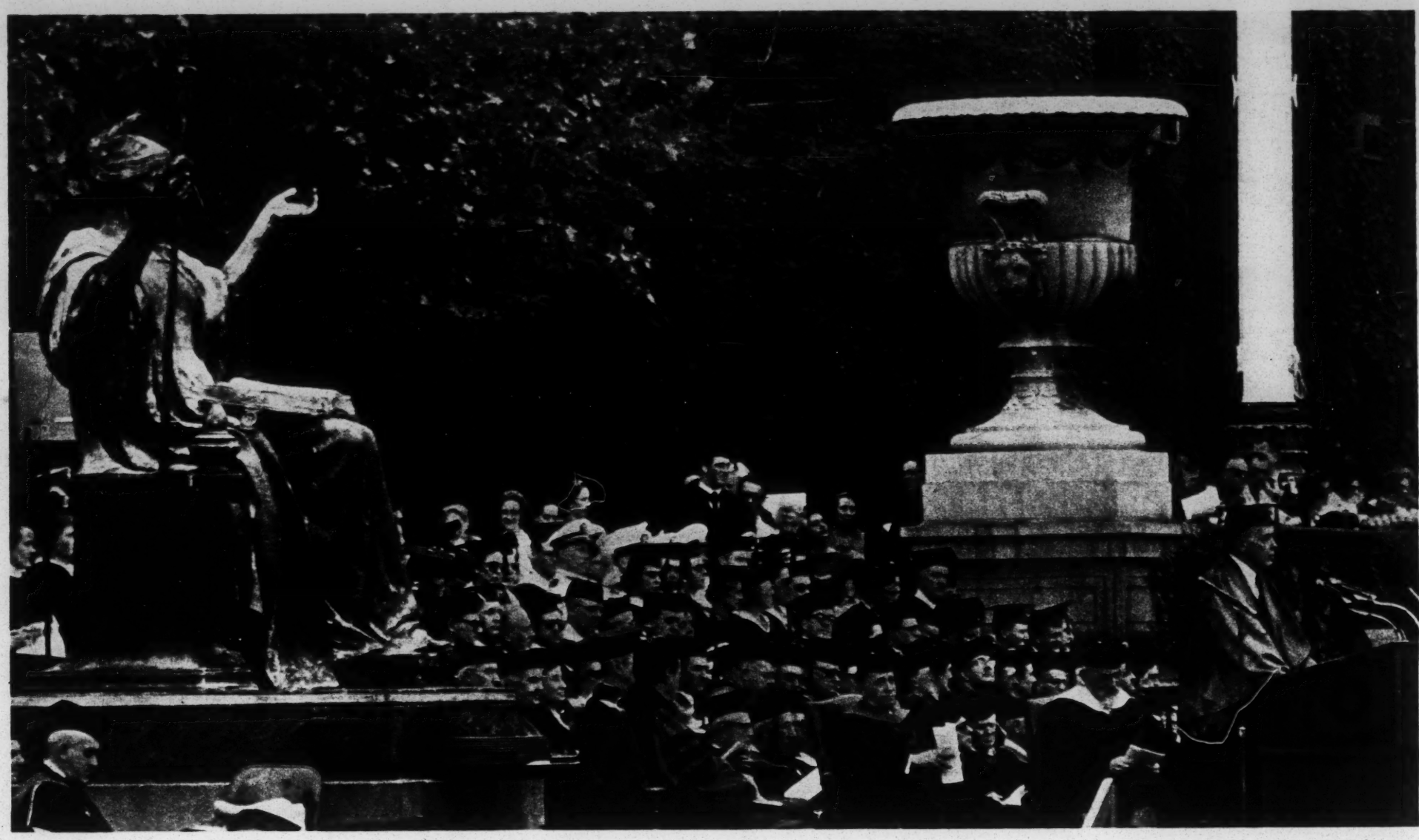
If there is any disposition to shrug off these outrages as an unfortunate regional peculiarity, it might be well to recall the plight of other regions a decade ago at the height of Senator Joseph McCarthy's rampage and to remember that the present revival of McCarthyism is by no means confined to the South. A recent outcropping in Pennsylvania, for example, resulted in the firing of Professor Larry Gara at ***Grove City College*** and the resignation of six of his colleagues. Complaints of interference by Radical Right organizations come in constantly from colleges of the Midwest and the West Coast.

It was inevitable that the greatest protest movement in the history of the American Negro should have made its hardest impact in the South. The colleges have felt the wrath of the resistance to the movement and the fury of the Radical Right because they are vulnerable targets and because they have sometimes furnished enlightened opposition to the reactionaries. Freedom to investigate, to think, to teach, and to learn are a standing threat to the program of those who lead the assault on academic freedom.

The colleges need help. Two significant federal court decisions in cases arising from Alabama and Tennessee furnished help of one kind within the past year. Both decisions struck at state use of academic discipline and dismissal to curb student protest and demonstrations. Further assistance may come from the courts, but college faculties still rely mainly on their own defense organization, the AAUP. It has earned respect by its methods and results, and within its limits it is effective. But the AAUP cannot take the initiative against politicians and pressure groups who are causing the trouble. An aroused public opinion informed by exposure of outrages and abuses should count in the long run.

One encouraging thing about the present crisis is the spirit that many embattled collegians, students as well as faculty, have shown in defending their walls from the assaults of the mob and the reprisals of its flatterers in high office. It is true that the South is losing professors and many have fled the fight, but most of them have remained to fight it out. "The place to fight for a principle," writes Professor Iredell Jenkins, who remained in the philosophy department of the University of Alabama to do just that, "is where it is a living issue, not where it is an accomplished fact, and still less where it has become a mere object of sanctimonious self-congratulations."

Harper's Magazine, October 1962



Commencement exercises at Columbia.

"The issue of academic freedom is sharpest when teachers speak or write outside their fields of competence or outside their classrooms."

Academic Freedom—How Much Is There?

Both professors and students have again come under fire for upholding controversial views, but despite off-campus pressures the cause of intellectual liberty continues its uphill fight.

By ANDREW HACKER

THE 1963-64 academic year, coming to a close with the current commencement exercises, has had more than its expected share of public attention. Two prominent Midwestern universities have conducted official inquiries into the political views of their professors, and across the country more and more undergraduates are engaging in political activities of a controversial character. If Senator Joseph McCarthy is no longer with us, the issue of academic freedom remains very much alive.

Academic freedom, quite simply, is the claim made by those engaged in the educational process to the right to express themselves unhampered by outside pressures and restrictions. If education is to consist of the pursuit of truth, teachers and students must be permitted to experiment with ideas. Doubtless many of these ideas will be half-baked, wrong-headed, possibly subversive. However, flirtations with error must be risked, we are told, if only to insure that the truths we ultimately arrive at have first undergone rigorous challenge.

During the current year a professor of classics at the University of Illinois published an article in the John Birch magazine American Opinion suggesting that the Kennedy assassination was part of an elaborately timetabled Soviet plot. A professor of political science at Minnesota has openly avowed his pacifism and Socialism. Students from Swarthmore College are regularly commuting to Chester, Pa., where they are engaging in civil rights demonstrations and doing their best to get arrested for disturbing the peace. Hundreds of undergraduates from all over the country are preparing to descend on the state of Mississippi this summer to engage in voter-registration drives, and arrest may be the least of the discomforts they will experience.

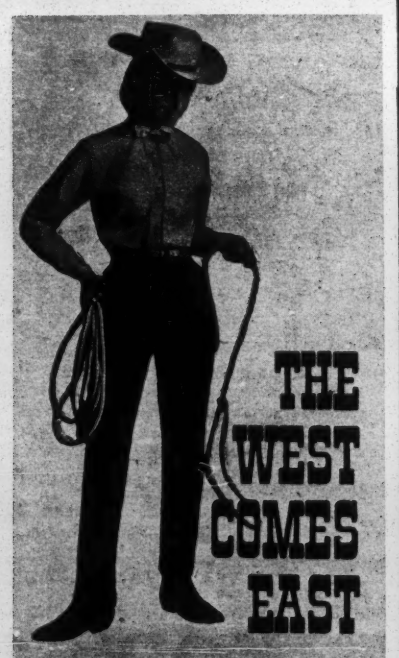
ARE these activities legitimate exercises of academic freedom? Are they part of the educational process, to be not only protected but encouraged as well? Quite clearly there are many observers, including some in the academic field, who think that various professors and students have been going "too far." The Illinois classics professor, some have suggested, should be entirely free to express himself on Greek and Roman antiquity—his chosen field. But semi-paranoid writings about what happened in Dallas are a different matter. And, on the students' side, there is some question whether blocking the traffic in neighboring communities is part of a liberal arts curriculum.

If these questions are to be answered, some attention must first be given to the anomalous position of colleges and universities in American life. In many ways all of our institutions of learning are "public" property. By this is meant that all colleges and universities, private as well as public, continually feel the force of off-campus pressures. European universities are aristocratic enclaves, and neither the public nor the politicians would think of trying to interfere in their workings. Not only are the roles of scholar and student widely respected in Europe; universities there are class institutions with long histories of independence and autonomy.

In the United States, on the other hand, colleges and universities are expected to pay close attention to, and even anticipate, the many voices heard from outside the campus. With state and municipal institutions there are not only the elected legislators who appropriate the funds but also the taxpayers who have ideas about what constitutes proper education for their sons and daughters. Endowed colleges and universities must cater to the tastes and demands of well-heeled alumni and local benefactors. Not even the Ivy League schools have been able to ignore alumni sentiment with impunity. The almost universal rule is to tread carefully so as to avoid upsetting the sensibilities of potential donors.

THE democratic spirit, with its emphasis on popular control over anything and everything underwritten by the public's money, affects (and infects) higher education throughout the country. The Minnesota taxpayer feels he has the right to object to paying a Socialist's salary, and he will say as much to his representatives at the capitol. The Omaha insurance man who gives $100 a year to his alma mater is convinced that he has bought a voice on fraternities, the football team, admissions policy and — not least — on evaluating the merits of faculty members. Seen in this context academic freedom is bound to have its problems. For academic freedom is, at heart, an aristocratic notion insofar as it assumes that a selected group of people ought to be exempted from public criticism and interference. And aristocratic theories have always *(Continued on Page 122)*

ANDREW HACKER is an associate professor of government at Cornell and author of "Political Theory: Philosophy, Ideology, Science."



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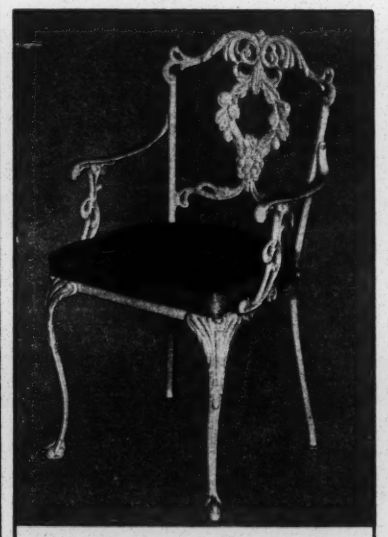

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Academic Freedom—How Much is There?

(Continued from Page 25)

had difficulty taking root in democratic ground.

Added to this is the fact that Americans outside the academy are not unaware of the prudential pressures that work on themselves. We are a nation of employes, dependent on the goodwill of our superiors, and hardly a person has not stifled a thought at one time or another lest it slow down or even jeopardize his career. Our freedom to speak, to act as we please, must be seen in the context of the quest for success: Most of us pay a price, with our silence, in hopes of advancement in life. There are even moments when we come to hate ourselves for such acts of self-betrayal. And an understandable reaction is to ask why there should exist a mandarin caste that is somehow exempt from the risks and penalties that ordinary Americans encounter.

Who is asking for academic freedom? There are, first of all, the 400,000 professors and instructors currently teaching in American colleges and universities. No one would seriously suggest that most of these are incipient Galileos or Darwins, Freuds or Veblens. Anyone who has had any exposure to the academic world will acknowledge, perhaps regretfully, that the vast majority of professors do not rate particularly high in imagination, and few deserve to be called orginal thinkers.

MOST of them have specialties geared more to vocational training than to adventuring in ideas. Of the 400,000, the overwhelming number are found in such departments as education and business administration, home economics and animal husbandry, mechanical engineering and hotel management. The suspicion may even arise that academic freedom may not be *needed* in such areas.

The answer is that it is needed, although the threats to professorial freedom in vocational fields take a rather subtle form. Universities have tended over the years to build up powerful clientele groups — various industries, farm associations, school systems, government agencies — and these patrons would prefer to see academic teaching and research geared to their particular needs. Many professors of business, agriculture, education and engineering are quite pleased to serve their clientele and are flattered by coming in touch with real world centers of power.

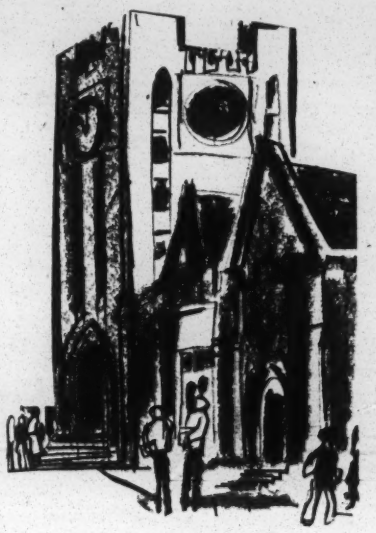
However, there are not a few instances where department chairmen, who serve as brokers with outside sources of support, are firm with their younger men who wish to embark on courses that run counter to clientele interests. To be sure, the conflict is not usually an ideological one. But the frequent result is that young professors are not able to pursue interests they find personally stimulating.

ALL this needs saying if only because academic freedom ought not to be regarded as exclusively a preserve of the liberal arts. Taken together, professors of history, economics, political science and philosophy — potentially the more "controversial" subjects — constitute less than 10 per cent of our faculties. In a way they are more fortunate, not having clientele groups peering over their shoulders. But they must, at the same time, face a broader public: a public on the alert for atheism, Socialism and other "dangerous" tendencies.

Even if many professors do not get involved in controversy and do not "need" academic freedom, even if most college teachers lack original minds and do not experiment with ideas, the argument remains that all should be immune from outside interference, for only if all professors are so protected will there be an assurance that the minority capable of intellectual innovation will be able to advance the frontiers of knowledge.

However, the real trouble or, at least, the periodic "incidents" tending to upset alumni and legislative sensibilities, come from professors who speak or write outside their fields of competence or outside their classrooms. No one, we are told, objects to a professor of classics being as radical as he wants in his interpretation of the Peloponnesian Wars. But to claim academic immunity when engaging in free-wheeling discourse on Soviet assassination techniques is quite another matter.

Similarly, a Socialist professor of political science may examine the theory of Fabianism in his classes, speaking to a limited group of students who can discuss such ideas



in their full context. But to claim that academic freedom extends to writing articles for left-wing periodicals or to making anti-American speeches at political conferences outside the country is, many insist, too elastic an interpretation.

BY the same token, what is said can be conditioned by the manner in which it is said. Not a few professors are brash, even intolerant, and many are impatient with conventional rules of decorum. A few years ago, again at Illinois, a professor of biology got in trouble, indeed lost his job, for making some remarks about the sexual repressions of undergraduates. Had he expressed his ideas at a meeting of his fellow biologists, few would have cared. Had he voiced his opinions to a nonacademic audience, in guarded and moderate terms, he might have been considered "advanced"; however, there the matter would probably have ended.

But what he did was to write a brief and outspoken letter on undergraduate sexual behavior to the student newspaper, copies of which, of course, went out to parents and alumni. And for that indiscretion he found that his university was not prepared to come to his defense. Does this mean that while academic freedom casts a wide net, it

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nevertheless has its limits?

The difficulty in trying to set limits is that an individual is an individual, a mind is a mind, and neither thought nor personality can be sliced up and locked into separate compartments. Scholars and teachers, whose stock in trade is ideas, cannot be expected to stop talking once the end-of-hour bell has rung.

AND it is too much to expect that they should lapse into a discreet silence when in the hearing of laymen. Nor should a mind, if it is worth calling that, be told to confine its thinking to a particular departmental discipline. Were this so, then only accredited political scientists would be deemed competent to comment on nuclear strategy or the House Committee on Un-American Activities. And while some academics may be short on manners, there has yet to be found a correlation between gentlemanly civilities and contributions to human knowledge.

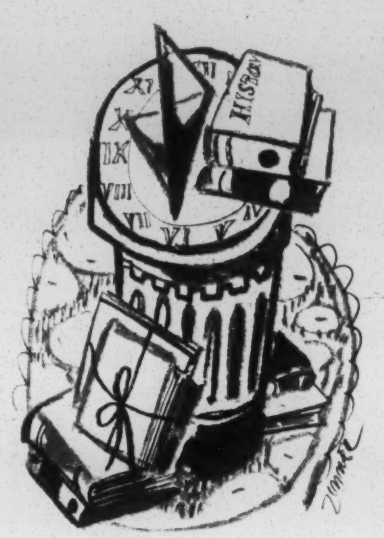
More often than not, the fuss is about the professor whose activities appear to do harm to the "reputation," the "good name," even the "image," of his institution. University presidents know that trustees, regents, legislators, alumni and the general public are easily upset when they hear about a troublemaker on their campus.

Benefactors, along with other patrons and clients, have their own notions of what institutions of higher learning should do and be. And there is little room for intellectualism in such conceptions. While having a winning football team is less important than it used to be, there is still the idea that a university should be productive and prestigious in tangible and understandable ways. Trouble-making professors seldom contribute either to productivity or to prestige —except of the wrong kind.

MOREOVER, businessmen-trustees don't have to put up with oddballs in their own companies and they do not see why they must do so as governors of their alma mater. The power of the purse combines with democratic pretensions in an effort to insure that faculties remain responsible, responsive and domesticated.

American professors and universities, then, are both exposed and vulnerable. Unlike their European counterparts, they have no entrenched class or constituency to defend them. They rely on the continuing goodwill of outside patrons, few of whom share or respect academic values.

And what of academic freedom for students? They are young, impressionable and hardly prepared to tell truth from error with any finality. One issue here has to do with what might be called the freedom to listen. Many of the current generation of students are not a little bored with the conventionalities of their professors; and they would like to see and hear a Gus



Hall, a George Wallace, a Malcolm X or a Lincoln Rockwell.

Whether they will be corrupted, or even attracted, by such siren songs is solemnly debated at great length whenever such invitations are proffered. On the whole, the professors have no such fears; alumni and legislators usually do. College students are remarkably sophisticated and already well imbued with middle-class values. The danger that outside speakers will influence their political attitudes and behavior is minimal.

There is, of course, the additional question of whether entertaining a Communist or a Black Muslim will harm the institution's "image," perhaps scaring off a potential donor or enraging a state legislator. This, rather than the corrupting of young minds, is the real worry besetting administrators. Some are willing to invest time, energy and blood pressure in defending unpopular visitors. Others decide that getting a new dormitory will better serve their institution's long-term welfare.

STUDENTS who use their free time to picket, march, demonstrate, sit-in and generally engage in direct action are doing so as citizens. And in these instances not only do they have the rights of all other citizens but they take the same risks: cattle prods, tear gas, police dogs and a jail record. There is nothing academic about such exercises of freedom, and by no stretch of the imagination can locking arms outside a Birmingham courthouse be called part of the formal education process.

Academic freedom does enter the picture when a student who during spring vacation gets in trouble with a Black Belt sheriff returns to his campus to find a warning or even a dismissal by his college dean. Such cases have occurred, and not only at Southern schools, with the result that students suffer double penalties for expressing their convictions.

Ideally, a college should take no notice at all of off-campus activities — whether political or sexual or whatever — and should be concerned only with a student's academic performance. To be sure, once a college graduate goes to work for a large corporation, he will find a less benign attitude toward his private pursuits. However, it is a curious theory indeed that would have our colleges serve as molds to prepare students for whatever standards happen to prevail in the outside world.

Those who are concerned about the cause of academic freedom, then, would be ill-advised to settle for any limitations on a professor's right to speak and write on any subject or to any audience. There is already reason to believe, in fact, that too many teachers are too "responsible," too attuned to the anticipated reactions of off-campus opinion. If we really want our colleges and universities to extend human knowledge in a significant way, then they ought not be pressured into serving existing interests and celebrating conventional virtues.

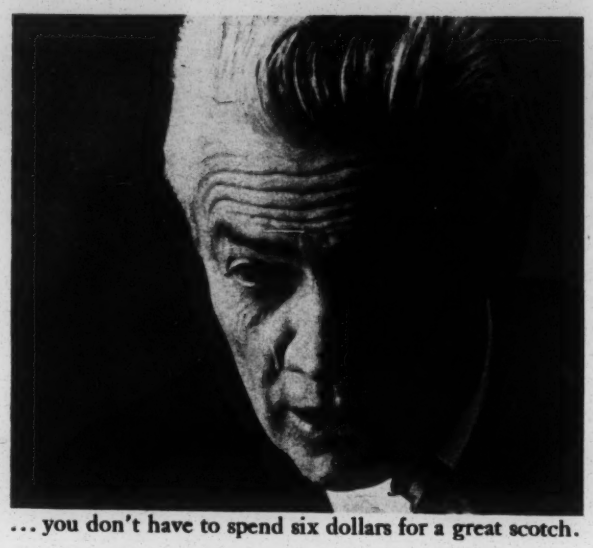
NEEDLESS to say, the grant of such freedom will be stretched to the point of discomfort by some professors, many of whom admittedly have no intellectual talents or scholarly contributions to make. But the advancement of knowledge has always involved a good deal of trial and error, and never has it been a painless process. If it is our hope that a creative minority will emerge in our colleges and universities, we must face up to the fact that original minds can only fulfill their potentialities in an atmosphere where no limits are placed on the questioning and developing of ideas.

And academic freedom, it should be added, has yet to be shown to do any harm. Students who are exposed to left-wing professors graduate to become solid Republican suburbanites. And undergraduates who are active in civil rights, civil liberties and ban-the-bomb movements are for the most part well ahead of their professors and largely inspired by off-campus leaders.

Yet fears remain that students are being corrupted and led to question established values. The only reply is that our colleges and universities are surrounded and affected by the dominant institutions of our society. Professors may have their captive audiences for four years. But experience has shown that society has ample resources to straighten out any who have been led astray.

SO long as America is a democratic society, the case for academic freedom will be defensive, even plaintive, in tone. While a handful of old and wealthy fortresses are able to preserve a high degree of autonomy, most of our 2,000 institutions of higher learning must be responsive to the importunings of varied constituencies. For a democracy accepts uneasily, if at all, the idea of an academic élite that has free rein to offend public sensibilities while immune from popular controls.

Academic freedom this week is probably not much better or worse off than it has been for the last century and a half: in the midst of an uphill fight.



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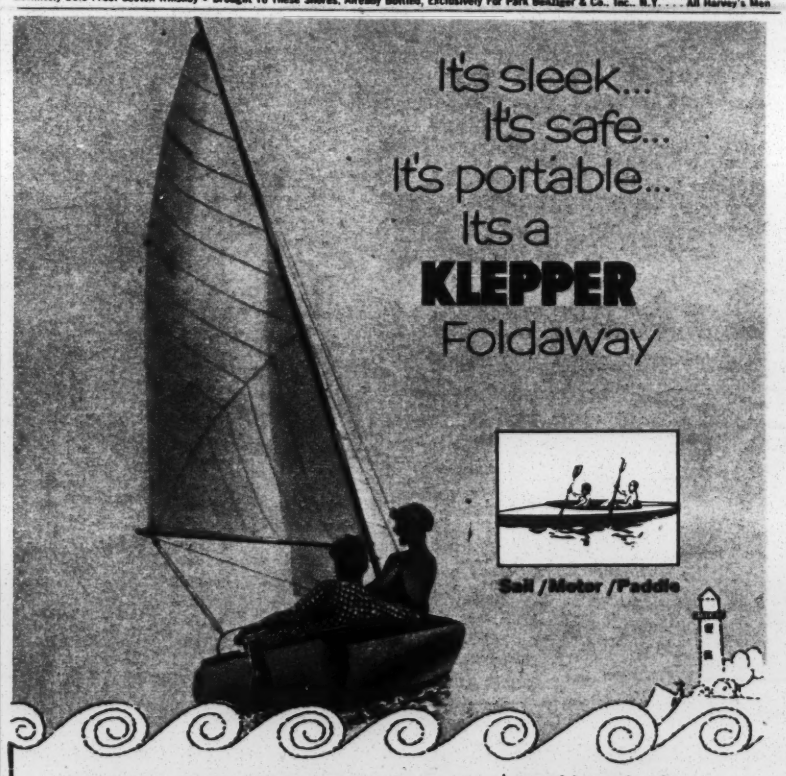

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Kenneth L. Dixon

12-8-64 Const.

LSU Students Speak, And Some Toes Get Bruised

BATON ROUGE, La.—There is a sort of an experiment going on here at the Louisiana State University campus which might well spread to other colleges and universities across the country. It's called "Free Speech Alley." Some call it a forum of free expression of opinion and some call it a form of anarchy—depending on which student or faculty member is describing the innovation. But it begins to look as though it may be here to stay.

It is held once a week, on Monday afternoons, in a little alley between two parts of LSU's Union Building, and it's wide open for any student spellbinder who has the spunk to take the soapbox and hold forth on his favorite subject.

It is also wide open for heckling and applause, and generally there is plenty of both.

Although some university officials (and they all come in for considerable criticism from the alley speakers) have a few qualms about the project, mostly they seem to think it's a safe and healthy way for the youngsters to let off steam.

"Certainly, it's better than the street demonstrations, the rock throwing and the violence that students engage in elsewhere," one administrative official of the university said. "What they have to say stings your hide sometimes, but I'm not sure but what that's as good for us as it is for them. They get it out of their systems and once in a while we learn something ourselves."

Within the bounds of decency, good taste and clean language, there is almost no subject that is taboo in Free Speech Alley. Although the alley is only a month old, speakers already have held forth on every subject from atheism to alcohol, from integration to nuclear test bans.

Naturally, being college students, one of the favorite subjects is some sort of attack on the school administration and its rules and policies. That's a cinch to get a lot of applause from the crowd in the alley.

Some of the professors and administrative officials occasionally slip into the alley to listen, but that just seems to spur the speakers to greater heights of oratory. They seem delighted at the chance to get their darts directly to the targets.

Dr. James Reddoch, dean of student services, thinks it's a healthy thing and that all educational institutions should have some similar outlet for student views.

And despite his sponsorship of Free Speech Alley, Reddoch himself has come in for considerable tongue-lashing by alley speakers.

The Nation 3-29-65 Relig. Rt Wg.

in Algiers in June. Washington has opposed his insistence on negotiations from the start, but it has not discouraged this patient labor, being apparently motivated by deference to his office.

In the Cuban missile crisis of October, 1962, the UN served as a mailbox. The elevators leading to the 38th-floor office of U Thant were in constant use before the dialogue started between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev. In the different context of the Vietnam crisis, it does not appear for the moment that the UN will be called upon to play even this preliminary role. However, the situation could change, and some old UN hands feel that the organization could not remain aloof if the present gamble in Vietnam led overnight to full escalation, with a direct risk of world war.

BOB JONES UNIVERSITY

New Curricula for Bigotry . . . .

Robert G. Sherrill

When Henry James said that one is as unlikely to find Christianity in American life as to find a centerpiece on a billiard table, he could not have been speaking of the Deep South or of fundamentalism, the Deep South's favorite brand of Christianity. It is everywhere and seeps into everything, but especially into politics.

In the back country they may quarrel over foot washing and using the single cup, and in the cities they may split over immersion and Arminianism, but when it gets down to the spiritual nut cutting, an impressive majority stands foursquare together against the anti-Christ of liberalism that seeks man's perfectability through his own efforts; stands foursquare for the God who created the world in six days without the aid of evolution or urban renewal.

These are not snake handlers, operating along the keening edge of religious hysteria. They are the intellectually and emotionally flat-footed middle class, from millhands to merchants, and they are not looked upon as queer or rare, because in their neck of the woods they are not.

These people will not, in our lifetime, give up. And the reason why they do not give up, the reason why the problems that confront the Deep South today are not much different from what they were sixty years ago, is that these Southerners are not just waging a political and economic war against change—although they are waging that, too—but a religious war.

Nowhere is this more impressively demonstrated than at Bob Jones University of Greenville, S.C., a school whose ministerial graduates preach to an estimated 1 million Americans every Sunday (5,000 preachers with an average congregation of at least 200), not to mention the many millions these ministers reach via radio programs each week, and the 800 missionaries in ninety foreign countries who supply the world with one image of America.

"If you would take the preachers that this school has put into the pulpits of America out of the pulpits," an executive of the school told me, "and remove from the mission field the graduates of the school who are serving the Lord there, there would be a tremendous void created in the realm of Biblical Christianity." There would indeed.

Bob Jones University bills itself as "the world's most unusual university," and when one measures it against what normally passes as higher education in this country, the title hardly seems excessive.

It is not so much a college as a bastion. In the minds of those who run Bob Jones University—which, for all practical purposes, means Bob Jones, Bob Jones, Jr., Bob Jones, III and Bob (Lefty) Johnson, lifetime business manager—this school is the last strong campus outpost of fundamental Christianity. Wheaton College also makes that claim, but in recent years Christians who keep track of such things have begun to suspect that Wheaton harbors a professor or two who believe in evolution. If that is true, Bob Jones University may properly claim today to be foremost among the nation's fundamentalist colleges. Its mission: to turn out men and women graduates who will oppose liberalism in all forms.

There are other colleges which share its beliefs and follow them faithfully, but none of these can rival BJU in size—3,500 students; or in wealth, which is sufficient to give the Joneses will power to refuse a $2-million grant offered them by the tobacco-stained Duke Foundation. Nor can these others match it in renown. This is the school that dismissed Billy Graham as a student for breaking rules, later gave him an honorary Ph.D, then reversed itself again and damned him as a heretic in an argument that still rattles the fundamentalist world. This is the school that counts Gov. George Wallace among its illustrious honorary alumni, and among its more illustrious directors Sen. Strom Thurmond, George Grant (who, until the Republican fluke threw him out of office, was Alabama's most conservative Congressman), and U.S. Sen. Frank Carlson of Kansas, the dedicated Baptist who recently presided at the prayer breakfast for President Johnson.

Bob Jones, the founder (who frequently refers to himself in just that way: The Founder) was the greatest evangelist of his day, and his day was that of Billy Sunday. The Reverend Sunday was, despite a lot of ex post facto character building, more acrobat than minister. Jones was the real thing: by the time he was 40, he had converted a million people. And when he hit a town, things happened. People didn't just march down to the mourners' bench for an evening's catharsis and then forget it. The fear of God hung over the community long after the Reverend Jones had departed. When he

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Robert G. Sherrill is writing a book about Southern political personalities, to be published by Houghton, Mifflin.

preached in Dothan, Ala., the people decided to close the brewery, although it was their chief industry. Fifty years later it is still closed.

But in the late 1920s, evangelism had passed its heyday; it was, in fact, beginning to get a shopworn reputation. That's when the Reverend Jones "got the call" to become an educator. He opened a college in Panama City, Fla., but the 1929 crash wiped it out. He opened again in Cleveland, Tenn., and had built up an establishment worth $2,250,000 before he sold out thirteen years later and moved to Greenville, S.C.—enticed there in part by an offer from Greenville business leaders of 185 acres on the outskirts of town.

One of the most apparent defects of fundamentalism is that, like John Wayne impersonating a Roman soldier at the Crucifixion, it runs to vulgarities: religious art that glows in the dark, rinky-tink hymns. In an incongruous way, BJU tries to move against this tendency; incongruous because, although the school rails against the world's depravity and the degeneracy of man, it promotes activities that would attract the worldly. It has a cinema department that ranks just behind USC's and UCLA's (though, of course, no BJU graduate would seek a Hollywood career); a music department equipped with 100 pianos and twelve organs; and an art gallery that offers a sprinkling of Botticelli, Tintoretto and Titian.

The arty touch is brought to fruition in Dr. Bob Jones, Jr., the 57-year-old balding president of BJU, who considers himself quite a Shakespearean actor and assigns himself a top role in almost every play the school puts on. As a dying Lear, he can mutter a creditable "Pray you, undo this button." But when he mounts the political pulpit critics sometimes seem to detect a note of meanness and arrogance, in statements such as: "I am not so disturbed about the enemy bombs that may be dropped upon our American cities as I am about the termites of moral decay in the foundation of our American society." But his oratorical style sometimes flits off in other directions, and he can just as easily sound downright precious, as in one sermon when he described a Biblical scene in these terms:

> *[John] saw the face of the ocean in its laughing mood when little wavelets, like frisky kittens, romped with strands of seaweed about the ankles of the beach. On stormy nights, John, by lightning's flashes, glimpsed the bosom of the sea heaving in anger beneath the insults of the wind and the lashing of the tempest. He watched the pouting tides pull their lacy gowns of foam about them, turn their backs, and sulk away from the beach. He watched the enamored billows fling themselves upon the rocky breast of those chaste shores and, being repulsed, die of love unrequited, to be trampled under foot of their fellow waves as they in their turn rushed up to kiss the sands.*

It is a style that would have made the old evangelical roarers grit their teeth.

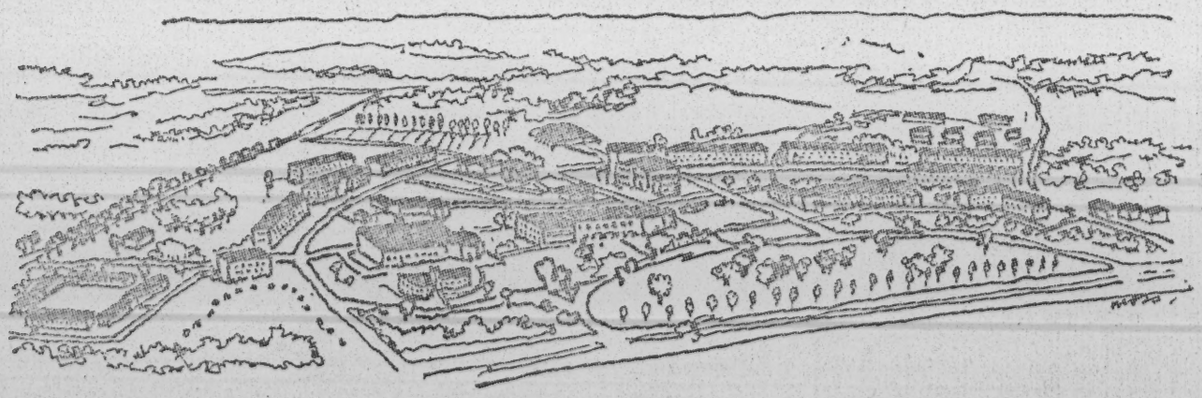
And then there is Bob, III, at 25 vice president of the school and expertly versed in the policy. He runs the school when his father is out of town, which is three-fourths of the time.

It is not quite enough to say the Joneses run the place; they permeate it. When students or faculty quit the school, they will as often as not assign as one of their main reasons a disgust at what they felt was a deification of the Jones family. "Standing up for Dr. Jones" is common calisthenics at BJU. On the other hand, many of the alumni are quite content to pay almost worshipful respect to the Joneses. One alumnus told me, "if I were on the other side of the globe and Dr. Bob told me to come, I would put down whatever I had at hand, and leave immediately."

For such dominating educators, the Joneses do not have the best credentials, as the world goes. Mostly they are laden with honorary degrees from such places as John Brown University, Siloam Springs, Ark., and Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio. But they can afford to take whatever sneers are directed at them on that score. How many other college executives own the establishment, lock, stock and Bible—a $28 million going concern, which they can sell whenever they want to move on?

In that $28 million bundle are two radio stations, including one of the most powerful FM stations in the Southeast, sending out classical music, gospel music (but no crass foot-stomping singing, like the Stamps-Baxter outfit), Bible messages and, almost as important in a religious way, messages from such eminent right wingers as Carl McIntire, Billy James Hargis (who has an honorary Ph.D. from Bob Jones), Dan Smoot, Major Edgar Bundy and Howard Kershner. Not to mention frequent religio-political tidings from the Joneses themselves.

BJU is an object of amusement even to some hard-shell Methodists and Baptists, largely because of its strictness and because of the inbred quality of its faculty. Of about 150 regular faculty, only 10 hold doctorates and of these, four got their Ph.D.s at Bob Jones University. BJU officials long ago learned that the best way to find teachers who believe as the administration believes,



and who are willing to submit to the regimen of the campus, is to train their own. Only twenty members of the faculty failed to take at least some of their studies at BJU, and most of the faculty got a degree from there.

Appropriately, since the Jones family controls the school with a firm hand, there is a dominating "family" atmosphere about the place. As part of their pay, the faculty is given room and board. When a husband is hired to teach, his wife is under contract too—to work however she can. Teachers are paid according to their needs; an instructor with four children will earn more than a professor without a family.

No one goes to Bob Jones to teach without knowing what awaits him, but even among the initiates the air sometimes gets too thick, and some of those who leave are highly critical of what they left behind. Dr. Bob, Jr., has a word to say about that kind of apostate: "We fired a fellow from Bob Jones University once. He went out and said we were all crooked here. Looks to me like if he were an honest man he would have quit long ago rather than work with crooks. Brother, if we were crooked and he knew it, and still stayed on all those years, he was guilty as we are."

This professor had been fired for voicing criticisms. The first and most important rule at BJU, for both faculty and students, is: *No griping.* Dr. Bob, Sr., is fond of telling the BJU students in chapel, "if you don't like it here you can pack your dirty duds and hit the four-lane highway." Faculty members who get out of line can be fired on ten days' notice. Dr. Bob, Jr., says: "We do not believe that a man in this school which has taken the Biblical position in every particular, right down to the tales of creation, we do not believe it is a just usage of the term academic freedom for a man to be able to say in the name of academic freedom, 'I'm going to teach evolution or free love in this school.' Academic freedom here boils down to the ability to say anything you want to say so long as it doesn't offend the Bible. We wouldn't tolerate any teaching in this school that was opposed to the Biblical position."

The regimentation of the faculty, however, is lightweight compared to the rules that run the student body.

A student who is merely caught inside—not necessarily buying anything, just inside—any of a dozen anathematized stores near the campus is automatically dismissed from BJU. These are stores—drugstores and grocery stores, as well as eateries—that obtained liquor licenses over the protests of the college.

Also students are *not* allowed to:

- Listen to jazz on the radio, sing or play it themselves.
- Go into the gym in mixed groups.
- Date off-campus without written permission.
- Sit or lie down on blankets anywhere on the 185-acre campus.
- Leave the campus after 10:30 P.M.
- Borrow anything from townspeople.
- Release any information to newspapers without getting it approved by the administration.

In addition, there are some general regulations for everyone. Students are warned that anybody who "occupies his time excessively with games such as checkers, chess, puzzles" will be considered "irresponsible" and kicked out of school. Cards are absolutely taboo—even "Wheaton Poker" (Rook). Freshmen women may have two dates a week, sophomores three a week, juniors four, and seniors can date as often as they please. But "date"—except by special permission and with chaperon—means on-campus, and it also means for no more than two hours. Couples aren't allowed to stroll around the campus holding hands, either. (And remember: *no blankets.*) If they aren't attending a concert or other campus activity, they may sit down and talk in the student lounge—always keeping a 6-inch space between their bodies on the couch.

Male freshmen may leave the campus three times a week in the daytime (checking out first), and liberties are moderately increased over the next three years. Freshmen must go in pairs, to chaperon one another.

The parade-ground crackle is awesome. Students rise with a bell, and go to sleep with a bell; they must attend all chapels; they must go to all meals; they must study at certain times and not study at certain other times; they must wear certain clothing (stockings for the girls at all times; for the boys, ties to class, coats at evening meal); girls must not loiter in the halls; all classes must open with a prayer, and all discussion groups close with a prayer.

The school administration admits that only students with the most Christian grace will last beyond their freshman year, but those who do, says The Founder, are well rewarded: "If you ever feed on heavenly manna, garlic and onions can never taste good any more. If you can go back from Bob Jones University after all that you get here and feed on the husks that the swine eat, you'll be like the prodigal son. It won't satisfy your hunger."

These regulations of time and place are as nothing compared to the regulations of thought, which are considered quite normal by an administration that at the same time describes the National Council of Churches as "a totalitarian group, just as dictatorial as Rome itself." In the light of that condemnation, the regulations could appear hypocritical; actually they are entirely consistent with the regional impulse to balk at every order that comes from a foreign source (Washington, say) while demanding strict adherence within the region to every communal tradition.

Dr. Bob, III, says proudly: "We're unusual in our objectives to teach the student *what he believes.* Most schools would be appalled at this statement, but committed as we are, we don't throw out a bunch of theories to them about the religions of the world and philosophy and this sort of thing."

Put in another way, the college teaches its graduates to act from a pre-thought, not to think. As Dr. Bob, Sr., is fond of saying: "This is not the age of the *thinker;* it's the age of the *doer.* If you try to think crossing a highway or street, some fool will run over you." And the best way to insure that their graduates act in a prescribed way is to spend four years, as the president says, "teaching them what they think." Leave no doubt about it, for, as Dr. Bob, Jr., counseled one chapel group, "what's doubtful is dirty."

Large corporations reportedly are wild about the Joneses' well-drilled graduates, who stay at their desks until the factory whistle blows, do not gripe about management policies, do not loiter around the water fountain, and obey all office rules. "I've had Bendix recruiters tell me

they would much rather come here than go to Harvard or Yale," said Dr. Bob, III.

But the mold of institutional conformity does not extend to the institution itself. Because of rampant inbreeding, lack of Ph.D.s on the faculty, shortage of curriculum, and methods of paying its teachers, the school could never win accreditation by a regional college association. But even if it could, the Joneses would refuse to belong, because, says Dr. Bob, Jr., "They dictate your administrative policies to you pretty much. One of our objectives has been *individuality* in education."

It goes without saying that a BJU graduate does not go out into the world marked by what Arnold called "the sweet reasonableness of Jesus," for that was not the purpose of his four-years' training. Right is right and wrong is wrong, so why be reasonable about it? Dr. Bob, III, does not dodge the point. He acknowledges that BJU students, faculty and graduates deserve to be called zealots and, in fact, views the term with favor:

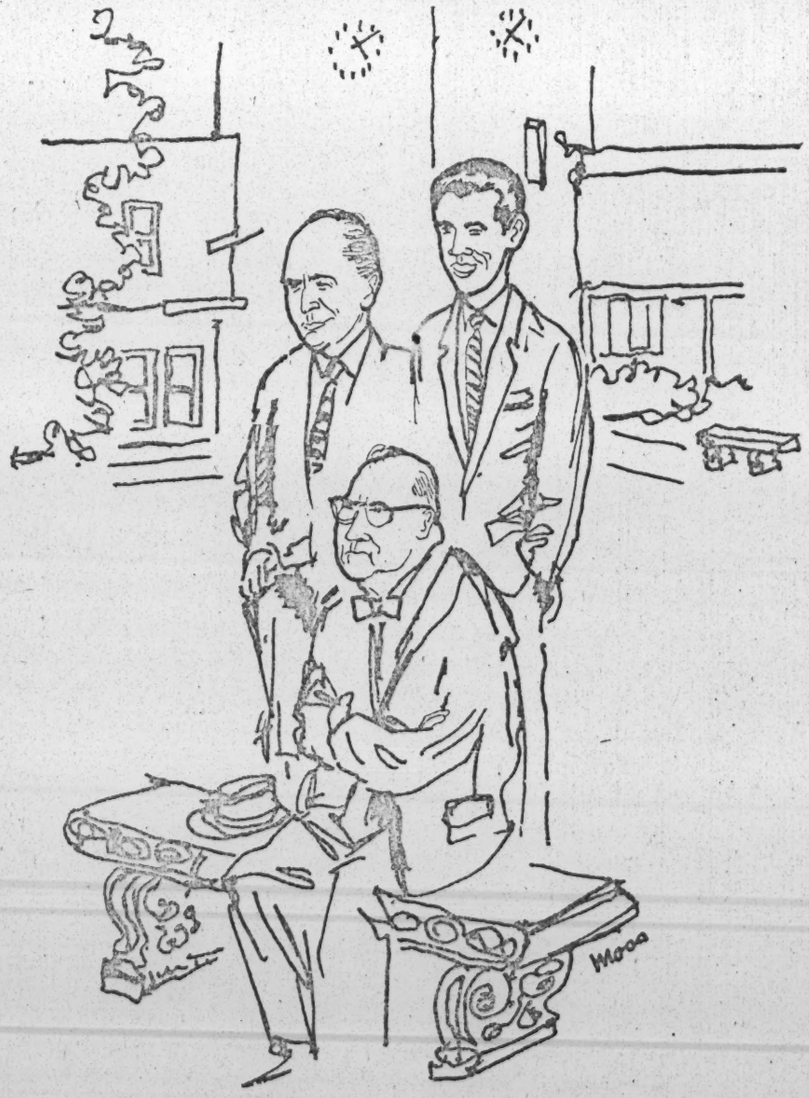
A man ought to be zealous for what he believes, when his belief is founded in the word of God, which is unfailing. Yes, like Goldwater, yes, that's right, that's right. There's nothing wrong with being an extremist. Look at the Communists. [illegible] certainly have to say they're [illegible]. They lay down their life for the cause of godless communism. Anything for the state. Why shouldn't a man who has been given the gift of eternal life by Jesus Christ be ten times more zealous in the spread of the gospel? There's nothing wrong with being extreme in the cause of right.

This certitude sets the BJU student aside as a man to be reckoned with. One boy, hitchhiking back to BJU for the fall term, was picked up by an Episcopal minister, who had his car radio tuned to a jazz program. Without asking permission, the BJU student switched off the radio and launched out in a talk meant to liberate the Episcopal priest from his sinful ways. And this boy was not even a ministerial student. The ministerial students are something else again. Last year they distributed a quarter million Bible tracts, held 28,680 services in churches around Greenville (sometimes irritating the resident pastor by criticizing him), stopped an estimated 80,350 citizens on the street —or rousted them out of their homes—to talk to them about their need of Christ. They are relentless.

Founder Jones, who enjoys creating "sayings," frequently says, and his disciples repeat after him, "You can go as far as you like with a man of good will down the same road without compromising. Compromising begins when you go a step down the wrong road." And that, the Joneses will tell you, is why today they are the harshest opponents of the Rev. Billy Graham. He went down the wrong road; he compromised by getting on the platform with unbelievers, even with Catholics. For a while they were all for him; that was back in the days when Billy had the blessings of such men as Rev. William Bell Riley, the anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic war horse of fundamentalism. Billy sounded all right then, and even up through the early 1950s when he was helping McCarthyism along with observations such as "over 1,100 social sounding organizations are Communist or Communist-operated in this country. They control the minds of a great segment of our people. . . ." He sounded all right to the fundamentalists when, to the joy of the industrialists who were moving into the South in a big way, he described the Garden of Eden as a place where there were "no union dues, no labor leaders, no snakes, no disease."

But anyone who lives by passing the plate among variegated cultures knows when to change, and that's Billy. These days he not only speaks to integrated crowds, he insists that they be integrated. These days he says pleasant things about the National Council of Churches, and cottons up to Cardinal Cushing.

If these actions disappointed most



fundamentalists, they downright infuriated the Joneses. The Founder, who tempers his crustiness with a balanced sentence, says he once told Graham, "to be an evangelist, the Lord wants a man to have brains in his head, grace in his heart, and guts in his belly—and you don't have any of them." The Joneses take turns ridiculing Graham for all sorts of things, some illusionary, some real enough: he spends more money on advertising than Barnum & Bailey; his original revival in Los Angeles, the one that first won him national fame, would have failed but for the prompted "testimony" of gambling, horse-racing, movie star Stuart Hamblen; the head count of the "saved" at Graham's revivals is phony because he plants workers throughout the audience who go down, at a ratio of two to one, with the people who surrender to Christ.

When the Joneses started to oppose Graham, around 1955, "our own friends thought we had gone absolutely berserk," says Dr. Bob, III, but now many fundamentalists agree with the Jones position. Ask them for a formal stamp of shame, and they will call Graham "leader of the new evangelical movement." That may not sound especially damaging outside the Bible belt because those who take religion in a relaxed way may find it hard to understand just how violently critical of the "new" evangelicals the Joneses and their followers can be. With them it is a matter of e-ter-nal damnation and no fooling. After pointing out that communism, in its effort to conquer the world, is using the Russian army, the fifth column and collaborators, Dr. Bob, Jr., draws this analogy: "Satan in his war against God and his word uses three similar forces . . . Modernism, Neo-orthodoxy and the New Evangelicalism. Of these three, the last group is the most dangerous." That's what they think of Billy. And if these Goldwater supporters had any doubts about whether they might have been doing Graham an injustice, all misgivings were dispelled when they saw him praying over Johnson's inauguration. That old devil compromise had won again.

The last time I talked to Dr. Bob, III, he seemed troubled by the direction of some of my questions. "Please let me make it clear," he said, "that Bob Jones University is not a political partisan institution. We have both Democrats and Republicans on our faculty and represented in the student body. We believe in the old-fashioned, Christian Americanism which made this country great—those principles of freedom of thought and expression, of personal integrity, strength of character, freedom for all, pride of nation, et cetera. Because we believe strongly in these things, we desire to see them maintained, *but we do not play politics here at Bob Jones University.*"

BJU, which he says does not play politics and certainly not partisan politics, holds Americanism conferences now and then. At its last one, Arkansas ex-Rep. Dale Alford spoke on "States' rights"; Dr. Billy James Hargis spoke on "The President—Ignorant or Untruthful? The Facts on the Danger from Communist Infiltration"; Harry T. Everingham (president of We, the People) spoke on "The United Nations, Socialist Trap for American Freedom," and Dan Smoot spoke on "Liberalism." Earlier Americanism conferences were similarly oriented.

When Gov. George Wallace of Alabama was awarded his honorary doctorate from BJU, Dr. Bob, Jr., praised him as "a David warring against the giant, Tyranny. Men who have fought for truth and righteousness have always been slandered, maligned and misrepresented, but you, Mr. Governor, have demonstrated by your overwhelming victories that there is still in America love for freedom, hard common sense and at least some hope for the preservation of our constitutional liberties."

Early in 1963, Dr. Bob, Jr., wrote to every student at the college:

> *If the Peace Corps were in the hands of honest, able, and intelligent men and if the Administration were trustworthy and would not take the attitude that lying is a legitimate tool of government, the idea of the Peace Corps might be basically a good thing. However, unfortunately the situation is entirely different. The President's brother-in-law is the head of the Peace Corps, which has been made, in effect, a sort of personal army for the promotion of the Administration's impractical, unrealistic, and unsound philosophy. . . . In Latin America it is being used to work with Roman Catholic schools and organizations and is, therefore, promoting the worst kind of religious totalitarianism while politically it represents the most liberal point of view.**

Despite this seeming evidence to the contrary, Dr. Bob, III, is trying to tell the truth when he says the college does not play politics. If it does not *sound* like the truth, that is only because he illustrates in a very perfect manner what I said at the outset: in the Deep South—or wherever fundamentalists operate, for that matter—politics and religion are so closely entwined that sincere, honest fellows like the Joneses can play the devil out of politics and think they are just minding their Scriptural manners.

"Our graduates are not crusaders against social depravity and political injustice," says Dr. Bob, III, with what may seem strange candor. "They are warriors against sin, and the Scripture refers to the Christian life many times as a spiritual warfare. So our efforts are not primarily for the purpose of making a better world, but rather to spread the good news of salvation. . . . When we deal in social and political matters, we deal only where they have some bearing upon the work we are doing and upon the lives and interests of individual, born-again Christians."

Who can unscramble that kind of thinking? Shake the kaleidoscope of politics ever so slightly and it begins to look like a baptismal.

In a rather noted radio exhortation to the Negroes, The Founder once said:

> *You might be over there in the jungles of Africa today, unsaved. But you are here in America where you have your own schools and your own churches and your own liberties and your own rights, with certain restrictions that God Almighty put about you—restrictions that are in line with the Word of God.*

That is nonlanguage at its purest and most childlike: "*Your own* liberties and *your own* rights with certain restrictions." This is the logic

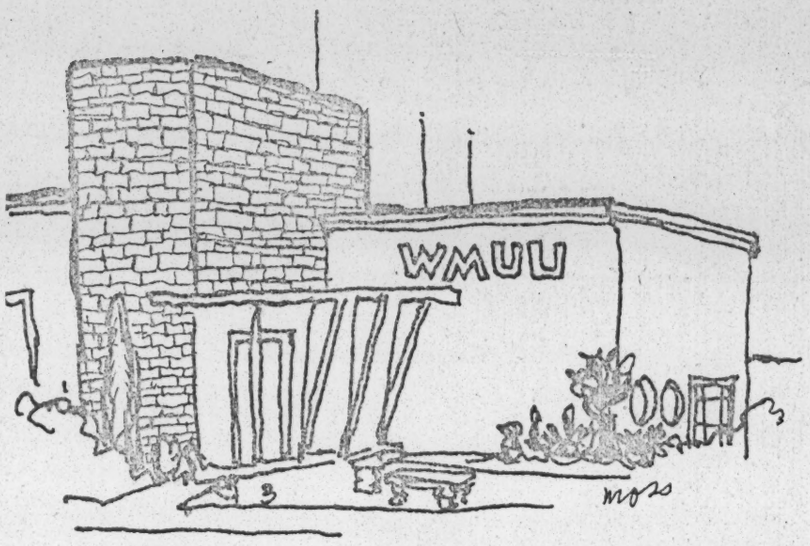
*When this letter came to the attention of Bill Moyers, then deputy director of the Peace Corps and now one of LBJ's top aides, his diplomatic poise slipped a bit. He responded in a letter to Dr. Bob, Jr., calling him an "uninformed, prejudiced, arrogant, self-righteous and immature character" who resorted to "trash." Dr. Bob, Jr., replied that it was "time some of you arrogant, highhanded, and radical bullies got it through your thick heads. . . ." and circulated copies of the exchange very widely. Nothing nourishes the reputation of a fundamentalist like a good fuss.

of nonlogic, and it puts an entirely different complexion on what, coming from one less committed, would sound like racism: "If you are against segregation and against racial separation, then you are against God Almighty because He made racial separation. . . . It is no accident that most of the Chinese live in China. It is not an accident that most Japanese live in Japan. . . ."

Using nonlanguage, the fundamentalists can sneak up on you pretty close before you know what they have in mind. Dr. Bob, III, started off on the subject of race:

I don't want you to . . . don't misconstrue this as an attack upon the Negro—it's not. We love the Negro people. Some of the finest Christians I've ever known were Negroes. In fact, they put me to shame. And I have looked at several Negro Christians and wished to God I could be as Christ-like as they are. And among Christian Negroes there is no strife between them and us—we are brothers in the Lord. I'm for the Negro being able to have rights, to be able to ride on the bus with the white man, to eat at a restaurant if he wants to, to have education in a state institution—he pays taxes like everybody else and he should have the privileges his tax money brings. I believe this and I'm all for it.

He seemed to be heading toward a modest pitch for integration, but I knew he wouldn't make it all the way. I remembered that panel in the Sistine Chapel showing God reaching across space to touch the finger of Adam, whose arm was outstretched as he slept, to wake him to life. The drama of the painting is in the participation of the spectator; the finger of God and the finger of Adam are only a little apart, but the imagination of the beholder must be the bridge; he wants it to happen, the movement of the painting is toward that touch, and so it *does* happen. This young man sitting across the desk from me, godlike in his certitude, was also stretching forth a finger to touch the Negro into a life of fellowship. But there was still the small gap, in this case requiring *his* imagination to effect the bridge, so I knew it would never happen. Fundamentalists have no imagination. Hearing them reciting the mysteries of Revelation, one is almost tempted to credit them with the imagination of a Blake, but this is foolishness. For people who insist on cramming 2,000 years of history and science



into the ark of the covenant, the height of creativity is to quote chapter and verse. He went on:

But now understand this. God's ways are not man's ways, see, and man in his condition can't see and will refuse to accept the judgment of God. Now, very frankly, and I don't think there is any way around it—and it's been the position of most conservative Bible scholars—that Ham and the Canaanites, the sons of his son Canaan, were cursed of God because of their indiscretion and sin and looking at their father naked when he was drunk after the flood and mocking him. God had blessed Ham, Seth and Japheth, the sons of Noah. He couldn't bless them and then turn around and curse them. His dealings with men are consistent and just, so he cursed one of the sons of Ham—Canaan—and he decreed that he would be a servant's servant.

That wording is in the Bible?

Yes sir. Servant's servant is in the Bible, 20th chapter of Genesis, I think. Until we have our redeemed, supernatural bodies in Heaven we're not going to be equal here, and there's no sense in trying to be. Here's what I say. The Negro—and I'm not . . . this is God's way and I'm not, it's not my own feeling—but a Negro is best when he serves at the table, when he does that, he's doing what he knows how to do best. And the Negroes who have ascended to positions in government, in education, this sort of thing, I think you'll find, by and large, have a strong strain of white blood in them. Now, I'm not a racist and this school is not a racist institution. *I can't stress that enough. But what I say is purely what I have been taught, and what I have been able to study is the teaching of the Scripture.*

The fact that today, there are more Negroes than there are tables to be waited on does not alter the scriptural necessity of his being a servant's servant.

I turned the talk to the United Nations. Partisan or nonpartisan, the UN is a political topic, and I felt that it would give us a breather from religion.

But to young Jones, the UN is very much a doctrinal topic:

Another thing, we believe the Bible teaches, and Bible scholars for years have taught this—it's nothing new—that in the end of time there's going to be a heading up into a one-world federation. Then the god of this world, Satan, will have free rein in the lives and affairs of the people here. He's called the man of sin, he's called the beast, the anti-Christ—he's going to rise to power and take all nations of the world together.

This one-worldism, this collectivism of religion, of politics, of everything, of all nations, this ecumenical movement in religion is another thing pointing in that direction. I mean, it's unheard of in the history of religion that the Catholics, and the Protestants, and the Jews, and all the cults are getting together into one big church. I saw the other day in the paper where a Catholic ordained a Lutheran, I believe it was, and on that ordination committee was a Southern Baptist, there was a Holiness man, I believe a Church of Christ man was on it, a Presbyterian and Methodist were on it—it is hard to believe—it's inconceivable but it's happening through all denominations. The Southern Baptists for years have been the conservative religious big denomination in the country. But now, there are overtones of uniting with the Northern

Baptists which I believe will come to pass in five to ten years at the most. Its amazing how fast these things are heading up. And it may be that the United Nations . . . whether it's the agency through which this anti-Christ would work or whether it's merely preparing the people, getting them used to the one-world concept, so that his take-over would be easier, is another matter. It may be a new expression of "brotherhood of man"—which we don't believe in; there's not a word about the universal fatherhood of God and universal brotherhood of man in the Bible—but it is all a part of the plan to get the people of the world together for the take-over of the anti-Christ. The Bible is very clear on that.

The trouble with liberals, he said, is that they think man is inherently good and can perfect the world, whereas actually men are inherently degenerate.

How widely is this doctrine preached in the pulpits of America? It is safe to say that at least half the churchgoers of the Deep South are subjected to it regularly, although in this region only a fraction of it is preached by BJU graduates. Just as the John Birch Society finds the Deep South one of its least fertile areas for recruitment, for the reason that groups see no reason to band together to push what the entire community has agreed on for years, so the BJU graduates by and large turn elsewhere to do their proselytizing.

The good BJU word is also passed along in a second wave, as it were. Pillsbury Conservative Baptist Bible College in Owatonna, Minn., is the fifth largest of its kind in the nation. Its president, Dr. Monroe Parker, has all three of his degrees from BJU and is a member of the BJU executive board of trustees. At least one-third of his faculty is from BJU. Dr. J.R. Faulkner, vice president of the Tennessee Temple Schools & Seminary, Chattanooga, is a graduate of BJU, as are a great number of the school's faculty. Dr. Tom Malone, founder and president of the Midwestern Baptist Seminary in Pontiac, Mich., is a BJU product; he preaches to about 2,000 parishioners every Sunday. Dr. Linton Johnson, president of Freewill Baptist Bible College, Nashville, is a BJU alumnus; as is Dean Pierre Guillermin of Southern Methodist Colleges in Orangeburg, S.C.

Dr. Dallas Billington, pastor of the Akron Baptist Temple, where nearly 10,000 show up every Sunday, holds an honorary Ph.D. from Bob Jones and is on the board of trustees; Dr. G. B. Vick, pastor of the Detroit Baptist Temple (9,000 a Sunday), frequently speaks to BJU chapels and attends the annual Bible conferences at the school; Dr. Lee Roberson, pastor of the Highland Park Baptist Church in Chattanooga (2,000 a Sunday), is a popular speaker at BJU and is sending his daughter to the Bob Jones Academy, a high school on the grounds. The school has many other friends, not tied to it by degrees or trusteeships, but strongly by philosophy. Among them are Rev. Al Janney, pastor of the New Testament Baptist Church, Miami, Fla., and Rev. Dr. W.A. Criswell, pastor of the largest Southern Baptist Church in the nation (Dallas, Tex., 18,500 members) and a close friend and spiritual adviser to H. L. Hunt. The Joneses call Criswell the best of Southern Baptists.

On and on and on goes the fellowship of—to use their own word—zealots, through the rich Farm Bureau strongholds where the pick-up trucks still carry fresh Goldwater bumper stickers, and into the lonely country-come-to-town industrial recesses of Christian America, where they are earning more and enjoying it less, or think they are, and want to kick Mammon in the arse for old time's sake.

Bainbridge, Ga., is a typical stronghold. This is the home town of Marvin Griffin, former governor, whose administration set records for corruption. Griffin did give Georgia one thing—a formula for taking care of integrationists: "Ain't but one thing to do and that is to cut down a blackjack sapling and brain 'em and nip 'em in the bud." Such sentiments alone, however, are not enough to make him stand out in Bainbridge.

One of Griffin's close friends is Rev. Dr. Charles Bishop, pastor of a large Bainbridge Baptist church and a graduate of whom BJU boasts. He is a member of his alma mater's executive committee, having equal vote with the Joneses in the general policy-making of the college. A very dapper 42-year-old Mississippi native, the Reverend Bishop was Georgia Senate chaplain under both Griffin and young Talmadge. He graduated from Bob Jones University in 1945 and came to Bainbridge the next year. His church has grown from a membership of 100 that first year to its present 1,150 members. It owns a city block.

Since his church life is separate from the college itself, one may fairly use the Reverend Bishop as a measure of what the more influential BJU graduates hope to do as propagandists in the world. He told me without any show of defensiveness: "I have no hesitation in giving my political views from the pulpit if they are backed up by the Bible.

"For instance, there is plenty of good Biblical support for segregation. In the 13th chapter of Nehemiah, starting at, I believe, the 23rd verse, it tells how the people of Israel were intermarried with the children of Ashdod, and how Nehemiah cursed them. We believe Nehemiah was a spokesman for God in this cursing. Intermarriage like that is bad, whether it is between the children of Israel and the children of Ashdod, or between blacks and whites."

A nucleus of conservative businessmen in Bainbridge sponsors speakers from outside; the Reverend Bishop often handles the billing. In recent weeks they have had Lester Maddox, the frenzied ex-proprietor of the Pickrick Restaurant in Atlanta, and Rev. Kenneth Goff, a professional ex-Communist anti-Semite. Gov. George Wallace has promised to come.

Yes sir, I tell my congregation when these men are coming to town and ask them to attend. And I quote from their speeches in my sermons.

These are bad days. I watched the Presidential inauguration on television. There was a 300-foot bar with fifty bartenders. I couldn't believe it. Just before that, I saw Billy Graham talking. One preacher and fifty bartenders, that's the ratio of this Administration.

There's good reason to mix religion and politics. I think if you would go back and read history starting with Reconstruction, you would find every major political development in the South had a strong religious motive. We have found that fundamentalist Christians and conservative politicians have a lot in common. Without the fundamentalist Christians behind him, Goldwater would never have carried the Southern states he did carry. In my church, we gave out thousands of copies of A Texan Looks at Lyndon.

There are eight Bob Jones University ministers in southwest Georgia who have large churches. The Reverend Bishop continued:

We didn't endorse any political candidate. We just gave out the truth. We felt if we could do that, our people would vote conservative. We didn't get into politics exactly. We talked more about government responsibility and that sort of thing. Like the wheat shipments to Russia. God never told people in the Old Testament to go in and feed people who were against Him. The Russians are atheists. The Communist astronaut said he did not see God up there.

We also try to teach our people—yes, from the pulpit if necessary—about the Communist slave countries. We mention specific items that come in from those countries. We find out the brand names they go under. We got the City Council to pass a law saying you've got to put up a sign if you sell those items and get a special license. Most of the merchants agreed not to carry the goods.

The Reverend Bishop has been telling the people of southwest Georgia how to save their political souls on daily radio broadcasts for nineteen years. Five other like-minded ministers, in as many different towns of southwest Georgia and north Florida, also take part in the radio assault. Together they blanket several hundred square miles.

Sometimes the Reverend Bishop "takes over" the radio station. Five months ago, warming up for the Presidential election, he called the station manager and suggested that instead of buying spot space now and then through the day, why not let him buy the entire day and see if he couldn't get somebody to pay for it later? The manager agreed, and the Reverend Bishop let fly: with tapes of Governor Wallace, tapes of Carl McIntire, of Dr. Bob Jones and Dr. Bob Jones, Jr., Dan Smoot and allies. All day. And Bainbridge citizens paid for it, just as he suspected they would. He pulled the same thing later at the radio station in Albany, Ga.

For those who have the Bob Jones outlook on life, the satisfaction of the 1964 Presidential election—perhaps it can even be said, the victory of it—was in losing, as it was in those years when they went Dixiecrat. They knew that the route they were taking could lead nowhere but to certain defeat. For the Southerner, joy is still to be found in lost-cause rebellion just for its own sake, but the quest for political defeat also springs from a desire for spiritual justification. He who would find his life must lose it, yes, that too, but there is also the old notion of the elect, set apart not by love but by suffering.

"There would be something wrong with our testimony and our outrage if all people thought well of us," said Dr. Bob Jones, III. "We don't ask the ungodly to think well of us. We don't ask the church people to think well of us who know nothing of a personal relationship with Christ. It doesn't bother us when they criticize us."

When the lying columnists, when the National Council of Churches sit in the seat of the scorners—the politically victorious scorners—it's all right; for as this fresh-faced young zealot says, almost kindly: "We can be certain that those religious systems that do carry political force and are accepted by the world in general are not of God but of the devil and are being used by Satan to draw sincere and seeking men away from the truth of the Word of God."

ARCTIC MANEUVERS

The Gimmicks of War . . . . . Robert J. Reguly

Toronto

When the joint U.S.-Canadian "Exercise Polar Strike" was held in Alaska last month, 14,000 troops and scores of aircraft ranged over 8,000 square miles of formidable terrain in mock Arctic war. The largest military exercise ever held in Alaska, "Polar Strike" assayed nuclear strategy and ball-point pens, helicopter assault techniques, snowshoe designs—and the durability of the human nervous system.

Most branches of the army got into the "scenario"—as the script for the exercise was officially called—including a band of dedicated military policemen, who set up a model POW camp next door to Big Delta airfield and there displayed their specialty: making "prisoners" blab. They have spent five years developing tongue-loosening tricks and hope to see them adopted as the army standard. The airfield, which serves Fort Greely, 105 miles southeast of Fairbanks, was the hand-over point for lend-lease warplanes to Soviet fliers in World War II. The MPs seemed eager for the Russians to return today with hostile intent.

The Geneva Convention govern-

Robert J. Reguly is a reporter for the Toronto Daily Star.

[Gift of R.A. Simpson]

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Minority Housing Markets

A SPECIAL REPORT BY

ADVANCE MORTGAGE CORPORATION

DECEMBER 1, 1962

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FEDERAL LAW

Urban Planning Grants

Excerpts from

THE HOUSING ACT OF 1954

As Amended Through October 1, 1964

and

THE HOUSING ACT OF 1964

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
Washington, D.C. 20410

URBAN PLANNING GRANTS
EXCERPTS FROM THE HOUSING ACT OF 1954
AS AMENDED THROUGH OCTOBER 1, 1964
Public Law 560, 83d Congress
40 U.S.C. 461

Urban Planning

SEC. 701. (a) In order to assist State and local governments in solving planning problems resulting from the increasing concentration of population in metropolitan and other urban areas, including smaller communities; to facilitate comprehensive planning for urban development, including coordinated transportation systems, on a continuing basis by such governments; and to encourage such governments to establish and improve planning staffs, the Administrator[1] is authorized to make planning grants to—

(1) State planning agencies, or (in States where no such planning agency exists) to agencies or instrumentalities of State government designated by the Governor of the State and acceptable to the Administrator as capable of carrying out the planning functions contemplated by this section, for the provision of planning assistance to (A) cities and other municipalities having a population of less than 50,000 according to the latest decennial census, and counties without regard to population: *Provided,* That grants shall be made under this paragraph for planning assistance to counties having a population of 50,000 or more, according to the latest decennial census, which are within metropolitan areas, only if (i) the Administrator finds that planning and plans for such county will be coordinated with the program of comprehensive planning, if any, which is being carried out for the metropolitan area of which the county is a part, and (ii) the aggregate amount of the grants made subject to this proviso does not exceed 15 per centum of the aggregate amount appropriated, after the date of enactment of the Housing Act of 1964, for the purposes of this section, (B) any group of adjacent communities, either incorporated or unincorporated, having a total population of less than 50,000 according to the latest decennial census and having common or related urban planning problems, (C) cities, other municipalities, and counties referred to in paragraph (3) of this subsection and areas referred to in paragraph (4) of this subsection, and (D) Indian reservations;

(2) official State, metropolitan, and regional planning agencies, or other agencies and instrumentalities designated by the Governor (or Governors in the case of interstate planning) and acceptable to the Administrator, empowered under State or local laws or interstate compact to perform metropolitan or regional planning;

(3) cities, other municipalities, and counties which (A) are situated in areas designated by the Secretary of Commerce under section 5 of the Area Redevelopment Act as redevelopment areas or (B) have suffered substantial damage as a result of a catastrophe which the President, pursuant to section 2(a) of "An Act to authorize Federal assistance to States and local governments in major disasters, and for other purposes", has determined to be a major disaster;

(4) to official governmental planning agencies for areas where rapid urbanization has resulted or is expected to result from the establishment or rapid and substantial expansion of a Federal installation;

(5) State planning agencies for State and interstate comprehensive planning (as defined in subsection (d)) and for research and coordination activity related thereto;

(6) metropolitan and regional planning agencies, with the approval of the State planning agency or (in States where no such planning agency exists) of the Governor of the State, for the provision of planning assistance within the metropolitan area or region to cities, other municipalities, counties, groups of adjacent communities, or Indian reservations described in clauses (A), (B), (C), and (D) of paragraph (1) of this subsection;

(7) to official governmental planning agencies for any area where there has occurred a substantial reduction in employment opportunities as the result of (A) the closing (in whole or in part) of a Federal installation, or (B) a decline in the volume of Government orders for the procurement of articles or materials produced or manufactured in such area; and

(8) tribal planning councils or other tribal bodies designated by the Secretary of the Interior for planning for an Indian reservation to which no State planning agency or other agency or instrumentality is empowered to provide planning assistance under clause (D) of paragraph (1) above.

---

[1] Housing and Home Finance Administrator. The Urban Renewal Administration, a constituent of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, is responsible for the administration of the urban planning grant program.

Planning assisted under this section shall, to the maximum extent feasible, cover entire urban areas having common or related urban development problems. The Administrator shall encourage cooperation in preparing and carrying out plans among all interested municipalities, political subdivisions, public agencies, and other parties in order to achieve coordinated development of entire areas. To the maximum extent feasible, pertinent plans and studies already made for areas shall be utilized so as to avoid unnecessary repetition of effort and expense. Planning which may be assisted under this section includes the preparation of comprehensive urban transportation surveys, studies, and plans to aid in solving problems of traffic congestion, facilitating the circulation of people and goods in metropolitan and other urban areas and reducing transportation needs. Funds available under this section shall be in addition to and may be used jointly with funds available for planning surveys and investigations under other Federally-aided programs, and nothing contained in this section shall be construed as affecting the authority of the Secretary of Commerce under section 307 of title 23, United States Code.

(b) A grant made under this section shall not exceed two-thirds of the estimated cost of the work for which the grant is made: *Provided,* That such a grant may be in an amount not exceeding three-fourths of such estimated cost to an official governmental planning agency for an area described in subsection (a) (7), or for planning being carried out for a city, other municipality, county, group of adjacent communities, or Indian reservation in an area designated by the Secretary of Commerce as a redevelopment area under section 5 of the Area Redevelopment Act. All grants made under this section shall be subject to terms and conditions prescribed by the Administrator. No portion of any grant made under this section shall be used for the preparation of plans for specific public works. The Administrator is authorized, nothwithstanding the provisions of section 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, to make advances or progress payments on account of any planning grant made under this section. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated not exceeding $105,000,000 to carry out the purposes of this section, and any amounts so appropriated shall remain available until expended.

(c) The Administrator is authorized, in areas embracing several municipalities or other political subdivisions, to encourage planning on a unified metropolitan basis and to provide technical assistance for such planning and the solution of problems relating thereto.

(d) It is the further intent of this section to encourage comprehensive planning, including transportation planning, for States, cities, counties, metropolitan areas, urban regions, and Indian reservations and the establishment and development of the organizational units needed therefor. The Administrator is authorized to provide technical assistance to State and local governments and their agencies and instrumentalities, and to Indian tribal bodies, undertaking such planning and, by contract or otherwise, to make studies and publish information on related problems. In extending financial assistance under this section, the Administrator may require such assurances as he deems adequate that the appropriate State and local agencies are making reasonable progress in the development of the elements of comprehensive planning. Comprehensive planning, as used in this section, includes the following, to the extent directly related to urban needs: (1) preparation, as a guide for long-range development, of general physical plans with respect to the pattern and intensity of land use and the provision of public facilities, including transportation facilities, together with long-range fiscal plans for such development; (2) programing of capital improvements based on a determination of relative urgency, together with definitive financing plans for the improvements to be constructed in the earlier years of the program; (3) coordination of all related plans of the departments or subdivisions of the government concerned; (4) inter-governmental coordination of all related planned activities among the State and local governmental agencies concerned; and (5) preparation of regulatory and administrative measures in support of the foregoing.

(e) In the exercise of his function of encouraging comprehensive planning by the States, the Administrator shall consult with those officials of the Federal Government responsible for the administration of programs of Federal assistance to the States and municipalities for various categories of public facilities.

(f) The consent of the Congress is hereby given to any two or more States to enter into agreements or compacts, not in conflict with any law of the United States, for cooperative efforts and mutual assistance in the comprehensive planning for the physical growth and development of interstate, metropolitan, or other urban areas, and to establish such agencies, joint or otherwise, as they may deem desirable for making effective such agreements and compacts.

Approved August 2, 1954.

PLANNING PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM CHAMIZAL TREATY OF 1963

EXCERPT FROM THE HOUSING ACT OF 1964

Public Law 88–560, 78 Stat. 769, 793

SEC. 318. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954 with respect to the eligibility of a city for a grant thereunder, the Housing and Home Finance Administrator is authorized to make planning grants to the city of El Paso, Texas, for the purpose of assisting it to solve those urban planning problems that have resulted or are expected to result from the Chamizal Treaty of 1963 between the United States of America and the Republic of Mexico. Any such grants shall be subject to all other conditions and requirements contained in such section 701.

Approved September 2, 1964.

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MEMO to Sam Adams HOUSING 1/24/66

Sam. These are my notes typed in rough form complete with all errors. Please read and if you disagree or remember an interchange or explanation in different from my account, we'll argue! If not, keep for your files.

Please check number of fair housing groups in country. 1100 or 1100?

Jerry Dell Thomas
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NOTES ON CONFERENCE ON HOUSING

January
~~November~~ 20, 1966

Liza Pascall, Atlanta Human Relations Council introduced Mr. Jack E. Wood, Jr., Associate Executive Director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH). Mr. Wood said NCDH had received money from OEO for a four city project and that Atlanta was one of the cities selected.

Mr. W-od explains the background of NDDH. It was established 16 years ago, created by a national organization around 1949-1950. Its purpose was to try to obtain fair housing legislation across the country. It has been fairly successful in the northern, mid-western and western states. There are fair housing laws now in 96 cities and 17 ~~and~~ states.

The patterns of ghetto housing in urban areas is the present concern. In a recent survey 1100 fair housing committees are now operating in the country, most of these are affiliated with NCDH. NCDH also assists or consults with agencies of government. Examples are the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing and in similar state committees.

The NCDH is concerned that the OEO plan is not broad enough. They felt there was also a need for open housing as well as equal opportunity in schools and jobs. Man is not long content with other gains if he still be relegated to discriminatory housing. People need to express their own preferences. Urban housing is most urgent; even Pres. Johnson said so in 1965. Wood said he believed that Johnson in his forthcoming address on cities will be much broader and more basic in his analysis and supporting legislation than ever before.

We are in a period of rapid urbanization. 73 or 74% are now living in urban areas. Soon this ~~percent~~ number will skyrocket in a 35 year period. During this time we will need to double the housing supply. If housing reamins segregated, there will be a much greater problem. With these facts before them NCDH suggested a program to spend money to alleviate this housing problem. They are making surveys of four cities across the country to determine the pattern of segregation, the respective community organizations already established both agencies of government and private groups, and the resources available. If these three things exist then NCDH plans to convey to the non-white community the availability of housing in white communities. This was tried in New York City - the Open City Plan.

There was successful dissemination of information regarding housing and there were helping hands to aid non-whites in securing housing. NCDH believes local effort should be local. The New York Open City is now under the N. Y. Urban League. Other cities have similar organizations: Baltimore - Fair Housing, Inc, Baltimore Neighbors, Inc.; Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, the Bay Area in California, Houston, Chicago, Evanston. These cities are beginning constructive efforts. The experience these groups have gained has aided urban renewal efforts in these cities in being more selective and effective.

In Atlanta NCDH needs to know several things. They need documenting of needs: racial concentration, housing, housing supply outside the non-white areas - resources of housing; evidence of willingness of people and organizations to participate. When NCDH has persuaded OEO

to support financially cities which want to eliminate closed housing, then Wood thinks that the organizing leadership (in Atlanta) in the cities should send a proposal to Washington immediately, showing the OEO people that with funding Atlanta could do great things. In Atlanta there are people and agencies ready to assist - Mrs. Pasca-l, SRC, Bob Thompson - HHFA (DHUD).

The three other cities in this present study are Denver, Providence, Rhode Island, and Rochester, New York. Once these reports are in the National Committee will stage a National Housing Workshop whose purpose will be to lay out techniques, guidelines and effective programs. This workshop will be for OEO personnel from all areas of the country. At this workshop NCDH will ask the OEO people to be receptive in their own areas of the country when urban groups locally begin giving OEO local plans. The workshop must send these people back with the idea that this is a program for all areas with any urban concentration; that there must be complete equality of opportunity in housing as well as equality in jobs and schooling.

There followed a question and answer period.

Q: Health in relation to housing - are you working to end discrepancies in health service?
A: This is not to be a microscopic survey, but a broad general look. There is no need to document the discrepancies in health service to send to Washington where they already know it.

Q: What is the experience in other cities in breaking up segregation in Public Housing?
A: NCDH has found in some communities local housing officials are receptive to pressure by local responsible people - San Francisco, Boston, Cleveland, Louisville, New York. Public housing officials should set the example for private housing.

Q: from Satterfield - Atlanta Housing Authority. There is freedom on freedom of choice basis in public housing here. In Harris Homes there are 16 integrating families (white?).
A: Wood replied that more is needed than a simple change of policy. Negroes need encouragement to move into the formerly white sections. Need Community leadership to publish the change, to exhort, encourage greater utilization.

Q: Al. Why does the telephone directory still say "white" for public housing?
A: from Satterfield. It is the telephone company's fault.

Q: Otis. If a person goes to a Negro office and asks for a Negro project and it is full, then the staff does not say that other vacancies are available.
A: Satterfield. The Atlanta Housing Authority is giving people a choice to live where they will. Every applicant is told all three units are open to all people now. The staffs are now desegregated.
Q: Why ~~are~~ does local public housing have two offices, one in a predominately Negro neighborhood, indicating paper segregation?
no answer

Q: Sam Adams suggests that perhaps the housing authority might benefit from an advisory committee. Then Sam asked if there was a schedule for the NCDH survey.

A: In the next few weeks we should have the preliminary report. By the first week in February there will be a small planning committee in New York including Emmerich, OEO in Atlanta, to give thought to the content and foremat of the National Housing Conference. All this will be submitted to the OEO in the latter part of February. But nothing will be done if the different communities do not have feedback. If the OEO says they will fund the program, then Atlanta should ask for support immediately, show interest. Denver has already set up an informal Fair Housing Committee. The New York Open Housing Project just got over $100,000 grant for two years.

Q: About real estate boards. One way to exclude Negroes is to raide the prices of potential propety. How can one combat this?
A: This is difficult if there is no Fair Housing Law. Such cities will have to use the expression of disapproval by responsible members of the community, the peers. Wood commented that Johnson advocated a National Fair Housing Law for the whole country. But the job is always done on the local level if there is enlightened leadership.

Q. V. Williamson - real estate, councilman.

Studies have shown there is no measurable depreciation of property value when a Negro family arrives attributable to the family's coming.

A Fair Housing Center could stop "panic selling."

There is a need for a housing clinic service - sound professional counselling and advice to get landlords to up-grade property. Also a need for basic education in what one looks for in housing and how to obtain financing.

Q: How can one begin to help white families see the possibilities of living in areas of higher percent of Negroes? And what about the problems of the city - that the core is being deserted. What happens to the center when everyone leaves? How can we make the center of the city a good place to live?
A: Serious problem. Wood had little to say except we must revitalize the core.

Q: When should we call on intergroup support? Should there be a preliminary "pitch?"
A: Yes. NCDH would be glad to get an indication of support.

Q: What about the exclusion of Negroes in the westand north sections?

Q: Are you (NCDH) going to be only interested in desegregating housing or in seeing more housing constructed? Are you only talking about middle-class Negroes moving into middle-class white suburbs? Only? But isn't inadequate housing also deprivation of housing?
A: Yes, housing must be expanded for OEO areas, ~~for~~ to be placed in all areas of the city. If enough decent housing doesn't exist then we must encourage the development of low income housing. And we must disperse I public housing.

Q: Houw effective are community owned housing? (questioner means coop apts.)
A: There are a number of programs which make this available.

Atlanta, the key city in the southeast, is one of the twenty-five largest cities in this area and is a city of over one million people in the five-county metropolitan area. Atlanta is outstanding because of its commercial, industrial, educational and natural resources. Atlanta is a city of beautiful homes, busy people and progress. Its ever-changing sky-lines in the downtown area continually reach upward to the heavens with the aid of private, state and federal interests. Its people, who can trace their heritage to every nation in the world, and natively, to every state in the USA, are constantly dealing with problems of conquering inner space, and move at a more rapid pace than those of most cities in the area. These are people who possess positive attitudes toward undertaking more and bigger responsibilities, who enjoy a better racial climate than in most southern cities, and who are constantly struggling to obtain money to pay for expanded services of renewing local communities with little or practically no help from the state government.

Atlanta's over-all attractiveness as a city going places and doing big things, is besmirched by the fact that its residential pattern tends to make it a rigidly segregated city. Its wheels of commerce and industry attract thousands of newcomers annually, many nonwhite, who find shelter in the deteriorating sections where the poor white and nonwhite settle and compete for the occupancy of the left-behind housing that has been vacated by the more affluent white citizens. Atlanta's beauty is defaced and its potential growth hampered by those who deny housing in all kinds of shelter to all of its citizens.

Table I

Number and Percent Distribution of Nonwhite and White Population Living Inside and Outside of City Limits of Atlanta, Ga., 1960

Race	Total	Inside City Limits	Outside city Limits	Percent Inside City Limits
Total	1,017,188	487,455	529,733	47.9
Nonwhite	232,169	186,820	45,349	80.5
White	785,019	300,635	484,384	38.3

The fact that of the 246,545 nonwhite citizens in the metropolitan area in 1960, about 187,000 lived in the city limits of Atlanta, is important only to the extent that it helps keep tab on the "problem." A much more meaningful statistic is the fact that the 187,000 compete feverishly with each other for space in the estimated twnety percent of the developed residential area. The net result of the fierce competition that goes on within the so-called Negro community for living space and for shelter, means that the Negro pays more for dirt and housing in relation to income than does the white Atlantan who can live anywhere in the metropolitan area.

Reason for the high rents
Also higher prices
Lower tax. base

Table 2

Percent Distribution of Nonwhite and White Population Living Inside and Outside of City Limits, Atlanta, Ga., 1960

Race	Total	Inside City Limits	Outside City Limits
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Nonwhite	22.8	38.3	8.5
White	77.2	61.7	91.5

The relatively high cost of dirt for nonwhites means less money spent by developers of housing. This fact, in addition to the fact that the nonwhite earns less than the white Atlantan, also means that overcrowded neighborhoods and dwelling units are the brutal realities of Negro life in Atlanta. The census for 1960 showed that of the 57,879 dwelling units occupied by nonwhites, 19,679 or 34 percent had more than one person per room and that only nine percent of the units occupied by whites were as crowded.

* Changes since 1960 show more whites have moved out of the city and the increase in the proportion of city-dwelling Negroes in 1963 was 43% rather than the 38% shown in table I. See section on "Resources for Housing Relocation".

Overt or surreptitious containment of nonwhite citizens to prescribed areas is a major contributing factor to family disorganization, juvenile delinquency and slum neighborhoods. Hence, it is no wonder that the aforementioned social factors plus other factors, such as low incomes and second class schooling, are reasons why nonwhites live in substandard housing units. Containment and isolation of citizens in prescribed areas are the father and mother of distrust, two evil parents whose demise would place Atlanta on the road to greatness.

pernicious housing policy

The area bound by Perry Boulevard on the north, Spring Street on the east, Cascade Road on the south and the Chattahoochee River on the west, contains about 88,883 nonwhites, or 47.8 percent of the total 185,816 nonwhites the 1960 Census lists in the city limits of Atlanta. The majority of the city's public housing units is located in this area, while not a single unit of public housing is in the northeast section. Therefore, the location of public housing units becomes the critical issue for determining the extent and amount of desegregation in public housing by city officials.

The median value of nonwhite owner occupied units was $8,500 as compared to $13,150 for whites in 1960. Sixty-three percent of the nonwhite owner units were valued below $10,000. The following table shows the value of nonwhite owner occupied units.

Number, Percent and Median Value of White and Nonwhite Owner Occupied Units in Metropolitan Atlanta, Ga., 1960

	White		Nonwhite	
Value	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	154,054	100.0	18,117	100.0
Less Than $7,500	18,485	12	7,248.00	40
$7,500 - 9,999	24,647	16	4,348,00	24
10,000 - 14,999	55,456	36	4,529,25	25
15,000 - 19,999	27,728	18	1,449,36	8
20,000 - 24,999	12,324	8	362.34	2
25,000 - or More	15,405	10	181,17	1
Median	13,150	-	8,500.00	-

Amount of Rent

The average (median) gross rent paid by nonwhite renters in 1960 was $52.00 as compared to $23.72 paid in 1950. The census showed that the greatest number of nonwhites (15,457) paid between $40.00 and $59.00 per month rent.

The average rent paid by nonwhite renters varied from $30.00 in Gwinnett County, $37.00 in Cobb, $39.00 in Clayton to $53.00 in the City of Atlanta. The nonwhite dwelling unit has an average of 3.7 rooms, but the nonwhite families of Clayton, Cobb and Gwinnett Counties have 4.1 rooms per dwelling unit. Please see following tables.

Tenure, Average Value, Rent and Number of Rooms of Nonwhite Occupied Units in Standard Metropolitan Atlanta, 1960

Tenure	Geographic Area						
	Total	Clayton	Cobb	DeKalb	Fulton	Atlanta	Gwinnett
Total	57,879	970	1,839	5,125	49,183	47,939	762
Owner	18,117	481	932	1,784	14,615	14,057	305
Renter	39,762	489	907	2,241	34,568	33,882	457
Average Value of Owner Units	$ 8,500	5,600	6,100	5,000	9,200	9,500	5,000
Average Rent (1)	$52.00	39.00	37.00	51.00	53.00	53.00	30.00
Average Rooms	3.7	4.1	4.1	3.6	3.7	3.7	4.1

(1) Gross Rent - The computed rent termed "gross rent" is the contract rent plus the average monthly cost of utilities (water, electricity, gas) and fuels such as wood, coal, and oil if these items are paid for by the renter in addition to contract rent. Thus, gross rent eliminates rent differentials which result from varying practices with respect to the inclusion of heat and utilities as part of the rental payment. In rural territory, rent data exclude rent for farm units.

Amount of Gross Rent Paid by Nonwhite Renters in Standard Metropolitan Atlanta in 1960

Amount	Number	Percent
Less than $20.00	1,153	2.9
20 - 39	8,617	21.7
40 - 59	15,357	39.0
60 - 79	10,096	25.4
80 - 99	2,625	6.6
100 - or more	426	1.1
No Cash Rent	1,299	3.3
	39,673	100.0

Ability to Pay for Shelter

The ability to own or rent decent, safe and sanitary housing is dependent upon income. The Housing and Home Finance Agency reported in the bulletin, the "potential Housing Demands of Nonwhite Population in Selected Metropolitan Areas" that there have been substantial increases in the earnings of nonwhite Atlantans between 1950 and 1960.

The median income for all families was $5,758 and $4,901 for families and unrelated individuals. The average income for nonwhite families was $3,033 or 89.9 percent leas than the average for all families. For nonwhite families and unrelated individuals, the average income of $2,503 was 95.8 percent less than the average of $4,901 for all Atlantans in this group. Although the nonwhite family income is about half of the average for all citizens, the nonwhite family pays only $15.00 less than the $67.00 average rent paid by all citizens. The nonwhite family pays, in other words,

proportionately more rent than does the white Atlantan; a fact that may be attributed to the inability of nonwhite Atlantans to have access to the total housing market. Please see following table.

Income of Nonwhite Persons in Standard Metropolitan Atlanta, 1949 and 1959 and Family Income for 1959

Amount of Income	1959		1949		Family Income for 1959	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	110,363	100.0	78,415	100.0	50,020	100.0
Under $3,000	90,407	81.9	76,395	97.4	24,714	49.4
$3,000 - 3,999	10,413	9.4	1,385	1.8	9,044	18.1
4,000 - 4,999	5,295	4.8	305	0.4	5,915	11.8
5,000 - 5,999	2,604	2.4	100	0.1	3,910	7.8
6,000 +	1,644	1.5	230	0.3	-	-
6,000 - 6,999	-	-	-	-	2,213	4.4
7,000 - 7,999	-	-	-	-	1,494	3.0
8,000 - 8,999	-	-	-	-	965	1.9
9,000 - 9,999	-	-	-	-	642	1.3
10,000 & Over	-	-	-	-	1,123	2.3
Median	1,510	-	-	-	3,033	-

The above table shows also that there were 50,020 nonwhite families in the standard Megropolitan areas in 1959, and that 67.5 percent of these families had incomes of less than $4,000. The median nonwhite family income was $3,033.00

Median Income of Total and Nonwhite Families in the Standard Metropolitan Area, Atlanta, Ga., 1960

Family and Race	Geographic Area						
	Total	Clayton	Cobb	DeKalb	Fulton	Atlanta	Gwinnett
All Families	$5,758	5,901	6,014	6,873	5,207	5,029	4,431
Nonwhite	3,033	2,889	3,095	2,823	3,076	3,108	2,464
All Families and Unrelated Individuals	4,901	5,714	5,702	6,198	4,132	3,938	4,182
Nonwhite	2,502	2,683	2,614	2,463	2,504	2,517	2,300

The Atlanta Urban League's report, entitled "Some Observations About Minority Housing" stated, "land - living space - is the hard core issue facing the nonwhite citizen in developing housing both inside and outside of urban renewal areas. It is known that restrictions on living space and accommodations of nonwhites involve all Atlantans immediately and irrevocably in issues of civil rights which could doom the metropolitan area to increasing trouble." Land and housing are commodities that must become available to all people regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. Atlanta's people can ill afford the luxury of answering today's questions with stolid acquiescence to the past. Its government must recognize that housing is "big business" and that the future is inextricably linked to the total welfare of the Negro citizen. A new pride in self is developing in Negroes who are more determined to raise their aspirations and achievements via political activity in order to force Atlanta to face up to the problem of democracy in housing.

A

RICHMOND STUDY

TOPIC: Racial Separation

Historically, there has been in many southern cities -- especially among older cities -- residential integration to a marked degree. Southern cities having a high percentage of Negroes in their total populations used to show, consequently, a heavy scattering of Negroes throughout their residential areas. Even the wealthier areas were "integrated" by "live-in" and "live-nearby" servants. In other southern cities this "salt-and-pepper" housing pattern was less pronounced. Large numbers of Negroes were highly concentrated in several areas of a city, with a scattering of smaller numbers virtually in all other sections. Richmond was, reportedly, an example of this latter racial residential pattern.

We now approach the question: Is the degree residential segregation increasing, decreasing, or unchanging in Richmond? That is, is the typical Richmondite more likely or less likely to be living in close proximity to members of another race than he was ten, twenty or even fifty years ago?

The subjective answer to the above questions is a conditional support for increasing residential segregation. Negroes interviewed in Richmond, without exception, were of the opinion that separation of the races had been increasing. Whites responded variously to question, but no white offered that residential segregation was decreasing.

Objective support for these opinions can be demonstrated

easily. Richmond's loss of 33,400 whites and its gain of 24,200 Negroes between 1950 and 1964 makes it likely, although not certain, that residential segregation would have intensified. An analysis of city census that data show more clearly what has been happening.

The city of Richmond has been sub-divided by the Bureau of the Census into 61 tracts. There was only one shifting of tract boundaries between the 1950 and the 1960 censuses, an exchange of territory between two Southside tracts, a minor change which complicates statistical comparisons not at all, Eighteen of the 61 tracts gained significantly in the number of Negroes, and 21 tracts increased significantly in their percentage of Negroes. There was no census tracts gaining significantly in number of Negroes, which did not also gain in percentage of Negroes. Thus these population trends do not reflect the occupying of new residential areas by whites and Negroes on a proportional basis. The reflected, rather, Negro displacement of whites from what had been predominantly white areas.

No census tracts gained significantly in percentage of Negroes while not making making significant gains in Negro numbers. In fact, two of the three tracts numbers had, in 1960, fewer Negroes than in 1950. All three had smaller total populations, principally, if not exclusively, from the exodus of whites. One of these tracts was near the downtown business district; the other two were in Negro residential areas. Why, these latter two lost population is not apparent; neither was in the path of the Richmond-Petersburg turnpike, which, as mentioned elsewhere in this report, was the major slum(and Negro) removal project in

in Richmond's recent history -- if not of all time, for that city.

On the other hand, 31 of 61 Richmond census tracts experienced significant losses of whites between 1950 and 1960. That many tracts would have lost whites during a decade when white population declined by 29,600, or 18.8 per cent, is not surprising. However, it is at least somewhat surprising that more than half of the tracts, some of which had few to very few whites in 1950, would have such significant declines in the number of whites.

In the 1950's a total of 35 of 61 tracts increased in percentage of Negro residents. The Negro/white ratio remained stable in two tracts, one of which is 95% ~~of~~ Negro, the other 100% white. /Simultaneously, the number of tracts with no Negroes increased from one to three, the number with no whites from non to one./ The remaining 24 tracts increased in percentage of whites. However, of these 24, in 1960, 19 had less than 5 per cent Negroes and 13 were less than 1 percent Negro.

The racial composition of Richmond tracts can be described , and compared, in the following table:

Proportion of Negroes	Number of Tracts	
	1950	1960
0% (No Negroes)	1	3
1% or less	17	19
5% or less	23	25
10% or less	28	27
20% or less	35	28
40% or less	38	34
60% or more	14	23
80% or more	8	18
90% or more	6	15
95% or more	6	13
99% or more	2	5
100% (all Negroes)	0	1
"Integrated" tracts --		
1/3 to 2/3 Negro	11	8
1/4 to 3/4 Negro	15	11

The racial pattern revealed by the above table requires little elaboration. Suffice it to point out that the number of predominantly white tracts (5% or less Negro) increased slightly over the decade, whereas the number of mixed tracts (5% to 40% Negro) declined, from 15 in 1950 to 9 in 1960. Or, if one measures residentially integrated neighborhoods in two other ways, the number of tracts with a 1 to 2 Negro-white mixture declined from 11 to 8; tracts with 1 to 3 racial proportions dropped from 15 to 11.

However, one measures it, with regard to residential patterns, in Richmond the recent post has been one of increasing housing segregation. The probable addition of 5.000 to 6,000 Negroes to Richmond's population between 1960 and 1965, coupled with a loss of about 4,000 whites, can only have accentuated this already pronounced tendency.

Housing segregation in Richmond has been increasing in Richmond not only during recent decades, but the pattern marks the city's long run trend. In his 1928 study, Negro Problems in Cities, T. J. Woofter, Jr., defined "any area with a population of more than 90 percent Negro as a concentrated Negro area, and any area with a population more than 90 per cent white as a concentrated white area." Using 1920 census data for "United States Census enumeration districts," Woofter found that 53 per cent of Richmond's whites lived in concentrated white areas and 25% of Richmond Negroes lived in concentrated Negro areas. If we were to apply the same test, by census tracts, to the city of Richmond more recently, we would find that in 1950, 62% of whites and 34% of Negroes lived in "concentrated areas" of their respective races. In 1960, the percentages were 75% for whites and 61% for Negroes, respectively. This indicates that although the trend toward greater racial separation is a long-term phenomenon, the pace of this trend has accelerated recently. In summary on this particular point, it may be said that, however it is measured, whatever the time period there can be little doubt that instances of Richmonds whites and Negroes living in the same neighborhoods are decreasing in frequency.

MINORITY GROUPS - - - - RACIAL

At present, the principal (and, for all purposes, the only) racial minority group in Richmond is the Negro. There are only a few non-Negro non-whites in the city, the metropolitan area, and the state. In the city, non-Negro non-white numbered only 85 in 1940, 86 in 1950 and but 359 in 1960 when there were only 470 in the whole metropolitan area. But, as in most central cities throughout the U. S., in Richmond the Negro population is increasing, rapidly, in both absolute and relative terms. Their number has increased steadily since 1930; by 1970, one can reasonably expect that there will be slightly more than twice the 53,000 Negroes in Richmond than there were forty years earlier. There are, in 1965, about 100,000 Negroes within the city and 116,000 in the metropolitan area, up from 92,000 and 107,000, respectively, in 1960.

Of course, Richmond city's Negro population grows and total population remains rather stable, the percentage of population which is Negro rises, rapidly. This is a fairly recent trend, this rising proportion of Negroes. Although the percentage of Negroes reached its probable all-time low in 1930, between 1920 and 1950 it rose hardly at all, from 31.5 to 31.7.

The change came after 1950. Richmond's previously cited population loss of 10,350 during the Fifties resulted when an increase of 19,250 Negroes was more than offset by a loss of 29,600 whites. The percentage of Negroes increased to 42.0, a gain of one percent for every year of the decade. Since the last major census, the increase has continued, though perhaps not quite so rapidly. But it is estimated that the percentage of Negroes is up three to four points since 1960, and it can be assumed that the city of Richmond, in 1965, is 45 percent Negro, or more. Should this trend continue -- and there is every reason to expect that it will -- Richmond will become a city with a Negro majority in the very near future. Local city planners predict that Negroes will represent slightly more than 50 percent in the 1970 census.

Yet, in the metropolitan area, the Negro has been in the minority and will continue. In fact, in the metro area outside of the city, he is becoming a smaller and smaller minority. Over the whole metropolitan area, however, Negroes constitute a slowly declining, slightly more than one out of four, proportion of the population.

SUPPLY OF HOUSING -- RICHMOND

According to the 1960 Census of Housing, there were in Richmond (city) 69,105 housing units of all types and qualities .

Of these, 56,326, or 81.5 percent, were of sound condition with 51,705 (74.8 percent) sound and having all plumbing facilities. Of the remainder, 9782 units (14.2 percent) were deteriorating, and 2997 (4.3 percent) were dilapidated.

Spokesmen for the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority, which surveyed Richmond housing during 1964-65 as part of a community recevelopment program, felt that the 1960 Census data were unreliable. RRHA-CRP researchers made their own inspections and "windshield surveys," and concluded that the last housing census data tended to overstate the quality of Richmond housing. It was implied in this criticism that net deterioration (excess of deterioration over improvements and repairs) was greater than that which might have been expected during the four to five year interval.

Housing units occupied totaled 66,695. Of these, 31,822 (47.8 percent) were owner-occupied, and 34,773 (52.2 percent) were rented. More than seventy percent of owner-occupied units were occupied by whites; non-white (read Negroes) held only 29.5 percent. Whites had 57.8 percent and Negroes 42.2 percent, of the occupied rental units. Overall, whites lived in 63.8 percent of the occupied units, and Negroes in 36.2 percent. At that time the Negro proportion of the city's population was 42.0 percent.

According to the 1960 Census, in Richmond owner-occupied units averaged 6.1 rooms. Although only 12 percent of the units averaged more than 1.00 occupants per room, the Negro units tended to be the more crowded. Based on the information in the preceding paragraphs, and defining (with loose accuracy) the occupants of each housing unit as a family unit, then 52.8 percent of white family units lived in housing which they owned. This was true of only 39 percent of Richmond's Negro families. With Richmond's 127,600 whites occupying 42,500 housing units, and with 92,400 non-whites occupying only 24,100 units, the persons per unit averaged 3.00 for whites and 3.83 for non-whites. If, as one may reasonably suspect, white units have more rooms, on the average, than do non-white units, this is further evidence of crowding of non-whites.

It is not possible, nor is it necessary, to calculate the number of persons per room and the number of rooms per housing unit on a racial basis. However, in the principally non-white census tracts (80 percent non-white or more), median rooms per unit ranged from 3.7 to 5.5 and units with 1.01 more persons per room ranged from 9.1 percent to 35.2 percent, with 11 of 18 tracts in the 20 percent or above range. In the principally white tracts (20 percent non-white or less), median rooms ranged from 3.0 to 7.5+, but 24 of 28 tracts were in the

5.0 rooms and above range. In these white tracts, the percentages of housing units with 1.01 or more persons per room ranged from 0.0 to 18.5, with 18 of 28 tracts at the 4.0 percent or less level.

These statistics only confirm what has been found to be the prevailing pattern in most American urban communities, and what Richmonders interviewed offered as subjective and objective judgments. That is, the Richmond Negro, relative to his white fellow citizen, lives in more crowded, lesser quality housing, which more than likely, he does not own.

There are a number of solutions to the problem of improving Negroes housing which are available potentially. The most obvious would be an increase in the total supply of Richmond housing, especially of that portion available to Negroes. A second remedy complimentary to the first, would be a Negro movement to the suburbs. A third would be the stemming of the influx of Negroes into the city and the metropolitan area, perhaps even to a net out-migration of non-whites from the area, relieving not only housing but other social and economic pressures.

The third proposal is the most unlikely and the least meritorious. The influx of non-whites into the Richmond area is destined to continue well into the future, as long as there is a surplus of the unemployed and the underemployed in the

regional rural areas, and as long as the economic opportunities there for all persons, especially for persons of color, range from stringently limited to non-existant. Thus, rural and small town Negroes will continue to migrate to cities, one of which will continue to be Richmond. A recent study by the University of Virginia's Bureau of Public Administration estimated that the city's Negro population was increasing by more than 2900 each year. This figure is probably on the high side, but the trend, difficult to qualify in the absence of a thorough census, is indisputable -- and enduring. As pointed out elsewhere in this report, if the present trend continues, Richmond will have a Negro majority within the present city limits, perhaps by the 1970 Census or early in the 1970's.

Negro removal to the suburban areas is more plausible, t though only slightly more likely, as a solution to the Negro housing problem. There is little or no housing available to them in suburban Chesterfield and Henrico counties, where, between 1900 and 1965, the total Negro population decreased by nearly 5,000.

Why has the suburban Negro population decreased? Why will few, if any, additional Richmond area Negroes move into Chesterfield and Nenrico?

A number of reasons were given by the whites and Negroes interviewed in Richmond during the course of this study. Most of them state, flatly, that with rare exception, suburban

real estate simply is not available to colored persons. When asked to enlarge on this point, typical responses are that Negroes wouldn't buy (or rent) outside of the city, even if white owners would sell (or rent). In the land-short Richmond area, prices for suburban land (and housing) would be greater than many Negroes could afford. At first this does not seem to be a defensibel argument, since Negroes are paying prices for Richmond city real estate which ought to be comparable, or nearly so, to prices of advertised suburgan housing. But, it is pointed out in defense of this argument, a Negro family would find it difficult to meet the additional (in excess of urban) costs of suburban living, in particular, the necessity to become a two-car family. In the city, where jobs are can be within walking distance from home, where public transportation is available, and where car-pool arrangements among the sufficient supply of Negro neighbors are possible, the Negro family can live with one or no autos without too great an inconvenience. But, since usually both husband and wife are employed -- usually, that is, but not necessarily steadily -- transportation to and from employment for both would require the maintaining of two automobiles should the family live "beyond the bus line." The Negro family budget, it is pointed out, will not permit this. Further, and this point should neither be overstressed, nor ignored -- very many Richmond Negroes would hesitate to move into any nearby

suburban area, for they would not be certain of their reception in the suburbs, most of which are totally white.

Then, why not increase the supply of housing in Richmond, especially of housing which is available to non-whites? To a minor degree, this is being done. But any attempt to carry out such a building program on a sufficiently large enough scale encounters a combination of economic and sociological barriers, obstacles which are capable of limiting the program far below the need.

To begin with, Richmond, especially Richmond city, suffers from a combination of land shortage and inefficient land u usage. There is not, within the city, any large tract of land suitable for residential building which is not already built. In fact, several residential areas, notably the so-called "Fulton Bottom," are much more suitable for industrial and commercial usage than they are for housing. The economic development of the Richmond area is being held back, possibly, by the lack of readily available industrial and commerical sites, especially within the central city area.

This is not to say that Richmond is overcrowded on a population density basis, relative to similar or comparable American cities. But, as several sources pointed out, much of Richmond land is either mis-used or poorly utilized. Richmond, as more than one real estate man phrased it, "went out before it went up." That is, ~~khex~~ as the city grew, it spread outward rather than upward into high-rise commercial and residential buildings. Once occupied, land will tend to remain

in whatever use it has been put to, long after that use is no longer its best use -- if it ever had been the best.

Of course, everytime the quality of use of misused land improves. Such a process has been going on, and will continue, in Richmond. But this up-grading process will generage no appreciable amount of new land for housing. In fact, within the city residential land areas should very well diminish; through conversion to commercial and industrial areas.

Land in Richmond suitable for residential use, almost entirely in that use already, could provide sites for housing accommodations for more people than live there presently. But this would mean redevelopment of these areas, and the process is slow. In the best, residential areas, prohibitive costs, zoning regulations, property owner resistance, and a community sense of "it would be wasteful, and distasteful" eliminate any chance of redevelopment for compactness. Much the same factors exist in middle class housing areas. Lower and lowest quality housing, quite profitable investments in their present use and state, would be less economic only, mostly likely, than industrial, commercial, or expensive "high-rise" apartment housing.

Operation Open City

Evaluation of an Experimental Program in New York City

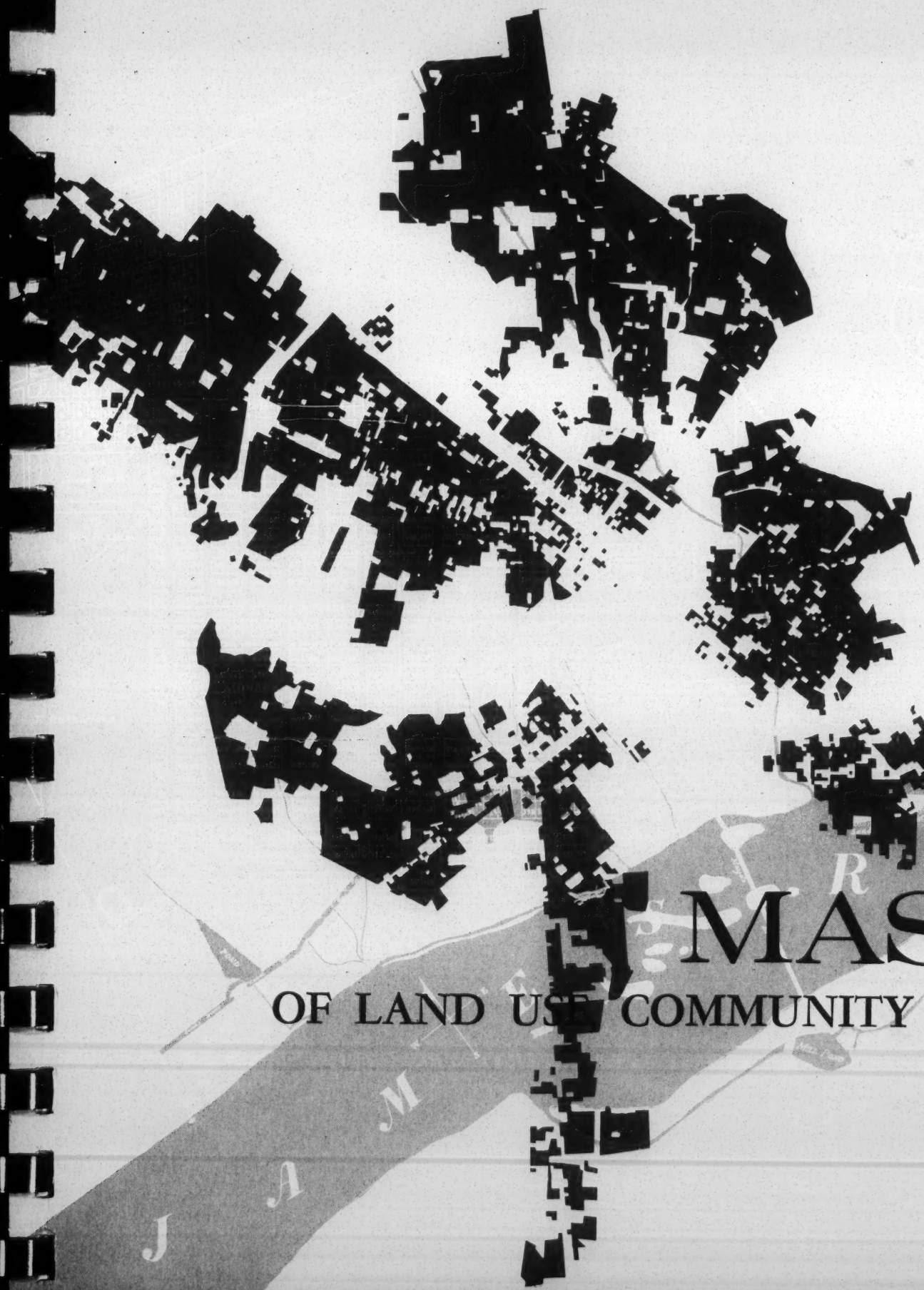
with

Suggested Guidelines for Other Communities

NCDH

$1.00

Adopted By The
CITY PLANNING COMMISSION
January 1, 1965



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CITY OF RICHMOND
JULY 19TH
1782

PLANNING
COMMISSION
CITY OF
RICHMOND
VIRGINIA
1964

MASTER PLAN

OF LAND USE COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND TRAFFICWAYS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Sent to all Exec. Com. mem.

February 3, 1955

MEMORANDUM II

TO: Dr. J. F. Drake
FROM: Robert E. Hughes, State Director

The annual state meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is fast approaching, and preparations are in their final stages. Dr. Mitchell has agreed to serve as our second featured speaker who will appear with Dr. Albert Dent who accepted earlier.

Several hundred invitations to the meeting are in the mails along with press releases to some 70 Alabama newspapers. In addition, a group of 15 persons are promoting the meeting in their districts.

Dr. Whitsett has called a meeting of the Executive Committee immediately after the adjournment of the annual meeting at which time several important matters will be dealt with.

The prospects for a fruitful annual meeting are very promising. We are expecting to have 100% attendance at the Executive Committee meeting.

REH/rmb

Submitted to bd. on about Oct. 1, 1958.

QUADRENNIEL FINANCIAL REPORT

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

	INCOME	DISBURSEMENTS
Funds on hand September 30, 1954	$ 515.75	$ -------
October 1 - September 30:		
1954-55	4,709.85	4,402.60*
1955-56	3,849.24	4,225.37*
1956-57	5,371.00	3,560.73*
1957-58	8,358.72	10,221.06**
TOTAL	$ 22,804.56	$ 22,412.27

$22,804.56
- 22,412.27

Income over Disbursements	$ 392.29
Less checks outstanding September 30, 1958	-393.06
Bookkeeping error written off	- .77

* During these years the Southern Regional Council paid all salaries direct from their offices. These ammounted to approximately $7,500.00 per year.

** At Annual Meeting in February 1958 the fiscal year was changed to run Feb. 1 - Jan. 31. However, this report is made in this form to complete the quadrenium.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

December 3, 1958

MEMORANDUM

TO : Members of the Board of Directors
FROM: Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
RE : Report on Board Meeting

The following members attended the meeting of the Board of Directors in Montgomery on November 20: from Montgomery - Thomas R. Thrasher, J. T. Brooks, R. D. Crockett, Mrs. A. W. West; from Birmingham - J. C. Wilson, Mrs. John Fuller, R. E. Hughes; from Sylacauga - J. M. Ridgeway, W. G. Irby; from Tuscaloosa - Mrs. O. D. Thomas, A. E. Harris; from Decatur - Newton Maloney.

1. Nominating Committee: The president appointed Mrs. Thomas, chairman, Wilson and Mrs. Fuller to report nominations for seven officers and four board vacancies at the Annual Membership Meeting in February.

2. Annual Meeting Committee: Dr. H. C. Trenholm was appointed chairman with Brooks and Crockett to plan the Annual Meeting. The date was set for Saturday, February 7, preceded by the Board of Directors meeting the previous evening, Friday, February 6. Stillman College will be unable to entertain the state meeting this year, therefore the committee was asked to approach Talledega College as a perspective site.

This committee was also asked to secure the documentary film, "Segregation and the South" for showing at the Annual Meeting and to investigate the possibility of renting or purchasing a copy for purposes of promoting the A.C.H.R. with groups in Alabama and in the North. This Fund For the Republic film portrays the whole spectrum of activities in the South and has considerable footage from Alabama and several Alabama Council scenes ending with the implication that our approach may be the ultimate answer.

3. Program Progress: Reports were made on Alabama Council activity, plans, and local conditions in Decatur, Birmingham, Tuscaloosa (90 people attended their October meeting), East Piedmont District, Montgomery and Mobile. Reports

were also made on the recent state ministers and church womens meetings.

4. Finances:

(a) Reports were made on the progress of current fund raising efforts. At the October Board Meeting members attending committed themselves to raising approximately $3,000 which ammounted to the budgetary requirements for the balance of the fiscal year ending Jan. 31, 1959. These reports updated to the present show the following overall progress:

Amount Committed	Received	Balance
$2,933	$955	$1,978

Concern was expressed that the needed funds wouldnt be on hand for obligations such as salaries which come due twice a month.

* *(At the present, December 4, the Council has $36.00 in its bank account and $30 cash on hand. Salaries totaling $280 and a loan of $115 from Rev. Hughes is due on December 15.)

(b) Mr. Irby, Finance Committee Chairman, was asked to write each of the 34 Board members asking them to remit $20 by Dec. 1 from whatever sources they might have access to, in order to meet Dec. 1 obligations.

(c) A financial plan for the next fiscal year which was drawn up by Dr. Winn was adopted. It is based upon a system of underwriters designed to eliminate continual crises and urgent drives. This plan calls for the securing of approximately 75 persons willing to give $5 per month for 12 months producing $4,500; and approximately 12 organizations, which would probably have to be Negro or white non-Southern, which would give $10 per month for 12 months producing $1,440. It was announced that the Southern Regional Council had given the Alabama Council a grant of $4,200, the largest given any state organization, in recognition of its strategic work and hardships. From all three sources an income of $10,140 would be expected with memberships making up the balance of the proposed $12,150 minimum budget.

The names of thirteen Negro organizations in Alabama were listed with various Board members agreeing to make approaches to them. Progress on

this phase is to be reported to Mr. Irby (Box 871, Sylacauga) before the Annual Meeting. They were encouraged to get the organizations to invite Rev. Hughes to speak to meetings for the purpose of explaining the Council's work and needs.

All Board members are asked to begin immediately securing as many of the 75 individual underwriters as soon as possible reporting progress to Mr. Irby. It is hoped that the entire budget can be underwritten by the time of the Annual Meeting on February 7 enabling the membership to gain confidence in our stability.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

December 19, 1955

MEMORANDUM NO. 6

TO: Members of the Board of Directors
FROM: Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director

RE: REPORT ON BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

The A.C.H.R. Board of Directors met in Montgomery on December 7, 1955, with 16 members, 4 visitors, and Mr. Fred Routh of the Atlanta Office present.

Briefly, the following items were considered:

1. Mr. Routh:

(a) Commended the work of the Alabama Council as one of the strongest in the South.

(b) Revealed S.R.C. plans for sub-regional meetings next year where officers, board members and staff from, for example, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi might work out plans for effectively meeting the similar problems of "hard core" states.

(c) Pointed out the necessity for a functioning, effective Finance Committee to assume financial responsibilities from the staff where it presently lies.

(d) Pointed out the need for broad program planning for the state as a whole.

2. Report of the Personnel Committee:

Mr. Fred D. Gray, young Montgomery Negro attorney and honor graduate of Alabama State and Western Reserve, was recommended for the position of Associate Director. His selection to begin work on a half-time basis on a $2,500 per year scale from January 1, 1956, until the end of the fiscal year was unanimous. His employment along with $2,500 for consultants, etc. is made possible by an additional grant from the S.R.C.

3. Report of the Budget Committee:

The following budget was adopted after discussion:

Salary, Executive Director - - - -	$5,000
Salary, Associate Director - - - -	2,500
Additional Staff Assistance (Consultants, etc.)	2,500
Salary, Office Secretary - - - -	2,500
Social Security, etc. - - - -	250
Office Rent - - - -	1,080
Travel - - - -	1,500
New South Subscriptions (based on estimated 600 membership cards)	1,200
Miscellaneous - - - -	100
District Work (50¢ per card, 600 cards)	300
Office Supplies ($625 for Newsletter)	1,445
TOTAL - - - -	$18,375

This $18,375 represents $5,375 over the $13,000 grant from the "Fund for the Republic" through the Southern Regional Council. To meet the terms of the grant for assistance during the next fiscal year (Oct. 1, 1956 - Sept. 30, 1957) we must raise a minimum of $3,500 by Sept. 30, 1956. In order to meet the needs of our own budget we must raise $5,375. This was recognized as a formidable but necessary task.

4. Formation of Finance Committee:

Each District Chairman was requested to select one person from his district to serve on a new state Finance Committee which will be organized and begin work at a meeting at the State Office on January 4th at 10:30 A.M.

5. Formation of Program Committee:

The same procedure was adopted as a means to forming a new state Program Committee under Dr. C. G. Goumillion. This group will meet at the State Office on the same date. The same date and meeting sites were selected in order that the two delegates from each district might travel together, thus cutting expenses.

6. Report of Annual Meeting Committee:

Dr. H. C. Trenholm outlined this committee's recommendations for the Annual Meeting, which were adopted. The date will be Saturday, February 11, 1956, at Alabama State College. The theme "Mediating Community Tensions" will be carried out by a symposium of four authorities, a period in which those in attendance will discuss practical applications of principles previously set forth and finally an interpretive summation of reports from the discussion groups. Luncheon seating will be according to districts for fellowship purposes and a business session is planned.

Mrs. J. F. McLeod, Dr. H. C. Trenholm and Dr. J. H. Jones were appointed to the Nominating Committee to report at the Annual Meeting.

7. A copy of the auditor's report is attached.

SCHEDULE
B

STATEMENT OF INCOME & EXPENDITURES

FOR THE PERIOD 10/1, 1954 TO 9/30, 1955.

INCOME

Contributions:		
SRC (other than salaries)	$3066.48	
Organizations		
Individuals	244.70	
Total	$3311.18	
Memberships		$1223.00
Miscellaneous		145.45
Total Income		4679.63

EXPENSES

Travel	$1319.60
Printing	206.87
Rent	1080.00
Telephone & Telegraph	390.15
Postage	79.57
Books & Subscriptions (other than New South)	20.45
New South Subscriptions	654.53
Accounting Fees	
Insurance	
Office Supplies	275.78
Miscellaneous	143.97
Total Expenses	$ 4170.92

Total Income	$4679.63
Total Expenses	4170.92
	$508.71

STATE ORGANIZATION ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
LOCATION Montgomery, Ala.

SCHEDULE A

BALANCE SHEET

AS OF 9/30, 1955

ASSETS

Cash	$817.60	
Other (Office Equipment)	370.00	
Total Assets		$1187.60

LIABILITIES

Accounts Payable	$73.17	
Total Liabilities		$73.17
Surplus		$ 1114.43

1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

December 29, 1958

MEMORANDUM:

TO : Members of the Board of Directors
FROM: Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
RE : Annual Meeting, Report on Financial Situation and Plans

1. Annual Meeting: Dr. H.C. Tronholm, chairman of the Annual Meeting Committee, reports that Dr. A.D. Gray has invited the Alabama Council to hold its Annual Membership Meeting at Talledega College on Saturday, February 7. This will be coupled with the regular semi-annual Board of Directors meeting the previous evening, Friday, February 6. We are indebted to Dr. Gray for his generosity this year and look foreward to the comfort and peaceful isolation which we enjoyed last year.

2. Financial Situation: The following constitutes a progress report as of December 29 on the Financial Drive by fourteen Board members which began October 8, and will end January 31.

AMOUNT COMMITTED	RECEIVED	BALANCE
$2,933	$1,515.50	$1,417.50

As reported in our December 3 memo we hope to underwrite our 1959-1960 budget by securing 75 individuals who will contribute $5.00 per month and 12 organizations which will contribute $10.00 per month along with Southern Regional Council funds. All Board members are asked to exercise all possible efforts to secure underwriters of both types by the Annual Meeting on February 7. If we can face the future with the assurance of stability and without the prospect of continual crises, the spirit of the organization will be boosted tremendously. All progress is to be reported to Bill Irby, Finance Committee chairman, Box 871, Sylacauga, Alabama.

FOR YOUR CALENDER

ANNUAL MEETING - February 7, Talledega College

BOARD MEETING - February 6, (evening), Talledega College

FEB. 26, 1959

Office Copy

A WORD FROM OUR NEW PRESIDENT

202 Hilltop Terrace
Montgomery, Alabama

To Members
Board of Directors
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Dear Coworkers and Friends:

Many of you I already know personally and I look forward to meeting and knowing in like manner all who are members of the Board. I anticipate the joy of working with you as together we seek constructive approaches to the tasks before us in the area of Human Relations.

I expect to give myself to study and work to the limit of time and resources at my command, and to the extent the prior claim of my position will permit. With each of us applying ourselves in this fashion and with the leadership of our experienced and dedicated Executive Director, Bob Hughes, we shall be able to accomplish any task we undertake.

My best wishes to you in all your work.

Sincerely,

Welton Gregory by RBH

Welton Gregory

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

February 26, 1959

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Rev. Robert E. Hughes

RE: Report on meetings of Board and membership

The following regular and alternate members attended the sessions of the Board on February 6th and 7th: S.C. Watkins, Newton Maloney, Paul Robinson, J.C. Wilson, David Vann, R.E. Hughes, A.C. Winn, Arthaniel Harris, A.D. Gray, R.E. Strickland, Mrs. Helen Bross, Duncan Hunter, Nat Welch, Mrs. A.W. West, J.E. Pierce, T.R. Thrasher, J.T. Brooks, Father A.S. Foley.

The following constitutes a digest of reports made and decisions reached:

I. Financial Report (fiscal year 1958-1959)

Total income	$10,788.71
Funds carried over	1,562.53
Total funds available	12,351.24
Total disbursments	11,674.50
Balance on hand	$ 676.74

(See Supplement "A" for detailed breakdown of income and expenditures.)

II. Financial Proposals (fiscal year 1959-1960)

A. Income:

Two "windfall" "one-time-only" gifts of $3,500.00 and $2,500.00 were announced which significantly improves our financial outlook. However, it was unanimously agreed that such funds, if regarded improperly, could weaken the spirit of self-reliance that has finally become evident in recent months, and should not be allowed to divert us from establishing deep permanent financial roots in Alabama essential to permanent work in this state.

Therefore the $2,500.00 gift was consigned to an interest-bearing reserve fund for next year and a program to underwrite $4,655.00 not otherwise covered was launched under the direction of Dr. A.C. Winn filling the new post of Financial Secretary. This program recognizes that we must primarily count upon our own membership and while such persons are rarely in a position to give any large amount to our work at a given time, most can give a small amount regularly. Mr. Winn is seeking commitments from persons to contribute $5.00 per month for a year and as of this date, $1,660 per year has been underwritten by 22 persons. He will welcome receiving prospects from you.

(See Supplement "B" for breakdown of prospective income.)

B. Expenditures:

A budget totaling $13,855.00 was adopted representing an increase of $1,706.28 over the previous year. Most of the increase is reflected in three items - a new rental allowance for the Executive Director, a salary increase for the office secretary to better match Birmingham salary scales, and a reserve to be carried over to next year. (See Supplement "B" for budgetary items.)

III. Membership

The following constitutes a breakdown of our membership over the state:

District	Feb.1, 1958	Feb.1, 1959	Loss or Gain
Tennessee Valley	40	23	-17
1 (West Piedmont)	104	79	-15
2 (East Piedmont)	48	74	+26
3 (Birmingham)	106	67	-39
4 (West Black Belt)	15	12	- 3
5 (East Black Belt)	43	21	-22
Montgomery	94	84	-10
6 (Wiregrass)	15	5	-10
7 (Mobile-Baldwin)	62	58	- 4
Out-of-state	29	26	- 3
Total	556	449	-107

This net loss of some 100 members is probably due primarily to the deteriorating climate in the state produced by the Little Rock stalemate. As legal force is tempered with voluntarism in other areas, this influence will likely be weakened. Significantly, where persons can regularly share and be stimulated in local groups, membership losses have been at a minimum.

IV. Election of Officers and Board Members

The following persons were nominated by the Nominating Committee and unanimously elected by the membership.

President.....The Rev. Welton Gregory, Montgomery
1st Vice Pres.....Dr. J.T. Brooks, Montgomery
2nd Vice Pres.....Dr. Arthur D. Gray, Talladega
3rd Vice Pres.....The Rev. Tather A.S. Foley, Mobile
Secretary.....Mr. William Irby, Sylacauga
Financial Secretary....Dr. A.C. Winn, Tuscaloosa
Treasurer.....The Rev. J.C. Wilson, Birmingham
Exec. Director.....The Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Birmingham

Board Members (terms 1959-1962)
Mrs. A.W. West, Sr., Montgomery
Mrs. O.D. Thomas, Tuscaloosa
The Rev. Thomas Thrasher, Montgomery
Mr. Earl Pippin, Montgomery (tentative upon final acceptance)

Several districts have recently or are in the process of naming new district representatives to the Board. When these are compiled a new Board roster will be mailed to members.

All officers are virtually the same except the President. Briefly, Rev. Gregory is the Executive Secretary of the Board of Education of the Alabama-West Florida Conference of the Methodist Church, and as "convener" of the State Ministers Conference, he has performed an outstanding service in launching this crucial movement.

V. Program Development

Reports on conditions and activities were made from representatives of each district with the exception of the Wiregrass where our program is dormant. The work of the Fellowship of the Concerned, the State Ministers Conference, and the Ecumenical Student Conference were also related. The Executive Director described the role of the State Office as 1) organizing, stimulating, and administrative servicing of affiliates and related movements, 2) "troubleshooting" incidents and counseling persons under pressure, and 3) securing authoritative information and disseminating it through various means where it is most needed.

VI. Annual Meeting Program

Excellent presentations were made to the 160 persons attending the membership meeting by the keynoter, Dr. Andrew Turnipseed, and panelists, John Bross, Charles Gillican, Mrs. Moreland Smith, and Sam Shirah.

Speaking broadly, an excellent spirit prevailed throughout all of the sessions and both Board and membership meetings constitute a source of genuine encouragement for the coming year.

SUPPLEMENT A

Financial Report, Fiscal Year February 1, 1958 - January 31, 1959

Income

Grant-in-aide from Southern Regional Council	$4,050.00
Contributions	4,968.27
Memberships	1,422.00
Sale of Literature	25.30
Refunds	68.28
Miscellaneous	254.86*
Total	$ 10,788.71

Expenditures

Item	Budgeted	Expended	Balance
Salaries			
Executive Director	$5,000.00	$4,999.92	$ .08
Office Secretary	2,500.00	2,158.03	341.97
Social Security	168.72	209.24	-40.52
Office Rent	750.00	750.00	0
Electricity	45.00	34.80	10.20
Telephone	540.00	489.00	51.00
Travel	1,325.00	765.51	559.49
Office Supplies and Equipment	870.00	991.81***	-121.81
New South subscriptions	850.00	609.00	241.00
Miscellaneous and contingency	100.00	259.11**	-159.11
Totals	$12,148.72	$11,266.42	$882.70

* Includes loan of $225.00 from R.E. Hughes

** Includes repayment of $225.00 loan

***includes unexpected purchase of needed mimeograph machine

Supplement B

Adopted by Board of Directors
and Presented to Membership
February 7, 1959

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS BUDGET
Feb. 1, 1959--Jan. 31, 1960

SALARIES	
Executive Director	$ 5000.00
Office Secretary	2820.00
Social Security	190.00
	8010.00
Supplementary allowance to Exec. Director	1000.00
Office Rent	750.00
Electricity	45.00
Telephone	530.00
Travel	1200.00
Office Supplies, Equipment, Mailings	870.00
New South Subscriptions	850.00
Miscellaneous	100.00
Reserve for Future Operations	500.00
TOTAL BUDGET	$13,855.00

ANTICIPATED SOURCES OF INCOME

Annual Grant from Southern Regional Council	$4,500.00
"Windfall Gift"	3,500.00
Memberships (est.)	1,200.00
	9,200.00
To be underwritten	4,655.00
	$13,855.00

1959

Report No. L-1
April 27, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

This is introductory to a series of occasional reports, issued by the Southern Regional Council as contributions to the intelligent discussion of the present school crisis.

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. The Commission was founded in that year by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Through the ensuing years it built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset. It worked to encourage an interchange of ideas and mutual trust between the South's two peoples. The notion of co-operative action by persons of good will, both white and Negro, took firmer root and has continued to grow.

In time the Commission sought ways of expanding its activities to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. This led to the formation of the Southern Regional Council, which was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council.

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners, drawn from the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. The Council is non-profit, nonpolitical, and nondenominational.

In 1951, the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an un-segregated society. It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with moral values, with democratic principles, and with the best interests of the country and this region. The Council has, therefore, an announced point of view. It has, furthermore, a single-minded devotion to the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion. It believes that Southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. These occasional reports are prepared to serve that end.

Financial support for the Council has come from many different individuals and organizations. Some of the organizations are: The William C. Whitney Foundation; the Fund for the Republic; The Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church; the National Council of Protestant Episcopal Church; the Field Foundation; the New World Foundation; the Board of Church Extension of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.; the Board of National Missions of the Prebyterian Church in the U. S. A.; the New York Foundation; the Christopher Reynolds Foundation; the Phelps-Stokes Fund; the Rockefeller Brothers Fund; and various trade unions and business firms.

The Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: 1) it provides consultative services to private and official agencies; 2) it carries on research and publishes frequent reports of findings; 3) it publishes a monthly magazine, New South, and works with the press, radio and television; 4) it is a clearinghouse and coordinator for other agencies concerned with Southern problems.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to be a practical organization, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. It believes that each community in the South must find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience. It offers no blueprint, no panacea for the South's human problems. It does offer a method - that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

* * *

Present officers of the Southern Regional Council:

President: James M. Dabbs,
Planter and Author
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Vice-presidents: Dr. Albert W. Dent
President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Businessman and Past President, SRC
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Attorney and Past President, SRC
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Chairman, Executive Committee: Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President, Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Executive Director: Mr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Report No. L2
April 27, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH OF JOHN P. FISHWICK, VICE-PRESIDENT, NORFOLK AND WESTERN RAILWAY, TO ROCKINGHAM DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, APRIL 6, 1959.

"Only industry can provide abundant and challenging job opportunities which will satisfy the ambitions of our well educated and talented young Virginians. Virginia will be immensely poorer if its brightest young men and women are lost to other states.

"And in this respect I think we must admit that Virginia has not been doing a very good job. During the period 1950 through 1957, Virginia showed a 14.3% gain in the number of employees engaged in manufacturing. This was a little better than the national average of 12.1% but well behind the 18.6% average of the 13 Southern states. But a look at the year-by-year picture shows that over two-thirds of Virginia's growth occurred during the three years of the Korean War, and only one-third during the six years, 1952 through 1957.

"Virginia's record in 1958 was particularly discouraging. The Virginia State Department of Conservation and Economic Development has announced that in 1958 sixty-two plants began operations in Virginia, the second highest for any of the past nine years. But employment by these plants was the lowest for any of the past nine years - a total employment of 1,663. This, I submit, is disappointing progress for a state which has over 3.3 million people, a favorable business climate and so many varied natural resources and attractions for industry.

"Compare, for instance, Virginia's record with that of North Carolina. North Carolina has announced that in 1958 industrial development saw over $250 million invested in 423 new and expanded facilities which created 21,758 new jobs with annual pay rolls amounting to nearly $73 million. Thus, with a population of a little over four million, or 21% more than Virginia, North Carolina's industrial development created over 13 times as many jobs last year as did Virginia's.

"The impact of industrial development can be measured on the basis of a study recently made by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce which showed that 100 new factory workers mean 296 more people, 112 more households, 51 more school children, $590,000 more personal income, $270,000 more bank deposits, 107 more automobiles, 174 more workers employed, four more retail establishments, and $360,000 more retail sales per year.

* * *

"The second point in Virginia's industrial development program should be a prompt and sound solution to the school situation based on the principle that excellent free public schools will be maintained. To the extent possible, we must accomodate our solution to the deep feelings of those who live in the areas most critically affected. But, at the same time, we must recognize that most of us hope to give our children a better education and to open the door to greater opportunities than we have had. I think the Perrow Commission report offers the basis for such a solution. While many Virginians will not agree with all its recommendations, I hope we all recognize the truth of this sentence which stood out in its report. The Commission said:

> 'The culture and the economy of our state are directly geared to the educational attainments of our people.'"

Report No. L2
April 21, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

EXCERPT FROM SPEECH OF STUART T. SAUNDERS, PRESIDENT, NORFOLK & WESTERN RAILWAY, TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF PETERSBURG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, JANUARY 20, 1959.

"The hard fact is that North Carolina is out-competing Virginia for new industries. North Carolina's rate of industrialization in 1958, using annual volumn of manufactured goods as the comparative index, was 15%, compared to 5% for Virginia over the preceding year.

"In an address in Raleigh just ten days ago on the occasion of the completion of another milestone in the establishment of a multimillion-dollar Research Triangle in North Carolina - which, incidentally, will be a potent asset in attracting industry to that state - Governor Hodges stated that in 1958 industrial development reached a new all-time high in North Carolina. He revealed that last year $253,074,000 was invested in 423 new and expanding plants in that state. These created, he said, 21,575 new jobs with an annual payroll of $72,633,000."

R eport No. L-3
May 11, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HOW COULD SHUT SCHOOLS AFFECT STATE ECONOMY ?

In November, 1958 Atlanta Constitution Business Editor James Montgomery conducted a state-wide survey to determine what economic effects would result from closing any public schools in Georgia. 129 questionnaires were completed by administrative, engineering, and research personnel in 13 major industrial plants and the state's four largest universities. Results of the survey were published in a series of three articles, November 30 - December 2; three subsequent articles offered some conclusions and observations. Some excerpts follow:

"Three out of four people in administrative, research and engineering work in the universities and industries in Georgia would be willing to send their children to public schools integrated to some extent...17.1 per cent of those in key industrial and university positions say they plan to leave Georgia if their children's public schools are closed. Moving away was listed as the second alternative by 21 additional parents, who said they would have to leave Georgia if their children's public schools were not reopened within three months to a year." (November 30)

-

"The industrial and university officials...expressed unanimous agreement that closing of public schools would impair both the present economic strength and future economic development of the state.

* * *

"Several examples indicated that the existing possibility of school closings is now hampering the recruitment of qualified engineering, research and management personnel - the sort needed to assure economic progress...In addition to the fact that such people now living elsewhere are growing less inclined to move here with their children as long as continued public school operation remains uncertain, a significant proportion of those already employed in Georgia are growing restless." (December 3)

"If Georgia could legally substitute a private school plan for the present public school system, would it prevent whatever economic losses would result from the closing of public schools? Not very noticeably, considering comments on a significant proportion of the questionnaires..." (December 4)

-

"'Georgia has been dropped from a list of potential plant sites by a major electronics manufacturer,' says a business research economist at one of the universities, 'primarily because of the threat to continued operation of public schools.'

"A scientist at the University of Georgia says this threat is 'definitely impeding the recruitment of qualified research people for vacancies that are remaining unfilled in the physical sciences here. So what good will be served by the 12-million-dollar science center we're now building at the university?'"

* * *

"The manager of a large north Georgia branch plant 'would hesitate at this time to expand or build a new plant in any of the states that have been, or could be, affected by either school closings or violence.'"

* * *

"A top administrative man of a large Atlanta area industry: 'I am personally very concerned about our ability to maintain a competitive position in this industry if this question (about public schools being closed) comes to a head. We are being turned down by the sort we need most, like the Minnesota engineer who said he must first have assurance of his children's educational future. What could we tell him?'

"The same official entertains some doubts 'about whether we could stay in business if they closed the schools here...'"

* * *

"The general manager of the only high-wage industry in a south Georgia community: 'If this problem is not properly resolved - without prejudice - the industrial future of Georgia will be adversely affected.'" (December 2)

Report No. L-4
May 18, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS: STATEMENTS FROM LEADERS IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY.

John W. Landis, Assistant Manager, The Babcock and Wilcox Company, Lynchburg, Va. "The Babcock and Wilcox Company, as one of the new and growing organizations in the community, considers it obvious that we would have trouble securing and retaining qualified technical personnel if the public schools were closed." (April 16, 1959)

O. B. Newton, Jr., Vice-president and Sales Manager, C. B. Fleet Co., Inc., Lynchburg, Va.: "Within the past few weeks the President of one of our colleges has told me of the loss of a good faculty member - a parent of school age children - who has moved away from Virginia because of the public school situation. Prospective replacements have expressed a disinclination to move into a community where there is a possibility free public schools may not be available for their children.

"Two of our most recently acquired industries have, within the past few weeks, expressed themselves to the effect Virginia would not even have been considered as a location for a new plant had there not been the guaranteed certainty of a free public school system for the children of their employees." (Before the House Privileges and Elections Committee, General Assembly, Richmond, Va., April 17, 1959)

Ivan Allen, Jr., immediate past president, Georgia State Chamber of Commerce and Atlanta businessman: "To abandon public education is to secede from the economic life of the nation." (Atlanta Journal, December 10, 1958)

William P. Engel, former chairman of the Birmingham, Alabama Chamber of Commerce Committee of 100, said that the principal reason expanding industry is by-passing Alabama is publicity resulting from racial problems in Birmingham and Montgomery. "We must face up to our own deficiencies. The hoodlumism here has hit headlines throughout the nation. As a result, we have lost one major plant in Birmingham and several smaller installations." (Birmingham Post-Herald, February 6, 1957)

Cooper Green, vice-president in charge of industrial development for the Alabama Power Company, said he has no doubt that responsible industry is reluctant to locate in Alabama while there is the prospect of trouble from racial difficulties. "No industry wants to move into a troubled area." (Birmingham Post-Herald, February 6, 1957)

Paul Schweitzer, president, Layne-Atlantic Company and chairman, Norfolk School Board: "How can you get an industry to import high priced men into a community which has no schools for their children to attend?" (New South, November, 1958)

Ellis Arnall, former governor of Georgia; former executive, Society of Industrial Motion Picture Producers, Industrial Film Producers Export Corporation, charged that Georgia's present political leaders are "committed to the largest lockout...the largest wave of unemployment" in the history of any state by thinking of closing the schools. (Atlanta Journal, April 15, 1959)

Frank W. Cantrell, manager, Arkansas State Chamber of Commerce, said there was no doubt that bad publicity over the school situation had slowed down Arkansas' industrial program. (Atlanta Constitution, October 24, 1958)

Little Rock, Arkansas Chamber of Commerce endorsed by a vote of 819 to 245 the reopening of public high schools under a system of controlled integration, in a mail poll conducted by Chamber officials. (Arkansas Gazette, March 3, 1959)

Dr. Charles H. Carpenter, Industrial Engineering Consultant to the Arkansas Development Commission, declared that Governor Orval Faubus' actions in the desegregation controversy had cost Arkansas thousands of jobs. He said the situation "means the loss of large, substantial industries which might otherwise have come to Arkansas." (Arkansas Gazette, October 3, 1957)

Clifford M. Clarke, Jr., executive vice-president, Associated Industries of Georgia: "There can be no industry without good schools." (Atlanta Constitution, December 2, 1958)

Martin R. Gainsbrough, Chief Economist, National Industrial Conference Board, said problems raised by public school integration issue in the southern states are having a definitely adverse effect on industrial plant location decisions. "I know this," he said, "because I sit in on meetings of various companies where these matters are discussed...I have heard them eliminate from further consideration areas which have this school problem, because of the friction involved in them and the difficulty of getting top personnel to move to such places with their children." Gainsbrough said big company discussions of school problems as a consideration in plant locations are off the record, for the businessmen fear economic repercussions if the proceedings were made public. (AtlantaConstitution, February 27, 1959)

Dr. F. Douglas Lawrason, provost for medical affairs, University of Arkansas: "The University Medical Center, being within the community of Little Rock, could not help but be affected by the public school problem there. I think it would be only fair to say that because of this complicating social change, the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community." (Arkansas Gazette, January 16, 1959)

Opie L. Shelton, executive vice-president, Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce: "Boycotts, economic reprisals, the possibility of abandoning our public schools, incidents of violence, irresponsible statements - these are new factors which will now be given consideration by industry and business when they consider a Southern location." (New South, May 1956)

Everett Tucker, Jr., industrial director of Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, said Little Rock's integration dispute "is going to set our industrial program back considerably...Now - and for the unpredictable future - whenever the subject comes to mind of an industry planning a Southern plant, it will immediately think of Little Rock as a 'hotbed' of segregation..." (Arkansas Gazette, September 7, 1957)

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE OFFICE PROGRAM REPORT

(For the Feb., Mar., Apr., May Period)

I. SERVICING OF A.C.H.R. GROUPS

A. Local Affiliates: During the report period the Executive Director met with the following chapters: Mobile (1), Montgomery (2), Tuscaloosa (1), East Piedmont District (1) and Birmingham (3). On each visit reports were made on developments and activities over the state, consultation held with local officials or committees on their work, community cultivation undertaken, and on five occasions meeting programs presented.

Considerable time was spent assisting in the rebuilding of the Birmingham Council although in May many responsibilities were transferred back to the body when its reorganization was completed.

B. Organizational Work: On trips to Decatur and Dothan, conferences were held with local members and prospects with the view of establishing chapters. To date nothing definite has been achieved in Decatur while in Dothan an independent local group has begun regular meetings on a monthly basis.

C. Miscellaneous: Mail and telephone contact has been maintained with members in all of the other districts in the state where there is no current activity - East and West Black Belt areas, Huntsville and the Tri-Cities.

The State Office assisted in the planning, promotion and execution of the Annual Membership Meeting in February attended by 160 persons. The Board of Directors and Executive Committee met in Feb. and May respectively.

As of the end of the period the Council's total membership was 512.

II. SERVICING OF OTHER GROUPS

A. State Ministers Conference: As a member of this body's Planning Committee the Director assisted in the planning, promotion and execution of its semi-annual meeting in April attended by 60 ministers of ten denominations. After extended efforts, the State Office recently was successful in securing a sizeable grant for the extension of this group's vital program.

B. United Student Christian Conference: The State Office assisted in the arrangements for and participated in an area exploratory conference of this bi-racial body in Birmingham in April.

C. Birmingham Brotherhood of Clergy: As a member of this group's executive committee the Director has presented and arranged for programs, assisted in its rebuilding and with reorganization in May transferred major responsibilities to the body's new officers.

D. Civil Rights Commission: Several days were spent in Feb. and April in assisting C.R.C. staff with the formation of an Alabama Advisory Committee through consultation and arranging conferences with prospective members. The results speak for themselves.

E. Presentations: The Director preached sermons for special brotherhood observances at one Birmingham Presbyterian and two Sylacauga Methodist Churches. Presentations were made twice to the Birmingham Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice and a Methodist Christian Social Relations Commission in Sylacauga. In May he served as platform speaker for the Louisiana Negro Methodist Student Movement annual retreat. No other invitations were received.

F. Miscellaneous: Contact has been maintained and information exchanged with the officials of the following bodies: Southeastern and Alabama Anti- Defamation League, Southern office of the American Jewish Committee, Southern Regional Council, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Alabama Assn. For Mental Health, U.S. Department of Justice, American Friends Service Committee national and regional offices, Alabama Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting, regional office of the National Council of Churches, various state Councils on Human Relations over the South, Montgomery Improvement Assn., Mobile Citizenship Assn., the Alabama Fellowship of the Concerned, and various other groups.

III. INFORMATION PROGRAM

A. The Press: Background information interpretations, story ideas and tips have been submitted to the "Birmingham News", "Birmingham Post Herald", "Birmingham World", "Tuscaloosa News", "Montgomery Advertiser", A.P., U.P.I., WAPI-TV, WBRC-TV, KETC-TV, NBC, "Time", "Newsweek", "Look", "Christian Century", "Reporter" magazines, "N.Y. Times" and one free lancer writing for "McCalls". Wash. Post.

B. Alabama Council Newsletter: Some 1,500 copies of "The Methodist Laymens Union - A Threat To Church Unity" edition has been sent over the state and to a limited extent outside of Alabama.

C. Program Materials: One set of materials has been distributed to 80 selected leadership persons over the state.

D. Film Forum: The hour length film "Segregation and The South" has been shown gratis to some 650 persons in nine groups of various types over the state during the period.

IV. "TROUBLE SHOOTING"

Information that a person(s) is under attack for their racial convictions receives top priority attention and all assistance at our disposal is rendered as quickly as possible. Usually this is in the form of offering moral support and counseling by personal visitation, phone or mail; determining facts and needs, and if warranted arranging assistance which has taken the form of securing funds for hardship cases, stimulating responsible officials through negotiation and if feasible publicity, and securing assurances of support from key persons. In several cases covenants of prayer have been arranged among ministers at crucial times.

Noteworthy cases during this period include "delayed action" intimidation in a four county Black Belt area in Feb. against Negroes who testified before the Civil Rights Commission in Montgomery; persecution of Rev. Tom Reeves of Shelby County who publically defied the Methodist Laymens Union in Mar.; and retaliation against Rev. Robert Man for his May protest of Klan activity in Bessemer. Dodo

Submitted to Exec. Com. May, '59

Final figures O.K, method of reporting different from that adopted in June '59 which was incorporated in prior monthly reports back to Feb. '59. Revised report in correct form sent to Bd. in June '59.

OFFICE BALANCE

Office Balance, April 1, 1959	$ 2,860.96
Income During Month, April, 1959	+ 396.93
Total funds available, April, 1959	3,257.89
Disbursements, April, 1959	-1,110.29
Office Balance, April 30, 1959	$ 2,147.60

BANK BALANCE

Bank Balance, April 1, 1959	$ 3,387.31
Deposited During April, 1959	+ 396.93
Total funds Available, April, 1959	-3,784.24
Disbursements, April, 1959	-1,246.34
Bank Balance, April 30, 1959	2,537.90
Checks Outstanding on April 30, 1959	- 390.30
Balance	$ 2,147.60

Submitted to Exec. Com. May 59.
Revised figures sent to Bd. in June 59.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

QUARTERLY FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR FEB., MAR., APR., 1959

Date May 18, 1959

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

FOR THE QUARTER ENDING April 30, 1959

INCOME		
From SRC	3500.00	
Memberships	287.00	
New South Subscriptions	(In memberships)	
Contributions	3186.00	
Sale of Literature	27.65	
Miscellaneous	761.53 (includes $ 756.69 on hand 1st of yr.)	
TOTAL INCOME	7762.18	7762.18

EXPENDITURES		
Salaries	1750.49	
Travel	276.11	
Rent	187.50	
Electricity	9.30	
Telephone	184.61	
Office Supplies	236.27	
New South subscriptions to SRC	162.00	
Social Security	40.50	
Miscellaneous	17.81	
Reserve for 1960-61	2500.00	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	5614.58	5614.58

- * -

Balance on hand (Beginning of quarter)	- 751.69
Income for Quarter	7762.18
Total	7010.49
Expenditures for Quarter	5614.58
BALANCE	1395.91

Figures correct form bad.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

June 10, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Robert E. Hughes, Exec. Dir.

RE: Public Attack on the Ala. Council

The following constitutes a brief resume of actual events surrounding the attack.

1. During April and May the State Office mailed out some 1,500 copies of the "Alabama Council Newsletter" entitled "The Methodist Laymens Union - A Challenge To Church Unity" to active and inactive members and prospects. Some of the "prospects" apparently aren't "prospects" as several copies found their way into the hands of M. L. U. members.

2. During the week of May 17 the M. L. U. circulated a letter under the signature of their president, Judge Whit Windham, and their secretary, L. S. Scarboro, both of Birmingham. Some 2,500 copies were sent to each minister and at least one layman in each Methodist Church in Alabama. This letter attacked me and the Council stating among other things that I was "carrying out a program of propoganda to bring about full racial integration on all levels of our religious, educational and social life". Because of this, it implied that I should not be reappointed and should be denied retirement credit in the Methodist Church. It quoted accurately but out of context portions of the "Newsletter" while ignoring significant passages.

3. Thanks to the quick action of Board Member Paul Robinson of Decatur we received a copy just prior to the meeting of the Executive Committee in Montgomery on May 21 which body authorized me to make an appropriate press release in the name of the Council in the hope of introducing ourselves to the public of Alabama in our own

terms rather than an antagonist doing it for us. However, it was too late as Judge Windham had already released his letter to the "Birmingham News" and I was informed that an article had already been prepared. We had the choice of releasing a statement to be "spliced" into the original story or making a release for a new story based primarily on our material the following day. The former was chosen in order that there would be no lapse between the charges and their answers. A copy of our release is enclosed in which I endeavored to be positive and constructive throughout.

The exchange of charges in public is never healthy and I endeavored to ask Windham to hold up his release to permit us to confer on several points that had no basis in fact. Dispite repeated calls over a four hour period he never returned them.

4. The subsequent story was carried on page one of all editions of the "Birmingham News" and was subsequently used in the "Post Herald", WAPI-TV, and AP and UPI accounts in Montgomery, Mobile, Selma and Tuscaloosa papers.

5. In Conclusion: Regretably, we have been introduced to the public by an antagonist, but it has given us new support primarily from concerned whites in the Birmingham area. Negro reaction has been very limited. Later when some publically unpalatable incident occurs, it might be advisable for us to make a mild public plea for understanding, tolerance, responsibility, etc.

The thoughts of board members on all of the foregoing is invited.

Report No. L-5
June 12, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"There is no doubt that the education climate and the business climate are interdependent. To this I can attest by my own experience, for I was personally responsible for the selection of Virginia as the location of one of General Electric's new plants."

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA

Excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, General Manager, Special Control Dept., General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Virginia, March 15, 1959 at Thomas Jefferson High School Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia

I would like to make it known at the beginning that the views I will present today are my own - not those, for example, of the General Electric Company or the Virginia Manufacturers Association. I am speaking as a member of the Advisory Board of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools.

I was glad to accept the opportunity to talk to you today because I feel strong personal concern about the school situation. I was also glad to accept the opportunity because I am convinced that businessmen, like myself, should stand up and be heard....In my opinion, the manager of a modern business organization has ever-widening responsibilities to his community, his state, and his nation. This includes responsibility in educational affairs, as business, education, and the community come to a greater realization of their mutual concerns....

Let's first look at the size of public education in Virginia. Truly, it is a mammoth undertaking, and its importance to the economic life of the Commonwealth is obvious when we note that the present book value of school property in Virginia is $576 million, and the total expenditure for public education in Virginia in 1957 was nearly $200 million. In addition, public schools are a very effective institution in our economic life. The results of expenditures for public education were summarized this way by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce's extensive study of a few years ago. This study established the fact that educated people:

> "produce more goods, earn more money, buy and consume more goods, read more magazines and newspapers, are more active in civic and national affairs, enjoy a higher standard of living--and, in general, contribute more to the economy than those who are not so well educated."

This study also found that education must precede economic growth--it does not come after it.

Business Climate and Education Climate

A strong system of public education is very important among those factors that attract new industry into a state and that keep industry already here from moving away....

The conditions which make an ideal business climate include honest and efficient government, fair taxes, law enforcement, equitable pay, good community facilities, favorable social and cultural atmosphere, and last but by no means least, outstanding schools....

I am convinced that industrial development of Virginia will not take place as rapidly as it might, unless we have an attitude that will build a strong, effective public school system. There is no doubt that the education climate and and the business climate are interdependent. To this I can attest by my own experience, for I was personally responsible for the selection of Virginia as the location of one of General Electric's new plants.

Now, those who are involved in finding new plant sites compile statistics and study the economic factors such as nearness to market, availability of transportation, the type of tax structure, adequacy of utilities (like power, water and roads) and the amount and education level of the work force. In addition, there are those aspects involving the needs of employees and their families, such as nearness to colleges and universities, availability of hospital and medical facilities, amount and kind of recent home construction, availability of churches, and the adequacy and quality of public schools.

The school situation was terribly important to us, as it is to so many industries, because educated manpower is the lifeblood of our business. Without it we cannot attract highly trained engineering and managerial talent, for such people can obtain positions anywhere in the United States. They simply will not join us unless their children can obtain as good or better education here as elsewhere. Not only that, but the individuals who are already with us might very well leave if good education opportunities do not continue to be available for them and their children.

Three major plants of General Electric have located in Virginia since 1954 because our studies led us to the conclusion that Virginia recognized its education problems and was on the march toward continued improvement....

What Industry Means to Virginia

Of course, we should ask whether Virginia really wants industry. I am confident we do. I believe we do recognize the absolute necessity of providing the type of business climate and education climate which will attract new industry and, just as important, permit industry that is already here to continue to expand in Virginia. If we still need to reassure ourselves, however, let us take a look at what industry means to Virginia. I will use General Electric as my example only because I am most familiar with it.

In Virginia there are some 6,400 General Electric share owners whose investment has helped make possible three new General Electric plants in Virginia within the last five years. ...These plants, plus General Electric sales offices and service shops in other cities, employ more than 3,700 people who earn over $21 million annually in pay and other benefits. The value of these jobs in Virginia is indicated by the fact that these 3,700 industrial jobs has increased yearly retail sales by over $13 million and has, on the average, meant five new jobs for each one brought in by General Electric. General Electric annually buys more than $8 million worth of goods and services from over 500 Virginia suppliers. ... In addition, 9,000 independent business firms in Virginia derive all or part of

their income from selling or servicing a wide range of General Electric products. Now, just multiply this one example by the hundreds of other industries in Virginia. ...

Of course, I am convinced that the most important economic influences in this great state's future are not only its natural resources, its transportation, its power supplies, and its tax structure, but more important, its children. As Virginia's children grow they must be able to compete with school graduates from other states. They must have the opportunity to get good jobs. They must be able to get into college and then, successfully compete in college. And this must be true for the children of our state regardless of family income. ...We must make sure that the children of all Virginia families have equal opportunity with children in other states to be prepared to fill these jobs.

Economic Consequences of a New School System

Let us now look at another phase of the problem--the economic consequences of a new school system. ...We must be alert to the consequences of adding an additional school system to the present system, because a new system in addition to our present system, in my opinion, cannot be operated well without incurring substantial additional costs. The real danger, of course, is slow decay and erosion of the present school system that can occur as a result of not being able to meet these additional costs. ...

Unless we face up to solving problems of this type, the public school system will be injured, and with it, the future of Virginia will be in danger. We will then be in the position of having committed economic suicide, for the school situation can be the Achilles' heel of Virginia's economy. ...If we are to improve our present public school system we need higher expenditures for education. Normal additional costs from swelling enrollments and better salaries, from the viewpoint of safeguarding the future economy of Virginia, must be expected. Industry, like all other taxpayers, must share this heavier burden--and I, for one, feel confident it will expect to. But if we decide to build still another school system--one of subsidized private schools--on top of our present one, we must likewise face up to the need for even higher expenditures if we intend to maintain quality overall.

Summary

To summarize up to now, my main points have been these:

1. A favorable business climate attracts needed industrial payrolls, but attitudes which build an unfavorable business climate could deter the coming to Virginia of manufacturing plants.

2. The education climate and the business climate are interdependent, and the weakening of our free public school system will adversely affect Virginia's economy.

3. New industry will strengthen Virginia.

4. Our greatest asset is our children, and a good public school system is essential to their future, from every point of view.

5. There already exists a need for additional expenditures in our present school system. ...If we add another school system on top of the present system, even greater expenditures will be necessary. ...Perhaps in view of the recent flood of criticisms, too many of us have taken for granted what we now have in our public school system.

A list of the facilities and services provided is a long one--and which of these things would any of us take away from our children? The training and the care and well-being of our children while in school require something far beyond that quoted in this morning's Washington Post, when a political leader from Georgia was reported to have said, "Put the child in a chickenhouse, if it's comfortable and with a good teacher, he'll get an education." Schools for our children in modern-day living require proper heating, light and ventilation; fireproof buildings or fire escapes; science laboratories; libraries; physical education facilities; first aid; and many other things. ...A strong requirement here is a state-wide department which performs such services as recommendations regarding the number of children in a class, minimum standards for teachers, continual evaluation and modification of curricula, and special programs such as distributive education. However, there is a real economic problem as to whether all of these things will be provided by a system of private schools without taking some of the same things away from the present system of public schools.

There is likewise the real danger to the education of so many of our children if we duplicate school systems and thereby reduce the size of the student body to uneconomical levels. ...

Conclusion

In conclusion, I am convinced that solving these problems will require moderation. Such moderation needs to come from all sides. ...Our public schools must be preserved--but they could be destroyed by extremists. ...Compassionate reason must supplant unbending emotion, for we can go forward together only through the exercise of moderation. ...

Office Copy

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
June 26, 1959

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Robert E. Hughes

RE: Status and Progress Reports

1. Attached you will find State Office program activities and financial reports and a list of our current Board of Directors. Both reports cover the Feb. 1 - May 30 period. The financial report is that submitted by Rev. Wilson, our treasurer, to the Executive Committee at its May 21 meeting and updated by the State Office to include all of May.

2. The Executive Committee is planning our activities far in advance to insure better participation and preparation. The 1960 Annual Meeting has been set for Saturday, Feb. 13 or Feb. 6, the final date to be selected soon by the Annual Meeting Program Committee. This committee was appointed and is composed of Dr. H. C. Trenholm as chairman with Tom Thrasher, J. T. Brooks, Welton Gregory and Bob Hughes as members. In response to an invitation extended by Dr. Gray, Talladega College was selected as the site of the meeting.

3. The Executive Committee set the date for the semi-annual fall meeting of the Board of Directors on Saturday, Oct. 3, 1959, 11:00 a.m. - 3:00 p.m. in Montgomery.

4. The question of political activity was raised to the Executive Committee by the Montgomery Council. It was determined that political activity by an office part of the organization, as needed as such might be, would violate the Council's constitution and also the terms of agreement with the S.R.C. under which we receive grants. This is virtually the only restriction placed by the state organization or any affiliate. Federal tax exemption for the S.R.C. could be jepardized should this restriction fail to be observed. Finally, any public endorsement of some measure by the Council in this day and time would in most cases insure its defeat.

5. UNDERWRITER CLUB chairman, A. C. Winn, reported to the Executive Committee that in response to some 80 personal letters he had secured 33 CLUB members, 25 of whom have pledged $5 per month and others more or less. His goal is fifty and with the best prospects already having been approached, he felt that the remaining 18 would be difficult but not impossible to secure. Acceptances as of May 30 represent a total of $1,775 pledged for this fiscal year of which $731 has been received at the State Office. No report was available on underwriter organizations; therefore responsibility for approaching the Masonic and Eastern Star orders was given to Rev. Hughes and the Federated Womens Club and one other group to Rev. Wilson. Board members were encouraged to use their initiative in approaching other groups or augmenting the approaches being made to the above bodies.

6. The financial situation this far into the fiscal year is reasonably good due to the Underwriter and increased S.R.C. support. The inevitable summer "slump" will produce a drop, but the Underwriter program should help ease this stress. There is no cause for any let down in our efforts to secure funds.

7. Memberships are doing reasonably well. A breakdown follows:

T. V. District	24
District 1	87
District 2	79
District 3	78
District 4	14
District 5	25
District 6	6
District 7	73
Montgomery District	93
Out of State	32
Tota l	511

8. Rev. Hughes has been invited to speak to Boston area groups by Dan Whitsett with main expenses paid. He will also contact groups in N. Y. C. and Washington. This trip plus at least part of his vacation will take him out of the office from June 29 until around July 22. Miss Annette Cloud, office secretary, can handle most inquiries or business and forward urgent matters to Rev. Hughes.

June 1, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICERS

PRES:	Rev. Welton Gregory* 1125 Woodley Road Montgomery, Alabama	3rd VICE PRES:	Father A. S. Foley* Springhill College Springhill, Alabama
1st VICE PRES:	Mr. J. T. Brooks* P. O. Box 271 Montgomery, Alabama	SEC:	Mr. William G. Irby* P. O. Box 871 Sylacauga, Alabama
2nd VICE PRES:	Dr. A. D. Gray* Talladega College Talladega, Alabama	TREAS:	Rev. J. C. Wilson* P. O. Box 2481 Birmingham 1, Alabama

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN: Mr. J. T. Brooks, P. O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama — Rev. Welton Gregory, 1125 Woodley Road, Montgomery, Alabama

Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher 315 Clanton Avenue Montgomery, Alabama	Mr. William G. Irby P. O. Box 871 Sylacauga, Alabama	Mrs. A. W. West, Sr. 729 South Jackson Street Montgomery, Alabama
Dr. A. D. Gray Talladega College Talladega, Alabama	Rev. Robert E. Hughes 1218 Comer Building Birmingham, Alabama	Mrs. Earl Andrews 3135 Audubon Road Montgomery, Alabama
Father Albert S. Foley Springhill College Springhill, Alabama	Rev. J. C. Wilson P. O. Box 2481 Birmingham, Alabama	Dr. R. D. Crockett Alabama State College Montgomery, Alabama

MEMBERS AT LARGE

CLASS OF 1960	CLASS OF 1961	CLASS OF 1962
full 2nd term Mr. C. V. Hendley 830 West Holmes Street Huntsville, Alabama	full 1st term Mr. Louis Eckl* 747 Nellie Avenue Florence, Alabama	1st full term Mrs. O. D. Thomas* 2011 11th Street Tuscaloosa, Alabama
full 1st term Mr. Paul Robinson P. O. Box 198 Decatur, Alabama	Mr. David Vann 2100 Comer Building Birmingham, Alabama	Mrs. A. W. West, Sr.* 729 S. Jackson Street Montgomery, Alabama
Mrs. Earl Andrews 3135 Audubon Road Montgomery, Alabama	Dr. L. H. Foster Office of the President Tuskegee Institute, Alabama	Rev. T. R. Thrasher* 315 Clanton Avenue Montgomery, Alabama
Mr. Nathaniel Welch 342 Hare Avenue Auburn, Alabama	(To Be Filled)	Earl Pippin finally refused. (To Be Filled) John McConnell partial term

* Elected at Annual Meeting, February 14, 1959

DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVES

(Two Per District)

TENN. VALLEY DISTRICT:

Mr. S. C. Watkins
503 S. Washington St.
Tuscumbia, Alabama

Rev. ~~Newton~~ Malony
906 ~~Lamar~~ Street S.W.
Decatur, ~~Alabama~~

DISTRICT I:

Rev. Davis Yeuell
Stillman College
Tuscaloosa, Alabama
MISS MARTHA O'ROURKE
~~Rev. Arthaniel Harris~~
~~1107 22nd Avenue~~ STILLMAN COLL.
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

DISTRICT II:

Rev. Carl Landes
Southern Union College
Wadley, Alabama

Mr. R. E. Strickland
431 W. Battle Street
Talladega, Alabama

DISTRICT III:*

DISTRICT IV:**

Rev. Claude Brown
625 Jeff Davis Ave.
Selma, Alabama

DISTRICT V:*

DISTRICT VI:**

Mr. Samuel Williams
Southern Normal College
Brewton, Alabama

DISTRICT VII:

Father Albert S. Foley
Springhill College
Mobile, Alabama

Rev. Joseph Lowery
306 N. Warren St.
Mobile, Alabama

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT:*

Rev. R. D. Crockett
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Mrs. Frank W. Anderson
632 W. Patton Ave.
Montgomery, Ala.

* Posts to be filled in district elections, summer, 1959

** Vancancies open indefinitely; no plans for elections.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR FEB., MAR., APR., MAY, 1959

June 19, 1959

INCOME		
From SRC	$4,550.00	
Memberships	446.00	
New South Subscriptions	(In memberships)	
Contributions	3,461.00	
Sale of Literature	58.30	
Miscellaneous	16.12	
TOTAL INCOME	$8,531.42	$8,531.42
EXPENDITURES		
Salaries	$2,310.05	
Travel	399.66	
Rent	250.00	
Electricity	11.61	
Telephone	219.32	
Office Supplies	347.92	
Housing Allowance	333.32	
New South Subscriptions to SRC	310.00	
Social Security	40.50	
Miscellaneous	20.51	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$4,242.89	$4,242.89

- * - *

Income For Period	$8,531.42
Expenditures For Period	-4,242.89
Balance For Period	$4,288.53
Plus Balance Beginning Fiscal Year, February 1, 1959	+ 751.69
Total	$5,040.22
Minus $2,500 Transferred to Second Account (Reserve for 1960-61 fiscal year)	-2,500.00
Net Balance	$2,540.22

Report No. L-6
July 3, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE "DAVIS REPORT" AND THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SITUATION IN WASHINGTON, D. C.*

In June, 1956, with 13 of the 25 members of the House of Representatives Committee on the District of Columbia meeting in closed session, 11 of the 13 voted to create a subcommittee "to investigate Public School Standards and Conditions, and Juvenile Delinquency in the District of Columbia." Representative James C. Davis of Georgia became chairman of the subcommittee and his name is generally given to its subsequent report.

The five other members of the subcommittee were: Representatives John Bell Williams, of Mississippi; Woodrow W. Jones, of North Carolina; Joel T. Broyhill, of Virginia; A. L. Miller, of Nebraska; and DeWitt S. Hyde of Maryland. William Gerber, an attorney of Memphis, Tennessee, was retained as chief counsel.

The committee hearings, which were conducted publicly for nine days, beginning September 17, 1956, produced 512 printed pages of testimony. The "findings" of the subcommittee, together with excerpts from the testimony of selected witnesses, the "Recommendations," and a brief minority statement, are in the 48-page official report of the investigation.

Two of the six committee members did not sign the majority report but gave their own views in the minority statement which included the following: "In a close reading of the hearings we must come to the conclusion that the technical staff presented leading questions to a selected group of witnesses. Persons with views not in accord with those of the Counsel were not given full and fair opportunity to testify." Any copy of the subcommittee report which does not include the last page on which are given the views of Representatives Miller and Hyde is not an official copy.

The subcommittee hearings took place at a time when Congress was not in session and when most of the members of the District of Columbia Committee were away from Washington. Representative Roy Wier (D. Minn.) a former

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*This report has been read and approved for accuracy by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, District of Columbia.

member of the Minneapolis Board of Education, sent a telegram to the chairman of the District Committee, Representative John L. McMillan (D. S.C.), September 25, 1956, "strongly urging" that the subcommittee counsel, William Gerber, be suspended pending a meeting of the full committee. "Counsel Gerber's sole object," Representative Wier said, "seems to be to prove that integration has not worked and to get teacher against teacher, parent against parent, and pupil against pupil to prevent it from working in the future."

Many of the witnesses at the subcommittee hearings gave testimony of a sensational nature, and the Washington newspapers reported such testimony. But in their editorial columns all three daily newspapers discounted the objectivity and deplored the tactics of the investigation.

On September 21 a Washington Evening Star editorial stated: "The Davis investigation of integration in Washington is of course designed to delay its acceptance elsewhere. The committee will supply ammunition in that respect in the form of testimony by responsible witnesses, under guidance of a skilled interrogator who knows precisely what sort of information he wants in the record."

An editorial in the Washington Post and Times-Herald, September 23, 1956 said: "....Counsel Gerber has already compiled just the record he wants....a record showing that integration has brought difficult problems to the District schools arising out of Negro educational deficiencies. The fact that these problems stemmed from the evils of segregation and from the cultural, economic, and educational disadvantages to which Negroes have been subjected has been consistently ignored or glossed over by the subcommittee."

The Washington Daily News of September 26, 1956 carried an editorial which opened: "About all that has been brought out at the House District Committee hearings on District public school desegregation up to now is a self evident fact. A great social change has been imposed on District citizens." The editorial writer went on to say that the way out of the dilemma was not a return to segregation but was rather to separate students according to ability.

In addition to editorial comment the newspapers frequently made their own investigation of some "incident" reported by a subcommittee witness. A temporary teacher at McKinley High School testified that a white McKinley senior had received serious injuries in a fight with two McKinley Negro boys. The Washington Post sent reporter Karl Meyer to see McKinley's principal, Charles Edward Bish,

and Inspector John E. Winters of the Youth Aid Division. Both Principal Bish and Inspector Winters stated that while two Negro boys did attack a McKinley senior, they were not McKinley students at all. The two boys who came to the assistance of the senior, they said, were McKinley students -- two Negro classmates of the white victim.

Twenty-seven prominent citizens of Washington, including leading clergymen of all faiths and responsible civic leaders, met on September 23, 1956, to form "The Washington Committee of Public Schools" for the purpose of making available "dispassionate, unprejudiced, and accurate information" to offset the reports of the House hearings on the city's schools. Gerhard Van Arkel, a Washington attorney was selected chairman. Speaking for the group he said "The tone of the committee hearings indicates little or no interest in determining the full facts respecting the District schools."

At one point in the committee hearings Rep. Williams asked the then Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Carl Hansen: "Do you think, Dr. Hansen, that integration in the District of Columbia schools has been carried on smoothly and without incident?"

Dr. Hansen replied: "It would be fantastic to say 'without incident.' I think that the integration program in this city has been a miracle of social adjustment."

A few months later Dr. Hansen wrote a comprehensive report, giving a picture of the Washington school situation prior to integration, and describing the kinds of problems and the kinds of solutions that had been developing since two separate school systems had been unified. Dr. Hansen called his 70-page report, "Miracle of Social Adjustment; Desegregation in the Washington, D. C. Schools." While Dr. Hansen's report was not written as a "reply" to the Davis report, many people felt that it contained the kind of information about the complicated situation which Washington citizens were asking for when the Davis hearings were underway.

Dr. Hansen's report gave evidence that the basically good situation described in the September 24th (1954) issue of the U. S. News and World Report had not changed:

"There wasn't even a fist fight between youngsters. That's how quietly a historic change came as the nation's capital ended segregation in its public schools last week" the U. S. News and World Report read. "The capital, by

tradition is a Southern City. Its schools have always been segregated, yet when 100,000 Washington children entered mixed schools for the first time on September 13 there was no rioting, no violence, no picketing, not even a protest meeting ---politeness everywhere, downright friendliness in many cases. ---It is generally agreed that the mixing of races in Washington is working out far better than most people expected."

It is recorded in the Congressional Record that on Friday, March 8, 1957, the Honorable Clifford P. Case (R. N.J.) said of Dr. Hansen's report: "Those who are concerned with an objective, factual account of the Washington problems and how they were met will find it in the authoritative study by Dr. Carl Hansen. ---I hope that The Miracle of Social Adjustment will be read widely here and abroad."

On March 12, Representative Abram J. Multer (D. N.Y.) said "I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in Time Magazine February 25, 1957." The Time article presented was an account of Dr. Hansen's report. It began: "Last December a House subcommittee headed by Georgia's James Davis declared that integration had seriously damaged the public school system and recommended that it be stopped. Last week a more reasonable judgment came from Washington's Assistant School Superintendent Carl F. Hansen---."

Three years after the Davis report and four and a half years after the beginning of desegregation in the District of Columbia, the Richmond Times Dispatch sent staff reporter, Larry Weekley, to Washington to see how school integration was developing in 1959. "After four and a half years" reporter Weekley wrote on February 9, 1959, "the integrated public schools of the District of Columbia remain remarkably free of racial strife." In the same article he quotes Principal Arthur Storey ---whose testimony before the subcommittee hearings had been critical of school discipline in the early days of desegregation ---as saying in 1959 that the "tension has disappeared. By and large our discipline problems have decreased tremendously."

In 1956 the Washington school administration began implementing the now famous plan of grouping students according to ability, called the "Four-Track System." This system prevents backward pupils of either race from retarding the progress of the whole group and gives an opportunity for all to achieve their educational potential. In a total of 13,377 senior high school students, 3,026 are in the basic track, 5,575 in the general track, 3,804 in the college preparatory track and 892 in the honors track.

In 1953 when the achievement test scores only of white pupils were reported, the median grade equivalent in reading for the sixth grades was 7.2 -- against a national norm of 6.7.

In 1954 when sixth grade students, white and colored, were tested together for the first time the grade equivalent for reading was 4.9. With Negroes representing 60.8 per cent of the school enrollment, it was obviously their average rating which had brought the aggregate grade equivalent down.

Today Washington's combined white and Negro sixth grade public school students have progressed to a position equal to, or above, the national norm in 5 out of the 6 categories covered by the Stanford Achievement Test. The 1959 results show that Washington sixth graders have achieved a 6.7 median -- against a national norm of 6.6.

In view of the fact that the Negro pupils now represent 74 per cent of the total enrollment, it is evident from the forgoing that substantial progress has been made in the achievement rating of both white and Negro pupils since 1953.

Only one case of interracial marriage out of a total enrollment (in 1956) of 114,219, has occurred in four years among students or graduates of integrated schools. A Negro boy and a white girl, who had attended the same school, but in different grades, were subsequently married.

A report of the District of Columbia Welfare Department issued March 8, 1959, shows that, the delinquency rate among Negroes (aged 5 to 17) fell from 37.1 per 1000 in 1954 to 21.2 per 1000 in 1958. Among white children the rate remained stable at 15.3 in 1954 and 15.2 in 1958.

References:

Miracle of Social Adjustment, by Carl F. Hansen, 70-page Freedom Pamphlet may be obtained from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y. 35¢

The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools, by Erwin Knoll, may be obtained from the Turnpike Press, Annandale, Virginia, 15¢ postpaid; special rates for quantity orders.

For comprehensive study of the problem, the following are also suggested:

References - continued

Series of articles on the Washington public schools by Reporter Larry Weekley, in the Richmond Times Dispatch of February 8, 9, 10 and 11, 1959.

Report on Desegregation in Washington, D. C. for the Conference of the Commission on Civil Rights, Nashville, Tennessee, March 5, 6, 1959, by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C., Office of the Superintendent, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and "K" Streets, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. (3 pages).

Summary of the Desegregation Experiences in the Public Schools of the District of Columbia for Notre Dame Conference, May 8, 1959, by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Office of the Superintendent, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and "K" Streets, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. (15 pages of factual material, much of it related to the effect of desegregation on academic standards.

Democracy and the District of Columbia Schools, by Ellis O. Knox, Judd and Detweiler, Inc., Washington, D. C., 1957, $3.50. Hard-back book, 131 pages, by a professor of education at Howard University. Scholarly and carefully documented study of District of Columbia schools before and in the years immediately following desegregation.

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Report No. L-7
July 24, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

GOVERNOR ALMOND (VIRGINIA) ON THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS by Gov. J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. at the commencement exercises of the Warren County Educational Foundation, June 9, 1959.

(Note: Gov. Almond included in his address a sharp criticism of the Supreme Court and a review of his long fight to prevent public school desegregation in Virginia. It is not desired to give a misleading impression of Gov. Almond's attitude, but to invite attention to his eloquent plea for the continued operation of public schools.)

. . .

The time for hurling the firebrands of criticism, charges and countercharges and recriminations has passed. The time has arrived to take stock, not of theory and indulgence in wishful thinking, but in actual conditions and realities, and the laborious and soundest procedures within the limits of our genius to devise for the present and future welfare of Virginia.

We must not allow the welfare of our children and the future of our state to be victimized by the bitterness of disappointment, the pang of frustration, the demon of hate, and threat of political purge, appeal to base passions and prejudices, and the stirring of emotions productive of violence and disorder.

It is your sacred responsibility and mine, the responsibility of those whom you elect to positions of high trust, to face the issues squarely and honestly, and to dedicate every energy and talent to a constructive resolution consistent with honor and under the aegis of law.

No error could be more grave, no mistake more costly, no travesty more tragic, no curse more productive of woe, than to succumb to the blandishments of those who would have Virginia abandon public education and thereby consign a generation of children to the darkness of illiteracy, the pits of indolence and dependency, and the dungeons of delinquency.

The only sure prevention of any integration anywhere in Virginia is the total abolition of every public school everywhere in Virginia. If this is what they advocate,

the people of Virginia should now be told with complete clarity and frankness.

I tell you now that we cannot secede from the Union; we cannot overthrow the Federal Government, and we cannot reverse a final decree of a federal court.

I tell you now that the General Assembly cannot confer upon the Governor, any board, agency or person, any power which it does not itself possess.

I further tell you, notwithstanding the claims of some, that the General Assembly cannot under the pretense of invoking the police power take over and operate the public school system and thereby negate the final decree of a federal court. People who permit themselves to be fooled by such delusions deserve to be fooled.

. . .

In consideration of the abandonment of public schools, we should bear in mind that enrolled in the public schools of Virginia are approximately 800,000 children. There are only 112 sectarian schools, 12 of which are integrated, with a total enrollment of 26,610. There are 110 nonsectarian schools, one of which is integrated, with a total enrollment of 10,325. Private schools--both sectarian and nonsectarian--accommodate only 36,935 as compared with 800,000 in public schools. This points up the magnitude of the problem of accommodating children denied access to public schools.

. . .

The issues revolving around public education will confront the next session of the General Assembly. I have taken my stand. We must save, sustain and support the cause of public education in Virginia. I call upon all Virginians who believe in the soundness and righteousness of that position to rally to my support before it is too late. "To be forewarned is to be forearmed."

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL ODUM (FLORIDA) ON THE FINANCIAL COMPLICATIONS OF CLOSING PUBLIC SCHOOLS

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS by Asst. Attorney-General Ralph E. Odum before the Independent Bankers of Florida, at Tampa, February 23, 1959.

(Note: Mr. Odum included in his address a number of opinions which the SRC would regard as plainly mistaken. Again, it is not intended to give a false impression of an official's public position, but to emphasize certain incontestable facts which his speech clarifies.)

To me it seems clear that the one sure way of insuring a public school system in Florida which might in time be operated on a compulsory attendance basis and which is owned, controlled and operated by the federal government is for Florida to abolish its public schools.

Second, I do not think it practical to abolish our public school system for financial reasons.

The liquidation of Florida public school property and its bonded indebtedness would be, in a way, one of the largest bankruptcy proceedings in history, involving well over a billion and a quarter dollars.

Mr. Lee Young, Assistant in School Finance, State Department of Education, has estimated the actual fair market value of public school property in this state to be well in excess of one billion dollars. Considering the fact that most school buildings have only a limited use for any purpose other than education without extensive remodeling, the sale of these holdings would present extraordinary problems unless it could be accomplished gradually over a period of years.

The federal courts have already ruled that public school buildings may not be leased to segregated private schools. Although the question has not been legally tested, I believe that the buildings could be sold under state law at their fair value on a time payment basis. This would, of course, contemplate that title to the property would pass and the school board accept a mortgage to secure the deferred payments. It would also contemplate that the sales were not a method of circumvention of federal court orders but were bona fide sales of school property which was no longer needed for school purposes.

In addition to the liquidation of over a billion dollars worth of property, we would also be faced with the retirement of bonded indebtedness of $232,852,899.00 which we now owe for school buildings. Our state courts would have to enforce the payment of the principal and accrued interest on these bonds, regardless of the reluctance of the taxpayer to continue paying taxes for benefits which no longer existed.

In addition to school bonds, our Florida county school boards owe Florida banks $2,413,180.00 on short term notes for money borrowed for capital outlay.

In addition to these notes, our school boards owe local banks an undetermined but considerable amount on short term loans for operating expenses. No record of these loans is

required to be kept in Tallahassee, so it would be necessary to check each county board to ascertain the amount of this type of indebtedness.

Of the 282 banks in Florida, most have invested heavily in Florida school bonds and revenue certificates.

Picking at random 15 banks of all sizes in different parts of the state, I found that all but one of them had invested in Florida school bonds. The percentage of their total investment in securities which is invested in Florida school bonds varied from 0 to 14%, or an average of 4% for all 15 banks. The total in dollars for the 15 banks amounted to $4,559,000.00. If the pattern set by these 15 banks can be projected as a guide even on the most conservative estimate our 282 Florida banks must now be holding at least 80 million dollars of Florida school securities.

A default of these bonds, although ultimately remedied by litigation, might in the interim strain the earning capacity of many of our smaller independent banks who form the financial mainstay for most Florida communities.

All this with the abrupt termination of employment of 33,029 teachers and several thousand other public school employees such as administrative assistants, bus drivers, clerks and lunch room personnel; the cancellation of school expenditures for operating expenses totalling $216,804,957. a year; plus the dislocation of 899,000 pupils with no schools to attend, might easily create an economic and social catastrophe in this state.

. . .

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Report No. L-8
August 10, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RACE AND INTELLIGENCE

"The great, besetting problem of the New South," Harry Ashmore of the Arkansas Gazette once wrote, "is not in fact the accommodation of the rising aspirations of its dwindling Negro population, but the South's inability to reduce the issue to rational terms." For the help they give in substituting reason for myth, the authoritative statements given below are reproduced. They deal with the comparative intelligence of white and colored peoples.

The first and longest statement was prepared by 18 of the country's leading psychologists and anthropologists, and first released in 1956. The names of the signers are at the close of the statement.

> "In connection with the process of school desegregation and the difficulties with which it has been accompanied in certain areas, the question has again arisen as to the existence of innate differences in intelligence between Negroes and whites. The present statement is directed to that question. Those who have signed it are not on this occasion taking sides with regard to the problem of desegregation as a whole, nor with the manner or the rapidity with which it should be accomplished. They are for the moment concerned only with the facts and conclusions accepted by scientiests with regard to racial comparisons in inborn intellectual capacity.
>
> "A number of years ago, at a time when Nazi race theories were receiving much publicity, several scientific organizations placed themselves on record as opposed to the conclusion that race was a determiner of innate psychological characteristics; their position was that no such relationship had ever been scientifically demonstrated. These organizations included, among others, the American Anthropological Association (in 1939) and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a division of the American Psychological Association (in 1938). More recently (in 1950) a group of distinguished social scientists meeting in Unesco House in Paris issued a Statement on Race which reads in part as follows:

> Whatever classification the anthropologist makes of man, he never includes mental characteristics as part of those classifications. It is now generally recognized that intelligence tests do not in themselves enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity and what is the result of environmental influences, training and education. Wherever it has been possible to make allowances for differences in environmental opportunities, the tests have shown essential similarity in mental characters among all human groups. In short, given similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realize their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same.

"Two years later an equally distinguished assembly of geneticists and physical anthropologists, also meeting in Paris, pointed out that:

> The scientific material available to us at present does not justify the conclusion that inherited genetic differences are a major factor in producing the differences between the cultures and cultural achievements of different peoples or groups. It does indicate, on the contrary, that a major factor in explaining such differences is the cultural experience which each group has undergone.

"In 1953, a Statement submitted to the United States Supreme Court by more than thirty American social scientists, included the following:

> The available scientific evidence indicates that much, perhaps all, of the observable differences among various racial and national groups may be adequately explained in terms of environmental differences...It seems clear, therefore, that fears based on the assumption of innate racial differences in intelligence are not well founded.

"These statements still stand, and in our judgment represent the consensus among experts who have studied this question as objectively and as scientifically as is at present possible. We know of no new research which would reverse these conclusions.

"Those few specialists who take a different position usually do so on two major grounds. The first is that Negro-white differences in intelligence test scores persist even when the two groups are 'equated' for social and educational opportunities. To this we would point out that such 'equation' is exceedingly difficult to achieve, since the opportunities related to test performance are by no means easy to assess in quantitative terms. We do know that the intelligence quotients of Southern Negro children improve markedly after a period of years in the schools available to them in New York or Philadelphia.

"In the second place, it has been argued that the differences in I. Q. persist even when 'noncultural questions' are used. We would deny the possibility of devising a 'noncultural' test in the light of our present understanding of the problem.

"In the early days of testing, many psychologists believed that the elimination of the handicap due to language was equivalent to eliminating the influence of culture in general. One psychologist, for example, Professor Florence L. Goodenough of the University of Minnesota, devised a performance test consisting in 'Drawing a Man.' She regarded this test as 'culture-free.' Many investigators have made use of this test, and they have been able to demonstrate that, contrary to the earlier view, the results are indeed affected by many aspects of previous experience. Professor Goodenough herself has now recognized this fact, and very honestly and courageously points out her former error. Writing with Dale B. Harris on 'Studies in the psychology of children's drawings' in the Psychological Bulletin for September, 1950, she expresses the opinion that: 'the search for a culture-free test, whether of intelligence, artistic ability, personal-social characteristics, or any other measurable trait is illusory.' She goes on to state that her own earlier study 'is certainly no exception to the rule' and adds, 'The writer hereby apologizes for it.'

"No one can deny that at the present time the intellectual achievement of American Negro children, particularly those who come from segregated schools, is lower on the average than that of white children, nor that a reasonable amount of time must elapse before the gap can be closed. We would interpret the

difference in terms of the whole pattern of education opportunities associated with the social environment, and which may affect both the physical and mental development of the child. Even those few scholars, however, who prefer an explanation in terms of race indicate that there is overlapping between the two racial groups. Overlapping is usually defined technically as the percentage in one group which is superior in test scores to the median or average score obtained by the other. In every comparison with which we are familiar in this field there is some degree of overlapping. This means that some Negro children do better than some white children. It means that some Negro children do better than the average white child, in spite of all the handicaps to which the former have in the past been subjected.

"The conclusion is inescapable that any decision to use differences in the average achievement of the two racial groups as a basis for classifying in advance any individual child, Negro or white, is scientifically unjustified."

(Signed by:

Otto Klineberg, Columbia University
Theodore Newcomb, University of Michigan
Gardner Murphy, Menninger Foundation
Nevitt Sanford, Vassar College
Robin Williams, Jr., Cornell University
David Krech, University of California
Jerome Bruner, Harvard University
Allison Davis, University of Chicago
Daniel Katz, University of Michigan
Anne Anastasi, Fordham University
Stuart Cook, New York University
Marie Jahoda, New York University
Prof. Kenneth Clark, College of the City of New York
Bingham Dai, Duke University School of Medicine
Irving Lorge, Teachers' College, Columbia Univ.
Solomon Asch, Swarthmore College
David Rapaport, Austen Riggs Foundation)

Other authoritative social scientists are in almost unanimous agreement:

"Psychological Characteristics of the Negro," The Negro in American Society. Copyright 1958 by The Florida State University. pp. 20-23

"It is important to keep in clear focus the fact that groups of Negroes consistently make lower average test scores than do groups of whites. The major point is that the lowered scores do not reflect racial differences, but are related to forces e.g. housing, schooling none subject to change.

"It is important that we keep in mind the fact that approximately 25 per cent of the Negroes tested make scores which are higher than those of the average white person tested, and many make very high scores. Much talent among this group is currently being wasted or lost because of social and economic restrictions."

Simpson, George E., and Yinger, J. Milton. Racial and Cultural Minorities. p.228.

"...Differences in group averages become progressively smaller as life conditions (income, residence, education, occupation, etc.) become more nearly similar, and...it seems correct at the present time to hold that native intellectual capacity is substantially equal among human groups. Thus, although members of some minority groups do exhibit lower average scores in the abilities that intelligence tests measure, these must be looked upon as personality consequences of their status and not biological causes of an inferior status."

Giles, H. Harry. The Integrated Classroom. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959. p. 138.

"So far as the results now available can show, the range of intelligence among American Negroes is about the same as among American whites. The academic proficiency of American Negroes seems to vary in accordance with opportunity and psychological factors having to do with motivation, (Northern Negroes score higher than Southern Negroes as a whole, and Northern whites and Negroes score higher than Southern whites.)"

OFFICE COPY

Report No. L-10
September 15, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

EDUCATION AND INCOME

A recent study by the Industrial Development Branch of Georgia Tech's Engineering Experiment Station gives startling evidence of the close connection between education and prosperity.

Two conclusions, based upon comprehensive research, are especially noteworthy:

- each rise of one year in a county's median level of education is associated with a per capita income increase of almost $200;

- 45% of the difference in income between one county and another is determined by educational levels.

The report, titled Analysis of Georgia Personal Income Payments, by Counties (February 1959), describes only one state. Yet similar results would probably be found anywhere.

Today in the South, there is much talk of closing schools; there is also much justified pride in recent Southern economic growth. Southern business leaders might, therefore, reflect on these sentences from the report:

> "Basically, the level of per capita income is a function of productivity....
>
> ****
>
> "The educational level of a people has a bearing on productivity in numerous ways. First, the educated worker applies his manual talents to machines more skillfully and intelligently; he maintains the machines and protects his limbs with more foresight. He looks ahead and plans for the best use of machines and materials. In the case of management, this factor is even more important. Large scale enterprise, with its intricate and efficient organization, depends upon trained managers and business leaders. They are the result of the system of education, the system of government, and the religious attitudes of the people. The horizons in business are distant; they depend upon the freedom of the spirit and a concept of greatness of the individual and the country.
>
> ****

"Numerous studies have determined how yearly earnings of individuals increase with years of schooling....

****

"The intelligence and skills of a people, provided they have attitudes of diligence and thrift, determine the efficiency of the application of management and effort to production. ....Since educational level is the basic factor determining the ability of a people and their attitudes toward work, it is concluded that educational attainment is fundamental to the level of production and personal income payments. Consequently, from the standpoint of the future of Georgia, it is obvious that if the educational level of Georgia counties could be equalized, it would remove a great deal of the per capita income differences. This certainly could not be done overnight. Public education has been available in Georgia since shortly after 1900. In the approximately 60 years since that time, the state has progressed to about 8.0 median years of schooling. From 1940 to 1950 it rose only 0.8 of a year. Raising the education level of a whole people to a high point is a tremendous task. It takes not decades, nor a generation, but several generations, and perhaps nearer a century of uninterrupted, constant effort."

Office Copy

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

CONFIDENTIAL

1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

September 16, 1959

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Robert E. Hughes

RE: Meeting of Board

As mentioned in our June 26 memorandum the Board will meet in semi-annual session in Montgomery on Saturday, October 3 from 11:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. The site will be the Ala. State Teachers Assn. Bldg. on Thurman Street across from the Alabama State College gymn. We are always most fortunate to enjoy the hospitality of the A. S. T. A.'s modern comfortable facilities.

Agenda items include a review of constructive developments, our program work, finances, Annual Membership Meeting plans, and filling of two Board vacancies necessitated by the removal from the state of Andrew Turnipseed and the inability of Earl Pippin who was unable to finally accept his tentative election last February. Paul Rilling who has succeeded Fred Routh as director of field work for the S.R.C. will be present.

In the event that you are a district representative and cannot attend this meeting you are urged to secure a substitute for at least this meeting. It is important that each district be represented.

We regret that Board Members Andrew Turnipseed of Mobile and Newton Maloney of Decatur will no longer be with us. Andy was transferred to the large Asbury Methodist Church in Rochester, New York last June and Newton is now entering the Vanderbilt School of Religion for Ph. D. work. Bob Hughes was not reappointed to the Alabama Council but relegated to a temporary supernumary status without appointment which "releases" him to continue in the same work. This supernumary relationship is in the twilight zone between the active and inactive Methodist ministry. If he continues with the Alabama Council until next September he will be involuntarily located which is tantamount to being "kicked out of" the Methodist ministry.

Please return the enclosed postal at your earliest convenience indicating whether or not you will be able to attend. If someone will substitute for you include his name also. Thanks.

Report No. L-11
October 12, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LITTLE ROCK REPORT.....WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE THE SCHOOL CRISIS?

What has happened to the city? To its people? To its business? In August 1959, after Little Rock's public high schools had been closed for a full school year, after two years of turmoil in the schools, the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools - an organization of Little Rock citizens - completed a study of the effects of the school crisis on the business and professional life of Little Rock.*

"Little Rock is a beautiful city...a city that has in recent years grown rapidly in all directions. It has a new Medical Center, a new Institute of Technology, a new University. Its Main Street has grown to be the shopping center of the entire state. Its industrial program is a model of its kind. The business-and cultural climate of the city was clear and bright until a storm broke over its public school system in September, 1957." From this description, the Women's Emergency Committee goes on to describe what has happened to the city.

DID INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS KEEP UP?

.....NEW INDUSTRY SHUNNED THE CITY ENTIRELY IN 1958-59

Year	No. of New Plants Little Rock	Value	No. of New Jobs
1950	7	$ 835,000	143
1951	7	945,000	255
1952	6	295,000	163
1953	2	100,000	30
1954	3	1,350,000	150
1955	5	1,393,000	565
1956	2	325,000	70
1957	8	3,092,000	1002
September 1957, Trouble at Central High School			
1958		none	
1959		none	

* Little Rock Report - The City, Its People, Its Business. Copies are available from the Women's Emergency Committee, Box 3244, Forest Heights Station, Little Rock, Arkansas. Single copies $1.00; 2-10 copies, .75 each; over 10 copies, .50 each.

Before the school crisis new industries were moving into Little Rock. After the crisis, none came. Industrial managers said to Women's Emergency Committee interviewers that they thought that new plants have avoided Little Rock because of the school situation. The Executive Director of the Little Rock Industrial Development Company warned: "We haven't begun to feel this thing yet. After all, the plants which decided to locate here in 1957 are still being built or have just been completed."

.....AND EXPANSIONS OF EXISTING PLANTS EXPERIENCED AN ABRUPT DECLINE

Year	No. of Expansions Little Rock	Value	No. of Jobs
1950	6	$2,110,000	. . .
1951	3	475,000	. . .
1952	9	2,150,000	. . .
1953	7	820,000	. . .
1954	1	500,000	. . .
1955	8	1,250,000	194
1956	8	1,350,000	212
1957	3	913,985	70
September 1957, Trouble at Central High School			
1958	1	325,000	50
1959	1	268,000	. . .

.....LITTLE ROCK INDUSTRIALISTS MADE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS

No new industry will locate in a community of bad race relations no matter what the school situation.

If the schools continue to be closed, then no additional industry will come. People and industry will shy away from here and people will move away. Eventually every business in Little Rock will be affected.

I don't think the school situation will help bring in any other jobs.

If schools are not opened it will definitely affect the lives of all boys and girls in Little Rock. People will be moving away. Industries will by-pass Arkansas. Production will stop. The State of Arkansas will be hurt. Little Rock will become a ghost town. It is getting harder for people without an education to get jobs.

Production is below expected capacity as no new industry has located here which is this plant's major outlet - all due to the school situation.

Industrial work has slacked off so we are directly affected. If the schools remain closed industry won't be building or expanding.

The future of our work depends on the growth of municipalities... others (in the firm) have expressed concern over the school situation as the business has felt some lag recently, but they feel it is too early to consider it significant.

It hasn't affected us yet but I think it will affect everyone - business is bound to slow down. Industries won't come because of the schools - people can't afford to send their children away.

My company believes a city without public education is not a good location for a plant - it is concerned enough that they voluntarily contributed to STOP... Company feels that being a good citizen means supporting public education.

DID THE CITY GROW?

.....NEWCOMER FAMILIES TO LITTLE ROCK DECLINED*

	1956	1957	1958	1959
Little Rock	1975	2076	1807	1391
North Little Rock	630	680	690	795
Military Personnel	873	586	455	190

On the basis of the first six months of the year, it is estimated that the number of Arkansas families moving into the city will be one-third fewer than in 1957. Out-of-state newcomers, it is estimated, will be almost 50% fewer.

.....ESPECIALLY IN THE LITTLE ROCK SCHOOL DISTRICT*

	1956	1957	1958	1959
Little Rock School District	1835	1922	1628	1239
County School District, inside Little Rock	140	154	179	152

North Little Rock, in sharp contrast, experienced a steady growth in the number of newcomer families.

* From listings of newcomers maintained by the Chamber of Commerce of Little Rock and based on utility company reports. 1959 figures are based on first six months.

.....REAL ESTATE IS OFF

The owner of one of the leading real estate companies in the city stated: "We have found a great deal of resistance from newcomers to purchasing property in Little Rock until the school situation has been resolved. The sale of homes is off between 20 and 25 percent in Greater Little Rock for this year (1959) over last...Rentals are off...Two weeks ago we had 20% more vacancies than a year ago."

.....BUILDING IS OFF THIS YEAR

Employment in Little Rock's building industry is running 10% below the 1958 level. This is a greater decline than in the state at large, and a sharp contrast to the national increase in building employment. The value of building permits in the Little Rock area was down 12% from the 1958 level. A Dallas Chamber of Commerce survey found larger declines in only two of ten Southwest cities. While the number of residential building permits authorized in Little Rock was higher in 1959 than in 1958 - by more than 10% -, U. S. Department of Labor figures show that 20 of 25 Southern cities surveyed recorded larger increases in authorized building permits.

IS THE COMMUNITY PROSPEROUS?

.....INCOME GAIN HAS FALLEN BELOW THE REST OF THE STATE

Per Cent Gain in Total Personal Income
(Source: University of Arkansas Bureau of Business Research)

	1956	1957	1958
Pulaski County, (Includes Little Rock)	6.2	6.1	5.2
Arkansas	4.5	3.1	6.1

Per Cent Gain in Urban Income per Person
(Source: Blue Book of Southern Progress)

	1954-56	1956-58
Little Rock	11	15
All Arkansas Cities	6	20

.....AND EFFECTIVE BUYING INCOME DECLINED

Per Cent Change in Effective Buying Income Per Household, 1956-58 (Source: Sales Management)

Little Rock	-7%	U. S. Cities	2%
Arkansas	6%	United States	5%

The decline in Little Rock family income was sharper than in all but one of 25 other Arkansas cities surveyed by Sales Management. It was also sharper than that in all but one of the 26 leading Mid- and South-west cities surveyed.

Little Rock fell from 202nd to 268th place among metropolitan county areas ranked by Sales Management according to family buying income. Little Rock - North Little Rock slipped from 102nd to 112th place among metropolitan areas.

.....WHILE THE AVERAGE WORKER IN LITTLE ROCK LOST GROUND IN INCOME GROWTH

Average Workers Income Gain (Source: U.S. Department of Labor)

	1956-57	1958-59
Little Rock	6%	4%
Arkansas	2%	11%
United States	4%	11%

Wages increased almost three times faster in the nation and state than in the city. 21 of 24 Central U. S. cities recorded larger gains in worker incomes between May 1958 and May 1959 than did Little Rock.

HOW'S BUSINESS?

.....BUSINESS VOLUME, TOTAL CONSUMER PURCHASES, RETAIL SALES PER PERSON LAGGED

Little Rock historically has been the commercial center of Arkansas. What has happened on Main Street?

*Business volume increased less in Little Rock between 1956 and 1958

...than in the average Arkansas city
...than in the state as a whole

This was in sharp contrast to the years 1954-56 when Little Rock's business volume expanded almost double the rate of the average Arkansas city and the state as a whole.

* Source: Blue Book of Southern Progress

*Total Consumer Purchases in the Little Rock area were 10% greater in 1958 than in 1956.

This increase was less than the increase in other Arkansas cities, however, and less than the increase in the state.

In the preceding period consumer buying in the Little Rock area outstripped buying in other Arkansas cities, and increased almost twice as fast as in the state as a whole.

**Retail Sales per person failed to rise in Pulaski County between 1956 and 1958. Sales per person in the state as a whole, however, climbed by 4% during the same period.

.....AND DEPARTMENT STORE SALES ARE LAGGING BEHIND SALES IN COMPARABLE CITIES

Federal Reserve Board records show that Little Rock department store sales this year are better. In June, for example, Little Rock sales were 4% above what they were the year before. Business was up in Little Rock, but not up as much as in Memphis (up 23% over last year) or as in the entire 8th District which recorded a 7% gain over the same month last year. Reserve Board figures show, moreover, that they not only have failed to rise as fast this year as the District's, but that last year they fell almost twice as much.

The June sales figures reflect the sales picture for the first half of 1959. Little Rock sales were up almost 6% over the corresponding period last year, but sales in most other cities climbed even more. Two-thirds of the cities in the Mid-West and South recorded larger gains in sales than did Little Rock. The nearby cities of Memphis, Jackson, Dallas, Tulsa, Louisville, Houston and Oklahoma City all recorded larger gains this year than did Little Rock. Average sales in the U. S. as well as in the entire 8th District ran higher than in Little Rock during the first half of 1959.

*Source: Blue Book of Southern Progress
**Source: University of Arkansas Bureau of Business Research

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE PEOPLE?

.....PEOPLE WITH PROFESSIONAL TRAINING ARE LEAVING

These are the people who are leaders in community life. A disturbance in education is a disturbance in community life - and many professional people retain a mobility which provides them some choice as to the community in which they will live and in which they will raise their children. The Women's Emergency Committee Survey found:

One out of five of the professionally trained people said they were leaving Little Rock - or that they plan to leave IF the public high schools do not open this year.

A number of others said they would prefer to leave - but that they do not want to start their careers over, or they are unable to do so.

90% of the professional people who commented wanted the public high schools open.

(The economic status of professionals was impaired during the two years of chaos in public education, WEC interviewers found. Doctors reported their practices were suffering because of school situation effects on the community. Engineering firms reported adverse effect upon business. Possible curtailment of Little Rock University faculty was threatened, as a consequence of enrollment decreases resulting from closed high schools.)

.....AND JOBS ARE BEGGING

Some personnel men said in interviews:

It's very difficult to secure personnel. Have not recruited any with high school age children since this situation began. Three or four have already turned us down.

One from Ft. Smith and one from El Dorado refused to accept positions because of school situation - one managerial, one accountant.

I am already faced with the problem of securing personnel...New people will not come in. Had one very desirable registered engineer turn us down specifically because he refused to move his family into the unsettled school situation.

Engineering Firms said:

Have had two emphatic refusals from men offered jobs to come to Little Rock...and my firm has felt the effect in trying to employ new people. We recently had a definite rejection because of the school situation here.

And...Arkansas Baptist Hospital is short about 35 nurses - due in part to the school situation according to their official magazine...nurses having high school age children have moved away and fewer nurses have moved into the community.

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE OFFICE ACTIVITY REPORT

For period June, July, Aug., Sept., 1959

In the absence of any developments of broad significance or particularly inflamatory incidents, the racial climate throughout the state this summer was one of relative calm. External developments doubtless did exert a subtle influence when interracial crime and disorder received such wide publicity and the futility of resistance in Little Rock and Virginia became a mildly sobering reality. Nevertheless, problems and opportunities arising in more restricted areas forced the State Office to maintain a steady pace more characteristic of the winter months.

I. WORK WITH GROUPS

A. A. C. H. R. AFFILIATES:

1. The Executive Director attended at least one meeting of each chapter holding meetings during the period (Tuscaloosa, Montgomery, East Piedmont District, Birmingham), on each occasion consulting with local officers on local plans, problems and in some instances cultivating prospective members and community figures.

2. The East Black District was organized on a provisional basis in June with permanent status awaiting the Director's availability for cultivation work among whites in the Auburn and Tuskegee areas in the fall.

B. INDEPENDENT BI-RACIAL ORGANIZATIONS:

1. Limited contact has been maintained with the Dothan group which the Director helped organize last quarter and the older Auburn group.

2. As a member of the State Ministers Conference Planning Committee, the Director participated in that body's September meeting and in the exploratory meeting of eighty church leaders looking toward the eventual establishment of a state council of churches.

3. Conferences were held with the chairman and several members of the Alabama Civil Rights Advisory Committee offering the services of our office by indirect means as might be needed.

C. WORK WITH OTHER GROUPS:

1. The Director made presentations to the Congregational Churche's youth workshop at Southern Union College in June, three local churches in the Boston area in July, and the A.M.E. Churche's State Laymens Institute at Daniel Payne College in August.

2. A supplement was prepared for the report of the Board of Economic and Social Relations of the Central Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church meeting in June calling upon the two white Methodist conferences in Alabama to appoint committees to meet with one of its own in the winter to explore common problems and concerns. This proposal was passed by the Board and Conference and is in the process of being relayed on to the other conferences.

3. In August the Director convened an informal group of key figures in several powerful organizations, some state-wide in scope, for the purpose of sharing information, ideas and concerted action concerning common problems. Having met only twice, this "inter-group committee" has already moved effectively against the Klan on one recent occasion.

II. INFORMATION SERVICES

A. PRESS: During the period information has been supplied to the "Birmingham News" and "Post Herald", "Birmingham World", WBRC-TV, A.P., U.P.I., "Time", "Milwaukee Journal" and "Chicago Tribune". More significant, story ideas on Alabama developments have been presented to the "New York Times", "Washington Star" and "Christian Century" which resulted in dispatching writers to the state and feature articles in each case on Klan activity and the Methodist Laymens Union.

B. PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS: Information was supplied to the F.B.I., Jefferson County and Pickens County sheriff's offices, the Anti-Defamation League, National Conference of Christians and Jews, three national Methodist and United Presbyterian boards, American Friends Service Committee, the state A.F.L.-C.I.O. Council.

III. FUND RAISING

The Underwriters Club has eased some of the financial strain on the organization, but more efforts were needed. The State Office continued mail solicitations, primarily outside of the state, and the Director spent three weeks in July in N. Y. C. and Boston speaking to groups and contacting concerned organizational figures. Collections covered all travel expenses. It is too early to determine the probability of long term support.

IV. "TROUBLESHOOTING"

A. PICKENS COUNTY KLAN FLOGGINGS: When the Pickens County grand jury reported that one white and nine Negroes had been whipped by groups of robed men in the county over the past two years, the Director immediately went to the small community where most of the incidents occurred and arranged a meeting between three key white community figures. Persuasion failed to move them toward any of several suggested courses of action. The families of several Negro victims were located, questioned and instructed to immediately get word to our district chairman in Tuscaloosa in the event of prospect of recurrences. In each case there was prayer and the assurance of our love and concern. An unreported dynamiting, an additional flogging and the names of the first suspects were uncovered and turned over to the Pickens County sheriff.

B. REV. TOM REEVES: This young student pastor was barred from his pastorate last quarter after publically attacking the Methodist Laymans Union, This quarter he was eventually removed from his assignment, threatened, and subjected to economic pressure. The Director arranged conferences between prominent churchmen in his behalf, covenants of prayer, counseled him, channeled limited funds to him, and finally arranged for him to write a narrative article for the "Christian Century" subsequently published in September.

C. REV. ROBERT HUGHES: Over most the period the Director found himself in the unusual situation of "troubleshooting" his own case. After the Laymens Union initial widely publicized attack on his work and ministerial status in May, charges were leveled publically at district rallies in June and July until they finally stimulated some 100 Ku Klux Klansmen to burn a large cross in front of his home one night in late July. These forces were finally partially successful in September when North Alabama Methodist Conference officials refused to renew his appointment and pension privileges which had been granted for the past five years. He was assigned to a supernumary status for a year at the end of which time he will be released from the active Methodist ministry if his status with the Council is not changed.

OFFICE COPY

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Program report only also sent to all underwritters.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

October 22, 1959

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Robert E. Hughes

RE: Board meeting transactions

Fourteen members of the Board met on Oct. 3 at the Ala. State Teachers Assn. Building in Montgomery. The session centered around reports on activities over the state by district chairmen and leaders followed by discussion with business and finances receiving relatively short consideration. This was one of our most interesting meetings in some time. Paul Rilling, new Director of Field Service of the S. R. C. participated.

I. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES: While it is impossible to give a resume of each presentation with the exception of the attached State Office report, the Montgomery and Tuscaloosa groups are currently relating themselves to important local problems in meaningful ways. Faced with the probability of a school suit in Montgomery, the M. C. H. R. is carefully surveying comparative school facilities, curriculum and origins of the two systems. Once the obvious inequities are reduced to statistics, the facts will be transmitted by various means to the white community showing that the separate facilities have never been equal.

In the wake of several incidents involving groups of whites beating Negroes, the T. C. H. R. is surveying "Tuscaloosa News" files since 1954 to reveal to the public the cumulative picture of this growing trend. The State Ministers Conference constitutes another bright spot, a committee of which has succeeded in initiating two "exploratory conferences" aimed at securing a state council of churches. On the other side, little or no activity could be reported from the two Black Belt, Wiregrass and Tenn. Valley Districts with student work restricted to isolated local activity.

II. MEMBERSHIP:

In order to increase the outreach of the Council's program and to broaden its basis of support, a campaign was adopted to build the membership from a current 443 to 600 by Feb. 1 representing an increase of 1/3 in the remaining three months. A breakdown would yield the following district goals:

District	Oct. 1 Total	Jan. 30 Goal	Increase
Tenn. Valley	20	30	10
West Piedmont	64	86	22
East Piedmont	73	100	27
Birmingham	75	100	25
West Black Belt	12	18	6

East Black Belt	27	42	15
Wiregrass	4	9	5
Mobile	59	80	21
Montgomery	80	107	27
Out of State	29	40	10
Total	443	600	157

III. ANNUAL MEETING: The date of the 1960 Annual Membership Meeting was set for Saturday, Feb. 6 at Talladega College.

IV. FINANCES: Attached you will find the Treasurers report for the period Feb. 1 - Sept. 30.

The Director presented the following analysis of needs for the rest of the fiscal year. Some of the "Needed Efforts" burden was rearranged. Changes are incorporated here.

Source	First 8 Mon.	Expected from Present Efforts	Needed Efforts
SRC	$5,600	$1,400	$1,400
Cash on Hand	751	900	900
Underwriters	1,435	600	1,100
Contributions from Individuals	660	200	500
Contributions from Organizations	285	300	500
Memberships	850	300	400
Misc.	80	-	-
Totals	$11,670	$3,700	$4,800

Balance in Budget	$5,100
Two items able to "give"	300
Needed	4,800
Normally expected	3,700
Balance	$1,100

Plans to marshall the needed effort were adopted:

* Underwriters Club, Dr. A. C. Winn - All due pledges paid - $900, ten new members in Oct. - $200
* Individual Contributions, solicitations by State Office, Dist. Chairman
* Organizational Contributions, Mrs. A. W. West - $25 gifts from ten organizations - $250, plus $250 gift already committed.
* Memberships, District Chairmen - Dist. Chairmen promoting dist. campaigns

A tentative budget for next year was submitted by the Director but consideration was delayed until the Annual Meeting Board session.

V. NEXT MEETING: Members present requested a special Board meeting for the exclusive purpose of mapping out an overall strategy for our work in the light of future needs. This meeting was set for Sat., Dec. 5 at 10:00 a.m. in Montgomery.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS October 1, 1959

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR FIRST EIGHT MONTHS OF CURRENT FISCAL YEAR

(February 1, 1959 - September 30, 1959)

INCOME

Contributions	$ 4,386.15
Memberships	851.00
Sale of Literature	59.54
Refunds	5.50
Misc.	16.87
Southern Regional Council	5,600.00
TOTAL	$ 10,919.06
Plus cash on hand at close of previous year, January 31, 1959	751.69
TOTAL	$ 11,670.75

(Average monthly income during period approximately $1,364.88)

DISBURSEMENTS

	Cumulative	Balance in Budget
Rent	$ 500.00	$ 250.00
Social Security	94.39	95.61
Telephone	369.34	160.66
Office Supplies	550.56	319.44
Travel	677.12	522.88
Electricity	19.26	25.74
Housing Allowance	666.64	333.36
Salaries	4,845.74	2,974.26
New South	520.00	330.00
Misc.	21.31	78.69
TOTAL	$8,264.36	$5,090.64

(Average monthly expenditures approximately $1,033.04)

Total Funds Available	$11,670.75
Funds Reserved for next year	- 2,500.00
	$ 9,170.75
Disbursements	- 8,264.36
Balance	$ 906.39

Report No. L-12
November 16, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"I can't understand why school boards do not take some action on their own initiative instead of waiting for Negroes to bring law suits against them. The opinion of the Supreme Court is well known, and surely the board members have read about these things happening at Little Rock and Nashville. Why do they wait until the last minute and then come up here and claim they need more time in which to adopt a policy?" -- U. S. Judge William E. Miller, Middle District, Tennessee

So much attention has been given to court battles over desegregation that it is often overlooked that most desegregation since 1954 has been initiated voluntarily. Of the 269 bi-racial school districts which have desegregated in Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas, only 11 were under court order to do so.*

The state-by-state record of districts which have voluntarily desegregated is as follows:

Arkansas

Bentonville
Charleston
Fayetteville
Fort Smith

In addition, in three other Arkansas districts the first steps toward desegregation were voluntary. This was so in Hoxie, where the school board obtained a court injunction against rioters protesting desegregation; there have been no further difficulties. In Little Rock, although desegregation was initially voluntary, subsequent deterioration of law and order landed the issue in the courts. Ozark has desegregated and resegregated off and on for two years; apparently no Negroes are in attendance this year.

*Some 500 districts of Delaware, the District of Columbia, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia desegregated voluntarily.

Florida

Dade County - In one of the two desegregated schools in the district, Orchard Villa, difficulty was experienced in that white enrollment dropped considerably, due to the transitional nature of the neighborhood's residential pattern as well as to desegregation. The other desegregated school serves children of personnel at Homestead Air Base; it is, however, county owned and operated and open to any child in the attendance area.

Kentucky

One hundred and seventeen of Kentucky's 123 bi-racial desegregated school districts have desegregated voluntarily.

North Carolina

Although there have been several suits in North Carolina challenging the pace of desegregation, all seven of the state's desegregated districts acted without court compulsion.

Charlotte
Craven County (Havelock)
Durham
Greensboro
High Point
Wayne County (Goldsboro)
Winston-Salem

Desegregated schools in Craven County and Wayne County serve children of military personnel, but are under county school board jurisdiction.

Tennessee

Three of the four desegregated districts in this state acted under court order. The fourth is Oak Ridge, where at the time of initial desegregation schools were operated by the federal government under contract with Anderson County.

Texas

All of the 125 desegregated districts of Texas acted voluntarily, and these include 26 districts in counties

of eastern Texas where the population ranges from 6% to 30% non-white. These districts are as follows:

District	County
Killeen	Bell
San Antonio, and ten other districts in	Bexar
County Independent	Calhoun
Nordheim	DeWitt
Four districts in	Gaudalupe
San Marcos	Hays
Echols	Limestone
Three districts in	Refugio
Austin	Travis
Two districts in	Victoria

Office Copy

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

November 30, 1959

JUST A REMINDER THAT -

The Board of Directors of the Alabama Council will convene in special session this coming Saturday, Dec. 5 in Montgomery at the Ala. State Teachers Assn. Bldg. on Thurman St. across from the Alabama State College Gymn at 10:00 a.m. The meeting will adjourn around 2:30 or 3:00 p.m.

This will actually be a much needed workshop session at the request of Board members in which we shall consider in depth our goals, role and strategy at both state and local levels. The emphasis will be for members to talk rather than be "talked at" with the Executive Director and the S. R. C.'s able new Director of Field Work, Paul Rilling, merely setting the context and serving as consultants for specific informational purposes.

Don't miss this important meeting.

Report No. L-13
December 15, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"DID YOU FIND THAT THERE WAS MUCH DIFFERENCE IN THE ABILITY OF NEGRO CHILDREN TO RECEIVE AND PROFIT BY INSTRUCTION?"

On September 13, 1959, Omer Carmichael, Superintendent of the Louisville Public Schools, appeared on a televised panel discussion in Atlanta. The other panelists for the program, which told the Louisville public school story, were Mrs. Fran Breeden, chairman of the Board of Directors of HOPE (Help Our Public Education); Dr. Willis Sutton, former superintendent of schools in Atlanta; and Dr. Sam Webb, Emory University professor of psychology. The telecast was sponsored by the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

During the program, Mr. Carmichael was asked about the scholastic problems and results of desegregation in Louisville. His comments in reply were as follows:

* * * *

Question:

Did you find that there was much difference in the ability of Negro children to receive and profit by instruction? Was that superior in the white? Was that difficult and did it bring up any problems of discipline?

Mr. Carmichael:

Dr. Sutton, I see three or four questions in one there. You use "ability" and you use "achievement." Now let's distinguish between the two for a moment.

I'm no psychologist, no anthropologist, and I don't try to say, on my own knowledge, whether there is equality or

inequality in native ability among races of people. I can merely say that the experts tell us there are no provable differences among the races in native capacities. Now, with respect to achievement, we know there are differences in achievement, and that's what we've got to work with. So, then, we never bothered ourselves with trying to answer to anybody's satisfaction whether the Negro child is less intelligent or more intelligent than the white child. We have just worked with them wherever they were.

Now where are they? We have one of the most complete test records in Louisville. I went there in 1945 and the records were there for ten or fifteen years back, by schools and by race. We have continued the pattern and added some new tests. The average Negro child in the sixth grade in 1956 was about one-and-one-half years behind the average white child in the sixth grade. At the eighth grade, the difference was about two years, and by the time you got to the twelfth grade, it was still greater.

Now these are deplorable differences and they present problems, of course. But you have a tremendous spread in a white group of whatever grade from your low-capacity youngster to your high, or from your low achiever to your high achiever. You find in placing Negro and white children in the same classroom, when you put them grade for grade, that there is a wider spread of achievement.

Question:

Has that tended to become less and less through the years?

Mr. Carmichael:

Well, you see, we've been desegregated for three years only. I can give some pretty good documentation for the first two years because one of our very able principals, on a sabbatical leave, wrote a doctor's thesis on what happens to pupil achievement in a good-size school system in the process of school desegregation.

He broke that study down; he tested some thirty-odd thousand children in elementary schools -- because this study was, I believe, limited only to the elementary level. He took the Negro in the all-Negro schools, the Negro when he is in a minority of five per cent or less, when he is in a minority of from five to fifteen, or from fifteen to twenty-five or from twenty-five and up. And this is the sort of summary that you could give: The Negro improved. When we tested, we looked at the results the year before desegregation and then looked at them after the second year of desegregation and found that the Negro in all grades had improved - and by an amount that was statistically significant.

What happened to the white children, you ask? They, too, had improved, but by an amount not statistically significant. In other words, it was a slight improvement for the whites; a substantial improvement for the Negroes. I can't

answer with as great definiteness for the third year, because no such study has been made with the same completeness, but the impression of our teachers is that that pattern continues.

Question:

Mr. Carmichael, these children who were studied in these tests, I assume, were just in the schools where they were mixed.

Mr. Carmichael:

No, all white children, all Negro children; in other words, all thirty-odd thousand children in the elementary grades of the system.

Question:

And Negro children in all-Negro schools also showed this improvement?

Mr. Carmichael:

Negro children in the all-Negro schools also improved.

Question:

Well, how do you account for this?

Mr. Carmichael:

That's a long story.

When the question has been asked, I have said that the average Negro teacher is not as good as the average white teacher. This has disturbed our Negro teachers a great deal. I have sat down with the four hundred of them at one stage and for two hours answered questions that they asked about my public statements to that effect. They know that

I am not unkind about it. I simply am being realistic. It's true. There isn't a shred of doubt in my mind about it. There are excellent Negro teachers, and there are excellent white teachers. But if you take the average, the average Negro teacher is not as good as the average white teacher. Now, these Negro teachers, wherever they worked, said, "The Superintendent is saying we aren't as good as the white teachers, so let's show him." And they've worked as I've never seen teachers work. The result was that they've carried the Negro children, in the all-Negro schools, right up with all the other Negro children.

Question:

The fact that the white children have improved, too, goes to indicate, does it not, that they have not been hurt by this?

Mr. Carmichael:

The most frequently asked question in our public meetings was, "What will happen to the scholarship of the white children as you put Negro and white together?" Well, we think here is at least a partial answer -- we pledged that no matter how hard we made it for the Negro children, we would not lower the standards for the System as a whole.

Question:

Do you feel this standard has been maintained?

Mr. Carmichael:

Yes, sir. If anything, it has been improved.

Question:

Does this mean that you have more Negroes who have to repeat classes than previously?

Mr. Carmichael:

It has resulted in higher non-promotion of Negro children. You put seven Negro children who have been classified as sixth grade in the Negro school in a group of 24 white children who are a year and a half ahead of them, and those Negro children are up against it terrifically. Now, we actually permitted some of them to transfer back to Negro schools early in the semester when they found they couldn't keep up. We dealt kindly and patiently with them. Sometimes when the parents would come and ask for transfer, the teacher would say, "Now Mary has not caught up yet, but if you will be patient, I believe Mary will." At other times we have said, "You're right, Mary needs to go back where the competition will not be so tough."

* * * *

Single copies of the full text of the program are available on request to the Southern Regional Council. On May 3, 1959 Dr. Carl F. Hansen, superintendent of schools in Washington, D. C., was interviewed by a panel consisting of Harry Boyte, who was then executive director of HOPE; Dr. John A. Griffin, director of community education at Emory University; and Devereaux McClatchey, Atlanta attorney and former chairman of the Atlanta Board of Education. Single copies of the transcript of Dr. Hansen's program are available on request to the Southern Regional Council.

Report No. L-14
January 15, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"We believe that a sound system of free public schools is the surest foundation and greatest hope for a free society."

A REPORT FROM VIRGINIA

In late October, 1959 the Virginia Education Association held in Richmond its annual meeting. The actions it took in regard to the desegregation controversy are described in the following news reports.*

.....from the Richmond News-Leader, October 28, 1959

In a session marked by quiet unanimity, Virginia's school superintendents went on record today backing "a sound system of free public schools." The resolution, which made no mention of private schools or even the race problem in general for that matter, was adopted unanimously without discussion by the Virginia Association of School Administrators.

The superintendents' meeting was the first on the agenda as the 75th annual convention of the Virginia Education Association got into full swing. Talks with some delegates indicate the superintendents' reluctance to debate the controversial race problem will typify this year's VEA sessions. The quietness of today's session was in sharp contrast with the superintendents' meeting a year ago when some Virginia schools were shut down under the old laws of massive resistance to integration. At that time, the superintendents beat down a resolution proposed by Norfolk Superintendent J. J. Brewbaker that would have put the school chiefs on record as being "gravely concerned" by the school closings. The six schools in Norfolk which were closed at that time were reopened last February on an integrated basis after the massive resistance laws had been knocked down by the courts.

The resolution adopted by the superintendents today said: "We believe that a sound system of free public schools is the surest foundation and greatest hope for a free society. We further believe that consistent and deliberate effort should

* The educator's meeting followed by three weeks the Virginia Congress of Parents and Teachers. At that meeting, a resolution favoring public education for all children was passed by a vote of 20 P-TA districts to four. A resolution calling for a statewide compulsory attendance law (Virginia repealed its law in 1959) was passed 18-5.

be made to improve the character and quality of education for all children and youth in the commonwealth of Virginia."

.....from the Richmond News-Leader, October 29, 1959

Serious doubts about hastily organized private schools in Virginia have been raised in a report adopted by the Virginia Education Association. The report of the VEA's educational policies commission, adopted last night by the delegates to the 75th annual VEA convention, said:

"New non-public schools can only be organized with great difficulty if they have due regard for quality education."

The report said Virginia cities must recognize that the state public school system was built with painstaking care at great cost and that it has produced impressive results.

The report added: "Non-public schools of high quality have also benefited from a long period of effective development. New non-public schools can only be organized with great difficulty if they have due regard for quality education." Private schools have been set up quickly in several Virginia areas where the public schools have been integrated, including Prince Edward county, Charlottesville, Warren county and Norfolk.

The report approved by the VEA added: "Aside from the absence of adequate physical facilities, new schools which are isolated from established systems must be prepared to seek qualified staff members, pay adequate salaries, establish relationships with good colleges, set up sound pension systems, and solve a host of other problems. High standards are difficult to obtain in schools which have no secure tradition of quality and progress. Excellent teachers hesitate to associate themselves with traditionless educational organizations.

"The physical problems to be solved are also enormous. Libraries comparable to those which are the result of years of accumulation cannot be developed overnight. The advance in science requires expensive and technically correct laboratories, and it takes time to finance the necessary acquisition of all kinds of instructional aids.

"It should be recognized that no one can with certainty predict how the courts will rule on the legality of the scholarship program. New non-public schools may be in an extremely unfavorable position if they do not have adequate financial support from sources outside the state treasury.

"Our present need is to maintain and enhance all existing educational resources of the Commonwealth. Any movement among our people which would diminish this vital asset will deprive future generations of their birthright and the nation of their badly needed services."

The 26-person commission was headed by H. I. Willett, superintendent of the Richmond public school system. At today's VEA session at the Mosque, the delegates voted to adopt a resolution commending the work of Willett's commission and endorsing the commission's "excellent report." The educational policies commission also said in its report that there should be compulsory attendance in schools even though "no parent should be required to send his child to an integrated school against his will."

* * *

In other resolutions, the huge organization of white educators:

1. Reaffirmed its belief and faith in the "public school system which emphasizes education for all children up to the limits of their capabilities as individuals."

2. Commended Governor Almond and the General Assembly for "enacting legislation to assure the continued operation of the public schools as a state-supported function." The resolution said the educators are "heartened by the courageous leadership that Governor Almond is providing both Virginia and the South in the preservation and improvement of public education."

* * *

The VEA's third general session will be held tonight at the Mosque. Stuart T. Saunders, president of Norfolk and Western Railway Co., will speak on "Public Education--Foundation for Progress."

.....from the Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 30, 1959

"...No state can turn its back on public education today without inviting cultural and economic disaster," Saunders said. Merely preserving public schools is not enough, he added. "We must also improve them because the educational level of our citizens is one of the key factors in economic growth and prosperity." Good schools attract industry, he said, and the economic strength industry brings with it means more money for better schools. Saunders praised [Governor] Almond for "guiding us to a sensible solution of the school problem. His courageous stand in favor of public education certainly deserves the strong support of all Virginians."

.....from the Washington Post & Times-Herald, October 30, 1959

Meanwhile the Negro Teachers Association went on record today urging parents and educators to instruct Negro youths to become integrated into the social and economic culture of the Nation. A resolution adopted at the annual convention of the organization said they "recognize that many of the traits ascribed to the Negro originate from his position as a member of a minority group rather than from his race. Such a situation will continue to prevail until the Negro becomes fully integrated..."

The Association also went on record as deploring the decision of Prince Edward County Supervisors to close public schools. "We urge officials of Prince Edward County to reconsider their action in the light of its harmful effect on the Virginia economy," the resolution said. They also called for the appointment of Negroes to "State and local commissions, study groups or educational policy-making bodies. We note that during these times...few if any Negroes have been appointed to the State and local commissions..."

.....Editorial, from the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, November 2, 1959

The Virginia Association of School Administrators at its Richmond meeting on Wednesday passed with what was described as "quiet unanimity" a resolution supporting "a sound system of free public schools."

This association, which is largely composed of division superintendents of schools, refused a year ago to be even "gravely concerned" over the closing of Virginia public schools under the massive resistance program then in operation. At that time 10,000 Norfolk school children had been locked out of their schools. The lock-out was part of the state's total resistance to taking one step toward compliance with federal court orders that had been issued in Virginia to carry out the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. Superintendent J. J. Brewbaker, of the Norfolk public schools, offered a resolution at the 1958 meeting that would have put the school superintendents on record as being "gravely concerned" by the closing of public schools. The resolution was defeated.

But the Virginia Education Association itself, in which the larger voice is that of the classroom teachers of Virginia public schools, in 1958 was "gravely concerned" over the closing of schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville, and Warren County that had locked a total of 13,000 children out of their schools.

"We are gravely concerned," said the teachers' resolution, which was passed in the ratio of 19 to 1, "over the closing of public schools in Virginia. We reaffirm that we will exert all possible effort toward the preservation and improvement of a system of free public schools in Virginia which we believe to be essential for the preservation of our Virginia democracy." The teachers urged Governor Almond "to call a special session of the General Assembly at an early date" to enact legislation that would open the schools and assure their continued state support. Governor Almond chided the teachers for the passage of their resolution. So did Lieutenant Governor A. E. S. Stephens. Mr. Stephens said that "every loyal teacher, every thoughtful Virginian," should adhere to massive resistance until the General Assembly decided a change was needed.

The teachers of the state, as the teachers of Norfolk had done, demonstrated the finest loyalty to their state and to the ideals of their profession. They got no help from the leaders of Virginia. The courts brought the change that was needed from massive resistance. The loyalty of Virginia's teachers remains a bright spot in an otherwise dark (and almost incredibly stupid) chapter of Virginia government.

Their loyalty is one reason why in 1959 the controversy over massive resistance no longer rages. The issue is dead. In one isolated instance -- Prince Edward County -- public education has for the time being been destroyed. But nowhere else in Virginia is it threatened. That is why the school superintendents this year could enjoy their "quiet unanimity."

OFFICE COPY

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
January 20, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Robert E. Hughes

RE: Report on Dec. 5 meeting, matters pending.

Report on Dec. 5 Meeting: Ten members attended the Dec. 5 board meeting in Montgomery called for the purpose of examining our program work. Both because of the nature of the subject and the discussion itself, it is difficult to convey specifics and conclusions. It was noted that local groups throughout the state are questing for their purpose and role and in most cases frustrated without finding satisfactory answers. A possible reason advanced is the difficulty of finding a level of involvement that is both effective and "safe" within the prevailing racial climate. A consensus of thought indicated that imagination, ideas and less caution were needed at all levels at which time Father Foley proposed a two phase "communications" program.

This program would present pertinent information on saving education, voting democracy, economic expansion, etc. through utilization of mass media advertising to the general public and direct mailings to special interest and occupational groups. This project would be staffed, supervised by an appropriate policy board, could be under A.C.H.R. or ad hoc auspices and financed by a foundation grant of from $35,000 - $75,000 over four years.

After considerable discussion the project was approved and assigned to a committee for preparation. Father Foley has distributed to board members a copy of the draft proposal. In the light of responses on the part of several key leaders absent from the meeting, Rev. Gregory has placed the proposal on the agenda of the Feb. 5 board meeting for more thorough consideration of the program's implications and S. R. C. appraisal, to be followed by submission to the membership meeting on Feb. 6. This program represents a dramatic departure from past policy and it is felt that Annual Meeting consideration is in order.

Matters Pending

Next Meeting: The next board meeting is set for Friday evening, Feb. 5 at Talladega College in Talladega to be followed by the Annual Membership Meeting 10:30 A.M. - 3:00 P.M. the following day, Saturday Feb. 6 (Oct. 22, 1959 Board Memo). Overnight accommodations will be provided by the college. The exact opening hour of the board meeting and reservation cards will be distributed shortly.

Committee Appointments: Rev. Gregory has made the following committee appointments.

1. Annual Meeting Committee - H. C. Trenholm, chrm,, Gregory, Brooks, Thrasher, Hughes. The program is now complete and features an address by the minister-chairman of the H.O.P.E. organization in Norfolk, Va. and the immediate past executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. Reports will be made from all chapters on their work during the past year.

2. Nominating Committee - J. C. Wilson, chrm., David Vann.

3. Audit Committee - David Vann, chrm. J. C. Wilson

4. Constitutional Revision Committee - R. D. Crockett, chrm. Mrs. Frank Anderson. No revision or amendments are necessarily anticipated, but as a routine matter this committee will study the document, consider any suggestions from board members (a copy for your use is attached), and report at the board meeting.

5. Information Project Committee - Father Albert Foley, chrm. Gregory, Hughes. Should you need a copy of the proposal or desire to make suggestions write Father Foley at Springhill College, Mobile.

Encls: 2

(Including Amendments
Approved on Fev. 15, 1958)

BY-LAWS OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of this organization is the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

ARTICLE II

PURPOSE

This organization shall endeavor to promote in the state of Alabama the aims and purposes following, that is to say: to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to maintain a program for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the state of Alabama through education in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the state in all efforts toward state-wide and racial development; to attain through research and education programs, the ideals and practices which will result in the greatest good for all peoples in the state, to reduce race tension, the basis of race tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust, to develop and unify leadership in Alabama on new levels of fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state and regional agencies in the attainment of these objectives.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Members. Any person who is in accord with the purposes of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and residing in the state of Alabama may become a member of the Alabama Council on Human Relations upon payment of appropriate dues.

Section 2. Dues. Annual dues of members shall be the amount set by the Board of Directors. Such dues shall be paid to the State Office of the organization and shall include a subscription to the publication of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE IV

MEETINGS

Section 1. There shall be a meeting of members annually for the transaction of business at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee. Notice of the meeting shall be given not less than 30 days before the meeting.

Section 2. Special Meetings. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Executive Committee at any time. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of meeting, the business to be transacted, and it shall be sent to each member at least ten days before such meeting.

Section 3. Quorum. Those present shall constitute a quorum at membership meetings of the organization.

ARTICLE V

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section 1. Powers. The affairs of the organization between membership meetings shall be in charge of a Board of Directors.

Section 2. Membership. The Board shall consist of not less than 15 nor more than 45 members which shall be composed of members at large and district members.

The membership shall elect the members at large for a three year term. They shall be eligible for re-election except that they may not serve more than two consecutive full terms. Vacancies may be filled by the Board of Directors subject to the approval of the Annual Meeting.

Each district organization of the Alabama Council on Human Relations shall elect annually two district members to serve no more than three seccessive years.

The Executive Director, any professional staff members and the officers of the Council shall be ex-officio members of the Board.

Section 3. Meetings. The Board shall meet semi-annually to review the work of the organization and to conduct its affairs. Special meetings may be called by the President and shall be called upon written request of any five members of the Board.

Section 4. Quorum. The presence of any eight members shall constitute a quorum of the Board.

Section 5. The Executive Committee. The affairs of the organization between membership meetings and meetings of the Board of Directors shall be in charge of an Executive Committee. The Committee shall consist of five to ten members of the Board and appointed by the President for one year terms.

Section 6. Committees. Upon authorization of the Board of Directors, the President shall appoint the following committees: A Finance Committee whose duty shall be to aid the Board in fund-raising for the support of the organization and to exercise supervision over all fiscal matters; a Membership Committee whose duty it shall be to aid the Board of Directors in maintaining an adequate number of members of the organization; a Community Relations Committee which shall aid the Board in promoting appropriate human relations programs on the state level and in the several districts; and a Research Committee whose duty it shall be to aid the Board in compiling and analyzing factual information concerning human relations and making such information available to appropriate agencies, organizations and individuals.

ARTICLE VI

OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of this organization shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Third Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer. These officers shall be nominated by the Board of Directors and elected annually by the membership, and shall perform duties usually performed by such officers. Nominations shall be received from the membership if offered. Any vacancy in any of these offices may be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Board of Directors.

Section 2. No person may serve more than three seccessive years in the same office with the exception of the Treasurer.

ARTICLE VIII

EXECUTIVE STAFF

The Executive Director and other staff members shall be selected by the Board of Directors. The executive staff shall carry out the program of the organization, interpret the program to the communities of the state and assume other normal functions. They shall keep all records and present such reports as are required by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VIII

FINANCES

Section 1. Checks and Drafts. All checks, drafts, or orders for the payment of money in the name of the Alabama Council on Human Relations shall be signed by the Treasurer or Executive Director.

Section 2. Fiscal Year. The fiscal year shall be February 1, to the following January 31.

Section 3. Financial Report. The Treasurer shall submit a financial report at each meeting of the Board of Directors, and at each annual meeting of members.

ARTICLE IX

AMENDMENTS

These by-laws may be amended at any meeting of the membership, by a majority of the members present.

ARTICLE X

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

No substantial part of the activities of the organization shall be involved in the dissemination of propaganda, attempting to influence legislation or otherwise engaging in any form of political activity.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

February 2, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Robert E. Hughes

RE: Reports Friday's Board Meeting

1. Attached you will find copies of the annual and third (and fiscal) period financial reports, and the third (and fiscal) State Office Activities report. This program report, together with the program reports for the two previous four month reports already sent you, completes the annual picture of activities. Please look them over now in order that the board meeting may progress with a minimum of review of details.

2. Find enclosed a stamped postal to be returned immediately by return mail indicating if you will attend the board meeting at Talladega College, Fri. evening, Feb. 5 beginning with dinner in the dinning hall at 6:00 p.m. sharp. We need to know if (1) you definitely plan to arrive by 6:00 p.m. for dinner, (2) if you need overnight sleeping accommodations. DO NOT DELAY.

See you there.

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE OFFICE ACTIVITIES REPORT

(For Period Oct., Nov., Dec., Jan., 1959-60)

I. WORK WITH GROUPS

A. A. C. H. R. Affiliates:
During the period visits have been made to meetings of each of the five active affiliates: Birmingham (1), Tuscaloosa (2), Talladega Dst. (1), Montgomery (1), and Mobile (1). Groups inactive and reorganized or organized for first time and visits to them: Tri-Cities (2), Decatur (3), Huntsville (4), West Black Belt Dst (Selma), (2), East Black Belt Dst. (Tuskegee), (1). All of these new groups, at our request, reconsidered affiliation with the state organization and all accepted.

In each case consultations were held with local officers and in some instances local program work undertaken.

B. Independent Bi-Racial Organizations:

1. State Ministers Conference: The semi-annual state conference in Dec. at Talladega was attended and a panel presentation presented on the program. As a member of the Steering Committee, one meeting of this body attended in Montgomery in January. Director assigned responsibility for organizing and administering "Ministerial Support Program" over state designed to channel counsel and support to ministers "under fire". No expense will be incurred by A. C. H. R., the Director having secured such for the S. M. C. last spring.

2. Fellowship Of The Concerned: Explorations were made in Mobile in Oct. to determine the possibility of assisting in establishing a church womens group there in cooperation with state and regional F. O. C. leaders. The regional F. O. C. meeting in Atlanta in Nov. was promoted in three areas and transportation coordinated.

3. Student Work: The Director attended as a consultant the initial steering committee meeting of an informed interdenominational group of students from seven white and Negro Alabama colleges in January.

C. Other Groups:

The Birmingham "inter-group committee" met in the State Office in Oct. The Director delivered a sermon at the Talladega College Chapel on one occasion.

II. INFORMATION SERVICE

A. Press:

Background information or "tips" were conveyed to the "Birmingham News", "Post Herald", "World", "Huntsville Times", "Southern School News", "The Christian Century", WBRC-TV. As the year drew to a close the State Office received a personal letter from James A. Linen, publisher of "Time"

magazine, thanking us for "generous help" and "courtesy" shown his staff in news gathering. In January, an usual opportunity for the future came when the State Office was asked to serve as state reporter for the "Christian Century" submitting columns each three months.

B. Agencies And Organizations:

Information was exchanged with various offices of the: Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Committee, Ala. AFL-CIO State Council, National Council of Churches, Methodist Board of Economic and Social Relations, Fellowship of Reconcilliation, Department of Justice, Ala. State Coordinating Committee, Southern Regional Council, several state councils on human relations, Montgomery Improvement Assn., Tuskegee Civic Assn., American Friends Service Committee and assorted individuals in the North. In the capacity of a consultant for the National Council of Churche's Racial and Cultural Relations Dept. in Nov., the Director arranged conferences between Montgomery figures and a race relations expert of the World Council of Churches from Geneva, Dr. Dai Kittegawa, and serving him as host.

C. Film Forum Project:

The film "Segregation And The South", which the State Office has been circulating to various groups over the state, was seen by some 55 persons in Selma, Decatur and Huntsville during the period. (It will be shown to a white church men's club in Selma later this month.)

D. Two editions of the "Alabama Council Newsletter" were circulated entitled "Negro Voting in Alabama" and "Satellites and Segregation".

III. FINANCIAL EFFORTS:

Less financial effort was put forth than in the previous period. Tribute should be paid to Dr. A. C. Winn for his independent "Underwritters Club" work which can be credited with getting us through the critical Dec. period.

IV. TROUBLESHOOTING:

A. Huntsville: With the Justice Department school move in Huntsville the State Office has put forth concerted efforts to establish a chapter there, now completed, and has secured raporte with important community figures - editor of the "Huntsville Times", school superintendent, top-level Redstone Arsenal legal officials, prominent clergymen and officers of the ministerial association, Negro leaders, etc. These "crash" efforts are aimed at preparation for the future when this situation "breaks".

B. Mobile: With legal action in the offering or in process regarding bus, municipal golf course and trade school segregation, initial explorations have been made in the direction of bringing together across racial lines ministers and church women to augment communication in addition to the established A. C. H. R. chapter.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS February 2, 1960

PERIODIC FINANCIAL REPORT FOR THE PERIOD: OCT., NOV., DEC., JAN., 1959-60

INCOME

From SRC	$ 2100.00
Memberships	225.60
NEW SOUTH Subscriptions	(In Memberships)
Contributions	1330.81
Sale of Literature	11.80
Miscellaneous	29.73
TOTAL INCOME	$ 3697.94

EXPENDITURES

Salaries	$ 2771.54
Travel	441.14
Rent	250.00
Electricity	8.60
Phone & Telegraph	196.49
Miscellaneous	27.28
Office Supplies	316.40
NEW SOUTH Subscriptions to SRC	116.00
Housing Allowance	333.32
Social Security	87.94
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$ 4548.71

- * -

Balance on Hand (Beginning of Period)	$ 2654.70
Income For Period	+ 3697.94
Total	6352.64
Expenditures For Period	- 4548.71
Balance	1803.93
Plus Balance Beginning Fiscal Year, February 1, 1959	+ 751.69
Total	2555.62
Minus $2500 Transferred to Second Account (Reserve for 1960-61 Fiscal Year)	- 2500.00
NET BALANCE	$ 55.62

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS February 2, 1960

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR, 1959-60
(February 1, 1959 - January 31, 1960)

INCOME

Contributions *(Includes $2,000 anonymous gift on Feb. 13)	$ 5716.96
Memberships	1076.60
Sale of Literature	71.34
Refunds	5.50
Miscellaneous	46.60
Southern Regional Council	7700.00
TOTAL	$ 14617.00
Plus cash on hand at end of previous year, January 31, 1959 *(Includes $500 anonymous gift Jan. 30)	751.69
TOTAL	$ 15368.69

(Average monthly income during period approximately $1,218.08)

EXPENDITURES

	Cumulative	Balance in Budget
Rent	$ 750.00	$ .00
Social Security	182.33	7.67
Telephone	565.83	-35.83
Office Supplies	866.96	3.04
Travel	1118.26	81.74
Electricity	27,86	17.14
Housing Allowance	999.96	.04
Salaries	7617.28	202.72
NEW SOUTH	636.00	214.00
Miscellaneous	48.59	51.41
TOTAL	$ 12813.07	$ 541.93

(Average monthly expenditures approximately $1,067.76)

- * -

Total Funds Available	$ 15,368.69
*Funds Reserved For Next Year	- 2,500.00
	$ 12,868.69
Disbursements	-12,813.07
BALANCE On Hand End of Fiscal Year	$ 55.62

Office Copy

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
May 13, 1960

MEMORANDUM
TO: Board of Directors
FROM: R. E. Hughes
RE: Digest of Annual Meeting, Board Meetings of Feb. 5, Apr. 30

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING: One hundred twenty persons from all parts of the state met at Talladega College on Feb. 6 to hear presentations on Virginia school desegregation and what we in Alabama could learn from their experience by Rev. James Brewer, chairman of the Norfolk Committee for Public Schools and Mr. Paul Rilling, field director of the Southern Regional Council, respectively. Core of presentations: two roles need to be played in school desegregation, an ad hoc organized, probably all white, political action and public relations effort with the limited goal of keeping schools open, and a continuing bi-racial program working in all areas of racial concern promoting communication, research and reconcilliation and stating that while public education, business development and law and order are important there are also other issues and moral principles involved.

District chairmen and state officers presented reports on their work over the past year and future plans. Officers and new board members were elected, budget adopted and other business transacted, a digest of which is presented below with some updating and additions through the April 30 board meeting as appropriate.

OFFICERS AND BOARD MEMBERS NAMED: Elected president and vice presidents were: Father A. S. Foley, Mr. J. T. Brooks, Dr. Carl Landes, Dr. A. D. Gray, Dr. R. D. Crockett and as secretary and treasurer, Dr. R. D. Crockett and Rev. J. C. Wilson. Elected or reelected as board members were: Mr. Nat Welch, Mr. John McConnell, Rev. Welton Gregory, Dr. C. W. Orr, Rev. Joseph Hollifield, Mr. A. G. Gaston, Mrs. Robert Elly, Mr. William Irby and Mr. Paul Robinson.

A complete list of officers and board members with addresses will be distributed later.

A permanent nominating committee to study board make-up needs and to provide for approach of prospects has been named.

CONSTITUTION:REVISION COMMITTEE: This committee is revising parts of the constitution for submission to the next Annual Meeting for adoption. It has been submitted tentative recommendations for a clearer and more specific statement of purpose and provision for non-Alabama resident "associate members".

TWO NEW DISTRICTS ADDED: In order to decrease distances involved for district meetings in the large Tenn. Valley and Wiregrass Districts, each has been divided east and west by the Board with approval of the Tenn. Valley Dst. There is no activity in the Wiregrass area.

MEMBERSHIP TOTALS: The increase in membership rates at the Annual Meeting has produced no perceptible drop with the Apr. 30 total remaining almost identical with that of Jan. 30.

East Tenn. Valley	18
West Tenn. Valley	18
West Piedmont	62
East Piedmont	60
Birmingham	69
West Black Belt	13
East Black Belt	29
Montgomery	76
Wiregrass (undivided)	4
Mobile	57
Out of State	37
Total	442

LEADERSHIP WORKSHOPS: Two or possibly three workshops with resource persons supplied through the S. R. C. Consultant Service Program were approved by the board on Feb. 4 and tentatively by the S. R. C. These one day sessions would be held in at least north and south Alabama primarily for A. C. H. R. local officers, committee chairmen, etc. probably during the fall.

COMMUNICATION PROJECT: Since December a committee under Father Foley has been formulating detailed possible information programs to be financed by the Field Foundation. The latest plan envisioned an independent effort centered around direct mailings to selected groups and individuals on a relatively broad scale. However on Apr. 30 these plans were temporarily laid aside when the Field Foundation made a grant to the S. R. C. for state aide which undercut their potential interest in this specific plan for the present.

FINANCES: The last memorandum carried the financial report for the year which income and expenditures were affirmed by an audit for the period and three months of the previous year at which time we began paying our own salaries. Our auditor is Mr. Harold Van Baalen, public accountant, 501 Brown-Marx Bldg., Birmingham 3, Alabama.

CURRENT BUDGET: See attached sheet for budget approved at Annual Meeting. The Apr. 30 board session approved an increase in office rent from $750 to $878 or $62.50/month to $78.50 to enable the State Office to move across the hall in the Comer Bldg. to slightly larger and air-conditioned quarters sometime in May.

FINANCIAL DRIVE: Under the leadership of Father Foley the Finance Committee has been coordinating a drive to raise $4,000 in contributions between Dec. 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960 in order to qualify for $1,500 in matching funds available through the S. R. C. This drive was begun in early March at which time the S. R. C. announced this plan and an outright gift of $1,500.

On Apr. 30 these funds total $2,342 broken down by districts as follows:

Tenn. Valley	$ 31	Montgomery	220
West Piedmont	116	Wiregrass	0
East Piedmont	289	Mobile	945
Birmingham	573	Out of State	152
West Black Belt	0		
East Black Belt	15		

$250 minimum has been asked from each district and several are going beyond their goal to help other districts, but more efforts are needed on the part of all of our leaders. Father Foley singlehandedly has secured almost $1,000 through letters in two months with more arriving at the State Office from him each day. If other areas increase their efforts the goal will be reached on June 1st, and in the process there will probably be no need for any concerted drive during the rest of the fiscal year with the 40 UNDERWRITERS on the job and other commitments expected. Now is the time to act!

TAX EXEMPTION: In March and April the federal Internal Revenue Service and the Ala. State Dept. of Revenue granted the A. C. H. R. tax exemption. All gifts, not memberships though, made to the Council can be counted as a deduction on both federal and state income tax returns, and this retroactively. However, we must strictly observe our non-political activity constitutional prohibition at all levels. Credit must be given to Attorney David Vann of Birmingham for his counsel in preparation of the application which was approved in record time. Father Foley will appoint a committee to formulate guides on our activities in order for us to be able to take advantage of this opportunity permanently.

MEMBERSHIPS: The Annual Meeting reluctantly raised membership rates from $3, $5 and $8 to $5, $8, and $10 for single, joint and sustaining single or joint respectively. This is primarily a revenue measure.

CURRENT FINANCIAL STATUS: On hand as of Apr. 29:

First Nat. Bk., B'ham	$2,193.20
Citizens Federal Savings & Loan Assn.	1,579.75
	$3,772.95

Note: $1,000 from the original $2,500 reserve in the second acct. was withdrawn on March 10 to meet current obligations. We should be able to replace it and add more to this interest bearing acct. in May.

ARREST OF BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL CHAIRMAN: On the evening of Apr. 3 Rev. C, Herbert Oliver was brutally drug from within his home almost naked by Birmingham police charging him with vagrancy and attempting to intimidate a witness, held incommunicado and not permitted bail for some sixteen hours, and subsequently charges were dismissed. The Apr. 30 board session voted to request the Justice Department to fully investigate and prosecute any civil rights violations revealed.

STATE OFFICE SECURITY: In view of the lack of regard for civil liberties in Birmingham the board gave permission to utilize reserve funds to meet any legal emergencies that might arise. Office records will be given the utmost protection and under no circumstances will they be turned over to any persons who might use the information to intimidate our members.

BUDGET

Feb. 1, 1960 - Jan 31, 1961

SALARIES		
Executive Director	$ 5000.00	
Office Secretary	2908.00	
Social Security	237.24	
		$ 8145.24
Supplementary allowance to Exec. Director	$ 1000.00	
Office Rent	750.00	
Electricity	30.00	
Telephone	565.00	
Travel	1200.00	
Office Supplies, Equipment, Mailings	870.00	
New South Subscriptions	750.00	
Miscellaneous	100.00	$ 5265.00
TOTAL BUDGET		$ 13410.24

ANTICIPATED SOURCES OF INCOME

Annual Grant from Southern Regional Council	$ 4200.00	
Reserve	2600.00	
Memberships	1100.00	
Balance on Hand at End of Year	55.00	$ 7955.00
To Be Secured		5455.24
		$ 13410.24

Office Copy

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

May 19, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: R. E. Hughes

RE: Progress report on financial drive, address change.

In our last memo we reported that $2,342 had been raised by Apr. 30. Here is the compilation of funds received at the State Office as of May 15:

Tenn. Valley Dst.	$ 33
West Piedmont	141
East Piedmont	394
Birmingham	683
West Black Belt	0
East Black Belt	55
Montgomery	245
Wiregrass	0
Mobile	1,810
Out of State	355
Total	$ 3,717
June 1 goal	$ 4,000
Raised to date	3,717
Goal for last of month	$ 283

This represents excellent progress on our goal, especially during the past two weeks. President and Finance Committee Chairman Father Foley continues to set the example in Mobile while the leadership of Rev. Herbert Oliver in Birmingham and Rev. Carl Landes in the Gadsden-Talladega-Sylacauga area is most commendable. Where has this come from? From our leadership itself, plain members at meetings, Negro organizations in Alabama, and individuals and organizations inside and outside of the South who board members have contacted personally or by letters.

We are within sight of our $4,000, but the remaining amount of almost $300 with less than two weeks to go will come only through renewed effort. It is especially hoped that districts which have not made a significant effort will initiate such without delay. Good luck!

Change of Address: Today the State Office moved to slightly larger quarters across the hall in the Comer Bldg. Henceforth our address will be "Room 1224 Comer Bldg." The phone number remains the same. Come to see us the next time you're in Birmingham!

Office Copy

CONFIDENTIAL

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
June 17, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: R. E. Hughes

RE: Information Security

There have been a number of reports of interference with the mail of persons known or suspected of being involved in integration efforts. Thus far only three such incidents have involved the A. C. H. R. in six years of staffed operation.

In 1956 a Tuscaloosa route mailman and active Klan Leader Roy Hartley were arrested by Postal Inspectors and convicted in Federal Court in a case arising from interception of one of my letters to a University student. This spring, for unexplained reasons, the Selma Post Office refused to send our film, "Segregation And The South", to us after being mailed three times. Shortly thereafter a letter mailed by the same Selma member never reached the State Office.

In these times of secret investigations and smears by state agencies and private groups we must not allow ourselves to become demobilized through supersensitivity and overcaution. There is no cause for alarm, but reasonable discretion in the handling of sensitive papers is in order so as not to unnecessarily jeopardize those of our leadership who live in tension areas.

Here are some suggestions for anything stamped "Confidential" from the State Office:

1. Do not leave it on top of your desk for others to see.

2. If unsympathetic persons have access to your office or home in your absence lock it in a desk or filing cabinet.

3. At such time as you no longer need it tear it up before throwing it in the trash can.

4. In the future some of this material will not have an inside address or identification as to source. (You will know the source by our return address on the envelope and the nature of the contents.)

5. Notify us if you wish us to use a different address for communications.

END

CONFIDENTIAL

Office Copy

BOARD MEMORANDUM

June 21, 1960

Re: Final report on financial drive

We did it! Pardon our broad grin but we have a right to be proud of the teamwork and individual initiative which sent us sailing over the top in our quest for $4,000 by June 1st. Here is a breakdown by districts:

West Tenn. Valley (Tri-Cities)	$ 245.50
East Tenn. Valley (Huntsville-Decatur)	36.00
West Piedmont (Tuscaloosa)	223.08
East Piedmont (Syla., Tall., G'den.)	592.30
Birmingham	806.00
West Black Belt (Selma)	0
East Black Belt (Tusk.-Auburn)	402.50
Montgomery	568.00
Wiregrass	0
Mobile	2,357.50
State Office (directly)	739.00
Total	$ 5,971.19

How did we do it? Approximately half came from within the state - collections taken up at the regular meetings of six chapters; our 37 faithful UNDERWRITERS; board members who approached twelve Negro churches, fraternities, sororities, lodges, state professional associations, and one white organization - (the Sylacauga First Methodist Church); letters sent to former members as in B'ham and to concerned non-members over the East Black Belt area. We dare not go further for to begin singling our individuals would inevitably slight those many persons who quietly worked without our knowledge.

The other half came from outside of the South. We know of over 200 appeals sent to friends and churchmen in the North and West, most of them identical personal letters and a few mimeographed with personal notes. Responding have been such personalities as Cardinal Spellman, Catholic Bishop Hyle, Methodist Bishops Love and Dodge, Gov. G. Mennen Williams, Ann Davis (Bob Cumming's "Schultzie") and Rod Serling. Persons in Cleveland and Wilmington, Del. in turn sent letters to friends in those cities. Most came from individuals although a good deal was secured from churches through their pastors.

This represents not only the largest but the only financial drive goal we have ever achieved without time extensions, etc. in our six years of staffed operations. Of the eleven state organizations, Atlanta informs us that we topped them all. Thanks to the leadership and example of Father Foley and the initiative of each of you, our program faces the future with considerably more confidence. Thanks!

CONFIDENTIAL

Office Copy

June 22, 1960

OFFICERS

President - Father A. S. Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

1st Vice-Pres. - Mr. J. T. Brooks
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

2nd Vice-Pres. - Rev. Carl Landes
Southern Union College
Wadley, Alabama

3rd Vice-Pres. - Dr. A. D. Gray
Pres. Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Secretary - Dr. R. D. Crockett
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Treasurer - Rev. J. C. Wilson
1500 - 6th Avenue North
Birmingham, Alabama

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Members At Large

(Elected By Membership For Three Year Terms)

Class of 1961

Mr. Louis Eckl
747 Nellie Avenue
Florence, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '59)

Mr. David Vann
2100 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '58)

Dr. L. H. Foster
Office of the President
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
(Elected Feb. '58)

Class of 1962

Mrs. O. D. Thomas
2011 11th Street
Tuscaloosa, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '59)

Mrs. A. W. West, Sr.
729 S. Jackson Street
Montgomery, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '59)

Mr. John McConnell
205 Ridgewood Place
Mobile, Alabama
(Elected Oct. '59)

Mr. W. G. Irby
P. O. Box 871
Sylacauga, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '60)

Class of 1963

Mr. A. G. Gaston
Box 2621
Birmingham 3, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '60)

Mr. Nat Welch
342 Hare Avenue
Auburn, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '57
Reelected Feb. '60)

Mr. Paul Robinson
Box 198
Decatur, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '57
Reelected Feb. '60)

Rev. Welton Gregory
202 Hilltop Terrace
Montgomery, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '60)

Dr. C. W. Orr
Alabama A & M College
Normal, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '60)

Mrs. Robert Elly
1509 29th Street West
Birmingham, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '60)

NOTE: Vacancies exist for three members at large. These will be filled by interim election by the Board at its fall meeting. Send any suggestions to Mr. David Vann (above), Nominating Committee chairman.

DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVES

(Elected annually by districts)

West Tenn. Valley

Mr. S. C. Watkins
503 S. Washington St.
Tuscumbia, Alabama

East Tenn. Valley

Rev. S. H. Houston
228 N. Jefferson St.
Huntsville, Alabama

West Piedmont

Rev. Davis Yeuell
Stillman College
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Miss Martha O'Rourke
807 15th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

* Rev. J. G. Short
2713 Holliday Drive
Huntsville, Alabama

Rev. Emory Burton

East Piedmont

Rev. Carl Landes
Southern Union College
Wadley, Alabama

Mr. Robert Strickland
431 W. Battle St.
Talladega, Alabama

Birmingham

Rev. C. Herbert Oliver
55 18th Avenue South
Birmingham, Alabama

Rev. Joseph Ellwanger
128 6th Avenue South
Birmingham, Alabama

* Dr. Frederick Kraus
114 Stratford Road
Birmingham 9, Alabama

* Mr. Arthur D. Shores
1630 - 4th Avenue N.
Birmingham, Alabama

West Black Belt

Rev. Claude Brown
625 Jeff Davis Ave.
Selma, Alabama

Rev. George Hrbek
Rt. 5, Box 317
Selma, Alabama

East Black Belt

Rev. Powers McLeod
129 Burton Street
Auburn, Alabama

Mr. Frank J. Toland
Box 873
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Montgomery

Dr. R. D. Crockett
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Mrs. Frank Anderson
632 W. Patton Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

* Dr. A. F. Nixon
1264 Cleveland Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

* Mrs. Moreland G. Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Wiregrass

Mobile

Father A. S. Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Mrs. E. B. Goode
20 South Hallett St.
Mobile, Alabama

* Alternate district representative

NOTE: Each district is requested to elect two alternate representatives to substitute for the regular members in the event of their inability to attend meetings. Notify the State Office immediately so we can send them memos also. Space is left below so you can add their names as we pass them on.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

ACLU

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January, 1967

BILL OF RIGHTS DAY POLL

For the second year, 1,000 college students participated in a poll testing their attitudes towards the Bill of Rights. The students were from the University of Georgia, Georgia State, Oglethorpe, Emory, Clark and Georgia Southern colleges. The questions in this year's test were exactly the same as last year's, so that we could make a comparison between the two.

Surprisingly, especially in view of the talk of "white backlash" and Georgia's gubernatorial picture, this year's students were markedly less authoritarian in many respects:

o The percentage of students who felt the police could question a suspect without letting him call a lawyer dropped 17%.

o 79% of this year's students felt that segregated education violated the Constitution; last year only 66% felt that it did.

o 73% of this year' students felt that teachers should not be required to take a loyalty oath; last year only 42% felt this way.

o Out of fifteen questions on the poll, only three indicated a swing to more authoritarian positions, most notably on the question of prayer in public schools.

The complete results of the poll show this year's percentages compared with last, followed by the applicable section of the Constitution, and where available, a recent Supreme Court decision. If you would like a copy, please write or call the ACLU of Georgia office (404/523-5398) and we'll be glad to mail one to you as long as the supply lasts.

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS PROGRAM GOES NATIONAL

As part of its activity on behalf of Know Your Rights, the Georgia ACLU asked Atlanta Police Chief Jenkins whether he would be interested in supplying every Atlanta police officer with a copy.

Chief Jenkins responded by ordering 1,000 copies and issuing the following bulletin to the Atlanta Police Department:

"The ACLU of Georgia and the Georgia Council on Human Relations have published a booklet entitled Know Your Rights. This publication not only emphasizes the rights and responsibilities of the American citizen, but also the rights and responsibilities of the police...It is a very fine publication and every Atlanta police officer must read it and understand it. Members of this Department are instructed to pick up their copies in the Training Division."

Shortly thereafter, the Georgia Council on Human Relations, which is cooperating in this project, circularized every police chief in Georgia, and in response to their requests, distributed copies to police officers in Augusta, Alma, Tifton, Gainesville and Sumter County.

This police distribution was printed as a story in the Atlanta Constitution, and subsequently in the New York Times and on national television. As a result, we are distributing an average, with the Georgia Council, of 700 copies a week to police departments and citizens' rights groups all over the country.

ACLU TESTIFIES FOR FULTON COUNTY PUBLIC DEFENDER

Alan Bonser, a member of the ACLU Legislative Committee, testified in favor of the establishment of a Fulton County Public Defender before the public hearing called by the Fulton County Legislative Delegation on January 6th.

In his statement, Mr. Bonser pointed out that recent federal court decisions such as Gideon v. Wainwright have made Georgia's old procedures unacceptable. Under the present system, attorneys for indigent defendants are appointed by the courts and serve without compensation except in capital cases, where they are paid $150. This system imposes an unfair burden on the criminal bar. Also, it frequently means that the court-appointed attorney is either inexperienced or not as committed to providing first-rate legal counsel as he might be for a paying client.

Opposing a public defender system was Fulton Solicitor General Lewis Slaton, who stated that the cost of such a system would be prohibitive — about eight million dollars. Mr. Bonser countered that the cost of the Los Angeles Public Defender System, with more than six million residents (almost two million more than in the whole state of Georgia) was six million dollars. Mr. Slaton, along with Judge Dan Duke, favored a system of assigned counsel modestly compensated by the State, a method currently used in North Carolina.

Mr. Paul Webb pointed out that the danger of the assigned counsel system appointed by the Judge is that the attorney so appointed might be tempted not to challenge the court in any way in order to insure future assignments.

The ACLU proposal is a combination of both the public defender and the assigned counsel. One of the objections often raised

to the establishment of a Public Defender is that there will be conscious or unconscious collusion between the prosecutor and the public defender growing out of their close working relationship. While experience from other areas using public defenders has shown that the true adversary nature of the proceedings has been maintained, it is necessary for a defendant to have confidence in his attorney.

For this reason, the ACLU of Georgia recommended that in addition to the primary public defender structure, indigent defendants who do not wish to make use of the defender could be appointed an attorney from a list to be kept by the court and appointed in order of appearance on the list. These attorneys would be compensated according to the current fee scale accorded to attorneys in private practice.

The ACLU proposal will be presented on a statewide basis to the General Assembly some time during the present session.

BILL OF RIGHTS DAY DINNER

Two hundred twenty-eight ACLU members and friends turned out for the ACLU's Bill of Rights Day Dinner on December 14th. They heard Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., talk about how progress in civil rights had pioneered new concepts in dealing with the problems of the total population — poverty, slums, housing and education. Mr. Greenberg's remarks were thought-provoking throughout, and had special meaning for Georgians when he discussed the problems which communities like Atlanta still face.

Also on the program was the presentation of the Bill of Rights Day Award to Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. The citation on the plaque awarded to him read:

> "Because he respects the rights of each of us,
> He has made Atlanta a better place for all of us."

In making the award, Georgia ACLU President Hugh Gibert applauded Mayor Allen's contributions to better human relations, in particular his testimony in behalf of the Civil Rights Act. He added that the ACLU had sometimes criticized Mayor Allen's administration in the past, and would feel free to do so in the future, and said that this was a healthy state of affairs. Mayor Allen accepted the award in the same spirit of mutual appreciation and mutual freedom of dissent.

Special thanks for the success of the Bill of Rights Day Dinner — which we plan to make an annual affair — go to Kieve Landesberg, who handled the physical arrangements, and to Faye Goldberg and E. T. Kehrer, who did so much to insure the impressive turnout.

INCREASED ACLU EFFORT NEEDED UNDER MADDOX RULE

In a letter addressed to prospective members last week, the ACLU of Georgia said:

"There's no point in kidding ourselves. We got beaten. The Supreme Court ruled against us in our suit to insure every Georgian of the right to vote and have it counted.

"Now, what? We are faced with four years of government by a man who has shown over and over again his disrespect for the law and his disregard for individual dignity and human rights.

"Some people think now is a smart time to walk softly or to sit tight. We disagree. Now, more than ever before, Georgia needs an alert organization to safeguard the gains made in the past and to insure our freedoms in the future..."

We think we are at least alert enough not to join the rather hysterical chorus of newspaper columnists and editorial writers who profess to see in Mr. Maddox's inaugural address a living incarnation of Georgia's motto of Wisdom, Justice and Moderation. Talk is cheap. The verdict of history will rest on the actions of the new administration over the next four years.

While we are awaiting that verdict, there are several things that each of us as ACLU members can do to insure the freedom of expression, the equal protection of the law and the due process which are our goals:

o Press for election reforms which will discipline voting officials who do not count votes honestly and to make sure that never again will voters lose the right to elect their governor directly.

o Keep working -- hopefully with newly independent legislators -- for needed bills such as public defender, the right to privacy, abolition of the death penalty, protection of the rights of welfare recipients, reform of juvenile procedures. Watch for announcements of public hearings on these subject so that you can voice your opinions.

o Let the Governor and your legislator know that equal protection of the law applies to the state government, in fair employment opportunities, in state police practices, and in education, both for pupils and faculties.

Build the Georgia ACLU so that we can speak with a loud, clear unified voice. Our Georgia membership increased 180% last year alone. This is explosive growth which needs to be continued for us to be effective in protecting Constitutional freedoms. Talk to your friends and colleagues about joining.

Note: Members who missed our showing of Point of Order can see it now on January 17th at Oglethorpe College in the Lupton Hall Auditorium. The film starts at 8 p.m. and there is no admission charge.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

agency ACLU

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Which comes first - the right of the defendant to a fair trial or the freedom of the press and television to report the news?

Should cameras be barred from the courtroom? Should newsmen be forbidden to interview witnesses before the trial?

When does the presence of the press in court guarantee a fair trial? How does it affect the verdict?

These are some of the questions to be discussed at:

FAIR TRIAL VS. FREE PRESS

THURSDAY, MARCH 2ND - 12 NOON LUNCH - PROGRESSIVE CLUB

PANEL PARTICIPANTS: Moderator, BRUCE GALPHIN, Atlanta Constitution Editorial Staff

DALE CLARK, News Director, WAGA-TV
HON. ALBERT J. HENDERSON, JR., Superior Court Judge
ALBERT M. HORN, Attorney
JOHN PENNINGTON, Columnist, Atlanta Journal

This meeting is open to all ACLU members and friends.

If you plan to come, and haven't already made a reservation, please call the ACLU office -- 523-5398 -- and let us know.

(Luncheon is $3.00. The Progressive Club is located on Techwood Drive, which is off 10th Street, one block west of the Expressway exit.

February 20th, 1967

To: ACLU of Georgia Members:

The 1967 Nominating Committee proposes the following slate of officers:

President:	E. T. Kehrer, Director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
1st Vice President:	William Alexander, attorney
2nd Vice President:	Mrs. Leon Goldberg, Psychologist, Morehouse Faculty Member
Secretary:	Mrs. John Morris, Community Leader
Treasurer:	John Glustrom, Businessman

Advisory Board members are elected every two years. Since a new Advisory Board was elected in 1966, this election is limited to officers only.

The rules governing election of officers, Article IX of the ACLU of Georgia Constitution are:

"At least two months before the Annual Meeting, the membership shall be notified by mail of the nominees proposed by the Nominating Committee. Additional nominations may be made by petition of any five members, provided there is attached to such a petition a signed statement expressing the nominee's willingness to serve if elected; any such petition to be filed with the Secretary not later than one month before the Annual Meeting.

"At least two weeks before the Annual Meeting, a ballot showing and distinguishing the candidates nominated by the Nominating Committee and those nominated by petition shall be mailed to every member."

Thus, you will be receiving your ballot, which will include any additional nominations by petition, in about six weeks.

1967 Nominating Committee:

C. A. Bacote
Dorothy Gibson
John Glustrom
Josephine Heyman
Edward T. Ladd
Oscar McCloud
Kieve Landesberg

A-CLU

CIVIL LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

February, 1967

FAIR TRIAL VS. FREE PRESS LUNCH ON MARCH 2

The ACLU of Georgia has scheduled a membership luncheon on the subject of Fair Trial vs. Free Press for Thursday, March 2nd at the Progressive Club.

This issue — the conflict between the First Amendment's guarantee of a free press and the Sixth Amendment's promise of a fair trial -- has long been the subject of debate among judges, prosecutors and newsmen. The Supreme Court reversal of the conviction of Dr. Sam Sheppard and the Ruby trial have focussed national attention on the question of how far the press may go in covering a trial, and how far the courts may go in restricting the activities of the press to insure due process.

Interest in the subject heightened when the American Bar Association released a report recommending that judges be permitted to cite the press for contempt for publishing anything that goes beyond the public record during the period of jury selection and trial.

The participants in the discussion at the ACLU luncheon will reflect the conflicting approaches to assuring fair play to both the defendant and the press. The panel members will be:

The Hon. Albert J. Henderson, Jr., Judge of the Superior Court in Cobb County

Albert M. Horn, attorney

William R. Shipp, reporter for the Atlanta Constitution

The program moderator will be Bruce Galphin of the Constitution editorial staff.

It is interesting to note that Judge Henderson has on occasion barred newspapermen from the courtroom and from interviewing prosecution witnesses as a method of insuring fair play for a defendant, a policy which has not met with the approval of local reporters who regard it as a violation of freedom of the press.

Luncheon will be at 12 Noon and the cost is $3. The Progressive Club is located on Techwood Drive off 10th Street, one block west of the 10th Street Expressway exit. Even though we are delighted to see our members under any circumstances, it makes it extremely difficult when they appear at the door without a previous reservation, since we must tell the Progressive Club in advance how many will be there. So please, fill out the coupon on the last page and send it to us promptly.

Both the subject and the caliber of the participants insure a fascinating program. We look forward to seeing you there.

ACLU ANALYZES PROPOSED NEW CRIMINAL CODE

The ACLU of Georgia has sent to members of the House Legislative Committee an analysis of the proposed new Criminal Code introduced by Chairman Robin Harris of DeKalb County. In addition, ACLU President Hugh Gibert testified before the Committee on ACLU positions on code sections.

The ACLU memorandum examined twenty sections which in its judgment should be revised or rejected. Among them are:

o Raising the minimum age for commission of a crime. It seems to us that thirteen years old is too young.

o Insanity. The test of whether or not the defendant can distinguish right from wrong is obsolete and ignores accepted medical evidence that severe mental illness can exist side by side with the ability to tell right from wrong.

o Sex Laws. The sections which make criminal the private acts between consenting adults -- among them married couples enjoying a normal sexual relationship -- are an invasion of privacy.

o Advocacy of Overthrow of Government, Treason and Related Offenses. These sections, which do not link advocacy to the concept of "clear and present danger" violate the First Amendment protection of free speech.

o Electronic Eavesdropping. This section is limited to wiretapping by private individuals and does not deal with it by law enforcement officials, a greater danger to privacy and the Fourth Amendment prohibitions against illegal search.

o Sunday Laws. These sections are religious in origin and intent and therefore constitute an improper establishment of religion barred by the First Amendment. The state may restrict work to a six-day week, but the designation of Sunday in particular restricts the right of the individual to choose his own form of rest

and worship.

Legislative Manual Ready

Much of this material, plus several other subjects -- Reform of Juvenile Offender Procedures, Abolition of the Death Penalty, Public Defender, Rights of Welfare Recipients -- is contained in the ACLU Legislative Manual which will be sent to every ACLU member within the next week.

We hope you will find the Manual useful as background material when you talk to your legislator about bills you want passed and when you testify at legislative hearings in your community. We will be glad to send you extra copies to give to your legislator and to community leaders concerned with legislation.

SUPREME COURT REVERSES WHITUS-DAVIS MURDER CONVICTION

As readers of this Newsletter know, the ACLU of Georgia, in cooperation with the Southern Regional ACLU office, has been battling for many years to get the murder convictions of Phil Whitus and Leon Davis reversed on the ground of systematic exclusion of Negroes from the jury which tried them.

After Whitus and Davis had been convicted the first time, the U. S. Court of Appeals ordered a second trial on the ground that the jury had indeed excluded Negroes. A second-all-white jury found them guilty again. Now the ACLU appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court on grounds of jury exclusion in the second trial, pointing out that the jurors were selected from segregated tax digest lists.

On January 27th, 1967, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that Mr. Whitus and Mr. Davis did not receive a fair trial and ordered the state of Georgia to re-try them before a truly desegregated jury. The unanimous Supreme Court decision makes it clear that where a discriminatory method of jury selection exists, such as a segregated tax digest, the burden of proof will be on the state to show that jury exclusion does not exist.

The ruling is a milestone on the long road to ending segregated justice. For Walter Jones, the attorney who represents Mr. Whitus, it is an especially heartening victory. He has worked for seven years, first as a court-assigned counsel and then as an ACLU cooperating attorney, to secure justice for his client. In recognition of his services, the ACLU of Georgia awarded him its Civil Liberties Citation at last Spring's Annual Meeting.

MACON, ATHENS CHAPTERS ORGANIZE

In the first week of February, both the Macon and Athens ACLU groups met to organize into chapters. They each got started on adopting by-laws, electing officers and creating a committee structure.

Even before this formal organizing process, Athens members held a successful Know Your Rights clinic in the Brooklyn community. Macon members are already concentrating on legal and legislative action to secure a more democratic school board responsible and responsive to the wishes of the community.

We welcome these two new entities into the Georgia ACLU ranks, and hope they may be the forerunners of similar chapters in Savannah, Columbus and Augusta.

RENEWAL TIME IS HERE

Ours is the last organisation in the world to insist on conformity. It delights us to think that members come in all the available sizes, colors, political opinions and life styles. But we honestly don't think it does violence to your highly individualistic convictions to ask you to send in your membership renewal when it is due -- NOW.

Now, in fact, is the time for all good non-conformists to come to the aid of the ACLU. Your renewal notice has come. Please mail it back in the envelope provided with your check.

- -

Please reserve _____ places for me (and my guests) at the Fair Trial vs. Free Press Lunch on Thursday, March 2nd at the Progressive Club, at $3.00 each. My check for _____ is enclosed.

Name_____

Address_____

(Please use the enclosed self-addressed envelope for your check and this coupon.)

FROM

_____

_____

_____

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
OF GEORGIA

52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

A.C.L.U.

LEGISLATIVE

HANDBOOK

February, 1967

American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

CIVIL LIBERTIES

file

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

April 20, 1967

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 27th

The membership meeting at the Atlanta Press Club was successful and productive. Over a hundred members attended to take part in the workshops, meet the new officers, hear of the Georgia ACLU's activities and, sadly, bid farewell to Florence Robin, retiring Executive Director.

Mrs. Robin gave a run down on the progress our chapter has made in the past two years. She contrasted the hopes and expectations she held when she assumed the directorship, and the realities of where we now are. She noted that Capital Punishment still exists, the loyalty oath has been diluted but still remains, prayers are still held in many public schools, a teacher tenure law is still nonexistant and that there is a Public Defender now in Fulton County but in the rest of the state, very little progress has been made in providing counsel for the indegent.

She reported that membership when she was first employed was one hundred eighty two in Georgia and we now have over eight hundred members and we have two new chapters -- Macon and Athens.

She mentioned that the "unplanned" cases, the Julian Bond case, the Georgia Elections case, the Alcoholics, the Prostitutes and the Homosexuals cases, because of the publicity they received, had a tremendous effect, educating the public and informing them of the real nature of civil liberties.

She felt the ACLU of Georgia could take particular pride in the "Know Your Rights" pamphlet. Its impact was not only in the "undereducated" but also in the Police Departments which have used it. (We are still supplying other ACLU chapters, college sociology classes and similar groups with copies.)

President Al Kehrer covered future goals for the organization; starting and helping new chapters in the state; continued membership growth and particularly, the need to involve individual members in our programs. To this end, we are enclosing two forms. One that will give us a profile, that will tell us your areas of interest, your talents, your thinking, opinions and suggestions. The second form is for a listing of your friends

or of anyone that you feel might be good prospects for ACLU membership. The envelope enclosed is for the return of this information.

REPORT FROM THE WORKSHOPS

The members present divided into workshops covering the following: Death Penalty, Civil Liberties Education, Children Behind Bars and Rights of Welfare Recipients. Recommendations were made for ACLU action and two of the workshops formed the initial committees to that end. Again, on your profile form, your comments on these subjects will be appreciated.

DEATH PENALTY: 1) The ACLU of Georgia should oppose capital punishment and should work actively for its abolition.

2) A referendum, as proposed by the Governor, should be supported.

3) The ACLU should work actively with other groups in the state who are concerned with abolition; we should NOT take the public lead in supporting abolition because of the detrimental effect which ACLU involvement might have in various parts of the state.

4) Help should be solicited from the clergy of the state.

5) ACLU members should watch "Letters to the Editor", and answer letters which favor the retention of capital punishment.

6) A leaflet on capital punishment in other states should be considered.

7) The ACLU Newsletter should give members facts and history of capital punishment and its abolition in other states.

8) Petitions should be ruled out as being effective.

9) The ACLU should take any capital punishment cases which come to its attention, and a special fund should be established to pay the cost of such cases.

10) "Georgians for the Abolition of Capital Punishment" should be reactivated.

11) An Ad Hoc Committee on the Death Penalty, comprised of members of the workshops, was formed, with Mike Mahoney as Chairman.

CIVIL LIBERTIES EDUCATION: 1) A Speakers Bureau should be formed to be available to speak to interested groups. ACLU members should be used in this way.

2) Attempts to get a civil liberties education program into the school should be made. Social studies teachers should be contacted.

3) A booth might be operated at state conventions of various civic groups.

4) "Educational material" should be incorporated in news releases about cases in which the ACLU is involved.

5) More use should be made of filmstrips which are available from National ACLU.

6) T.V. and Radio should be utilized to put on educational programs.

7) Thought should be given of how to overcome the "red" image which the ACLU had in many quarters; approaches to the "conservative" community should be attempted.

CHILDREN BEHIND BARS: 1) A questionnaire should be sent to statewide members of the ACLU to gain information on the practices of juvenile courts and the handling of juvenile cases throughout the state.

2) An attempt should be made to learn how far Georgia is from meeting the standards of the Gault decision.

3) A pamphlet should be produced containing the results of this survey.

4) An Ad Hoc Committee, comprising members of the workshop, was formed. Mr. N. B. Versluys is the Chairman.

DUE PROCESS: 1) A survey of police procedures in the 5 county metropolitan area should be made.

2) Information on vagrancy arrests and bonding procedures should be accumulated.

3) Thought should be given to regarding homosexuality as a disease, just as alcoholism is now coming to be viewed.

4) A statewide public defender system should be established.

RIGHTS OF WELFARE RECIPIENTS: 1) A pamphlet for welfare recipients, advising them of their rights, (similar to "Know Your Rights") should be produced, to educate not only the recipient, but also the social worker and administrators.

2) A study should be made to determine whether Georgia laws and administrative procedures are consistent with the requirements of federal laws and procedures.

3) The scope of such a study should be limited to those areas which are covered in the National ACLU handbook.

4) It was recommended that a committee be formed, with Mike DeVito as Chairman.

A WARNING FROM NATIONAL ACLU: The Right and Importance of Dissent

The American Civil Liberties Union warns that freedom of expression is in danger because of the rising tension over the Vietnam War, declaring that "unless the right and importance of dissent are reaffirmed and defended, the nation could slip back into a new era of McCarthyism with its dangers to a free society -- fear, conformity and sterility."

The Union's appraisal was prompted by recent statements of public officials and prominent citizens seeking to curb or silence dissidence from government policy in Vietnam, and by a random survey of 43 ACLU affiliates across the nation revealing local pressures on dissenters.

While noting that dissent has not been smothered, " the time to worry, and to act, is not after dissent has been choked off, but when the evidence of repression come on the horizon. As the war escalates and citizens continue to demand more bombing -- or the end of bombing, or negotation or outright withdrawal of American troops -- clear and discernible pressures are rising for restraints and punishment of those who oppose the war."

The ACLU emphasized that its concern dealt exclusively with the right of dissent, taking "no organizational position on the war itself".

THE ALCOHOLICS CASE -- DRUNK OR SICK

The case now goes before the Fulton Superior Court and should come up sometime midsummer. Municipal court Judge R.E. Jones found the plaintiff guilty of public drunkeness and loafing but suspended punishment in both convictions and granted certiorari for an appeal. The ACLU was pleased that the way had been paved for the higher court to settle the issue: can a chronic alcoholic, a sick man according to a section in the Georgia Code, be legally arrested and sentenced on a drunk charge.

PROFILE

Name _____

Address _____

Occupation _____ Telephone # _____

Particular area of interest (Death Penalty, Children Behind Bars, Due Process, Rights of Welfare Recipients and Civil Liberties Education, others)

Talent (writing, research, membership recruitment, folding, stuffing, etc.)

Can or cannot volunteer time _____.

Approximately how much if yes _____.

Opinions, comments and suggestions (on anything)

The following are the names of friends or acquaintances who should be asked to join the American Civil Liberties Union:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

_____ You may use my name when you circularize them.

_____ I would prefer it if you did not use my name.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

ACLU

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

April, 1967

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CHANGES JURY SELECTION SYSTEM

In the past, Georgia grand and trial juries were selected from tax digests, which were frequently segregated, and which always eliminated the non-property owner from selection as a juror.

The ACLU in the past three years has brought court challenges all over the South of the convictions of Negro defendants before juries which systematically excluded Negroes from service as jurors. A notable case in Georgia was that of Leon Davis and Phil Whitus, both sentenced to death by an all-white jury almost seven years ago. In January, 1967, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that they did not receive a fair trial and ordered Georgia to re-try them before a desegregated jury.

As a result of this decision and others, the General Assembly realized that many convictions could be challenged on the same grounds. It therefore passed new legislation abandoning the tax digest and basing selection upon voting lists:

"In composing such list they (the jury commissioners) shall select a fairly representative cross-section of the upright and intelligent citizens of the county from the official registered voter list which was used in the last preceding general election. If at any time, it appears to the jury commissioners that the jury list... is not a fairly representative cross section...they shall supplement such list by going out into the county and personally acquainting themselves with other citizens of the county, including upright and intelligent citizens of any significantly identifiable group which may not be fairly represented thereon."

This is an improvement, but it still permits the jury commissioners to discriminate in their selection of certain jurors and rejection of others.

The ACLU takes the position that the only way to insure a non-discriminatory jury panel is by random selection. That is, after eliminating those whose handicaps would prevent useful service -- the blind or deaf, mentally ill or retarded, inability to understand English, those with previous criminal records, etc. -- selection of the panel should be made by picking every tenth name on the list, or every twentieth, or whatever number is required, without regard to occupation, address, race or other individual characteristics.

PLENARY BOARD ASKS ACLU CONSTITUTION REVISION

Kieve Landesberg, ACLU of Georgia Executive Committee member, was our delegate to the ACLU Plenary Board meeting in New York, March 18th and 19th. The Plenary Board acted on the following:

Statement of Policy: Since 1940, the ACLU Constitution has contained the following sentence: "The ACLU needs and welcomes the support of all those — and only those — whose devotion to civil liberties is not qualified by adherence to Communist, Fascist, KKK or other totalitarian doctrine."

Some years ago, the Southern California affiliate proposed dropping the sentence in favor of what they felt was a more meaningful statement supporting the positive goals of the ACLU. They felt that an individual committed to ACLU goals could not, ipso facto, be an adherent of totalitarian doctrines. To impose this test, they argued, was impracticalbe, because we could not, in any case, investigate the attitudes of ACLU members.

Those opposed to dropping the 1940 Resolution felt that this disclaimer is necessary for the ACLU to maintain its non-partisan defense of civil liberties. The general public, they argued, needs to know that while the ACLU defends individuals regardless of their political views, adherents of totalitarianism or racists will not be allowed as members who could affect ACLU programs and policies.

The policy finally adopted by the Plenary Board is somewhere between these two positions. The Board voted to require that ACLU spokesmen, including all officers, board members and staff personnel must be in accord with the objectives of the ACLU as stated in the Constitution, and that these officers, board members and staff must not advocate fascist, communist or racist doctrines. Since this resolution is limited to a small category of members, membership cards will no longer carry the statement quoted above.

This new resolution will be submitted to the ACLU Electors this Spring. Two-thirds of the Electors -- the National Committee, the Plenary Board and the Boards of Directors of the affiliates -- must approve it before it becomes part of the ACLU Constitution.

Roger Baldwin Foundation: The Plenary Board voted to create a new ACLU arm which would enable us to expand ACLU programs by raising tax exempt funds. The Foundation will accept tax-exempt contributions of $300 and up. It will be set up not to compete with affiliate fund-raising efforts.

Dirksen Amendment: The Plenary Board noted that 32 of the required 34 states have passed resolutions calling for a Constitutional Convention to abrogate the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision. Many constitutional lawyers feel that such a Convention might not be limited to just the Dirksen Amendment, but could propose radical amendment of other Constitutional provisions. (Repealing the Bill of Rights might be one horrendous possibility.) Affiliates whose states had not passed such resolutions were urged to exert pressure to prevent their legislatures from so doing.

DIRKSEN AMENDMENT, PLENARY BOARD, CON'T.

Georgia has already passed such a resolution. Observers of the last Georgia election will not be surprised to learn that the Georgia resolution, instead of being sent to Congress, was misdirected to the Library of Congress. This is in keeping with the fine tradition of missing ballots for which our State is justly famous.

Since our General Assembly has already acted, there is nothing for Georgians to do but keep their fingers crossed — hard.

TRESPASSING CONVICTION SET ASIDE

On March 16th, Judge Dan Duke issued an order setting aside the previous conviction of two ACLU clients for trespassing. In so doing, Judge Duke agreed with the contention of ACLU attorney Albert Horn, who said that no trespass had occurred because the initiative to claim trespass had come not from the property owner but from police officers. Judge Duke also stated that the anti-trespass statute itself was of "questionable constitutionality."

The situation of the two ACLU clients is by no means unique. There have been, and continue to be cases in which police officers make arrests for trespassing, loitering and loafing in places of public accommodation, based not on complaints from the owners but on their own initiative and for their own purposes.

In view of these facts, ACLU President Hugh Gibert wrote to Fulton County Solicitor William E. Spence inquiring whether or not his office intended to bring further prosecutions of the same type.

Mr. Spence replied that "under the circumstances (of this case) I will continue to prosecute under the anti-trespass statute, inasmuch as I conscientiously believe this to be the law and even though my position may be reversed."

GEORGIA ACLU SEEKS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

At the March Executive Committee meeting, Executive Director Florence Robin announced that her family will be moving to Maryland around June 1st. E. T. Kehrer, Hugh Gibert and Edward Ladd were appointed a sub-committee to seek her replacement.

The sub-committee in turn asks ACLU members to tell them about likely candidates. The job is headquartered in Atlanta and pays about $7,500 a year. Understanding of and commitment to ACLU policies are essential; professional experience in a voluntary organization would be useful. Please send your suggestions to the ACLU office at 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., or telephone 404/523-5398.

NATIONAL CRIME COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

"Every time a crime commission is appointed, I shudder," an ACLU Director from another state commented recently. And with good reason. Most of them have generated nothing but scare headlines about the increase in crime and the need to stop "coddling" offenders.

But the President's Commission on Law Enforcement is a marked exception. Its report, issued last month, is a searching examination of the failure of our correctional system, with recommendations for improvement while safeguarding individual liberties. Among the proposals are many which the ACLU has long supported:

Juveniles:

Limit police custody of juveniles to instances where there is objective, specific cause
Increase referrals to community agencies
Narrow juvenile court jurisdiction over non-criminal matters
Provide counsel wherever coercive action is possible.

Community relations:

Establish citizen advisory councils in minority-group areas
Recruit more minority-group officers
Provide adequate procedures for processing citizens grievances against all public officials.

Courts:

Provide defense counsel and probation officers in courts now lacking them
Abolish or reform justices of the peace and U.S. Commissioners
Establish bail projects
Establish station house release and summons procedures
Establish standards for publicity in criminal cases
Eliminate criminal treatment of drunkenness when not accompanied by otherwise unlawful conduct.

Other recommendations deal with upgrading police department salaries and standards, reorganization of correctional institutions, improvement of court procedures, expansion of private research, and establishment of a national agency to coordinate crime research.

We have a twelve-page summary of the Commission's findings, and if there is enough of a demand for it, we will be glad to rerun it for interested members. You might want to call the report to the attention of your local high school and college social studies department, your City Council, Police Department and state legislator.

THIS IS YOUR BALLOT

On February 20th, all ACLU of Georgia members were mailed the slate prepared by the Nominating Committee. No additional nominations having been received in the constitutionally allowed period, the slate of officers is as follows:

President:	E. T. Kehrer, Director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
1st Vice-President:	William Alexander, Attorney, Member of Georgia Legislature
2nd Vice-President:	Dr. Faye Goldberg, Psychologist, Member of Morehouse Faculty
Secretary:	Mrs. John Morris, Community Leader
Treasurer:	John Glustrom, Businessman

The Georgia ACLU Executive Committee submits the following Constitutional Amendment:

Article VII - Executive Committee

To the following sentence in Paragraph 1:

"The Executive Committee is to be composed of the duly elected officers, five members of the Advisory Board and the chairmen of the Standing Committees"

add this phrase:

"plus the chairman of each local chapter or an individual designated by the chapter in his place."

This addition is in recognition of the fact that local chapters -- we now have active ones in Athens and Macon -- should share in the day-to-day decision-making processes of our affiliate.

file (Agency)

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION of Georgia

52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ▪ TELEPHONE 404/523-5398 ▪ ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

OFFICERS

HUGH W. GIBERT, PRESIDENT

DAVID B. COMER, III, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

WILLIAM ALEXANDER, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. LEON GOLDBERG, SECRETARY

JOHN GLUSTROM, TREASURER

ADVISORY BOARD:

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DR. JOHN BALL
FRANCIZKA BOAS
DR. DAVID BROILES
HELEN BULLARD
BRUCE GALPHIN
REV. C. S. HAMILTON
ELIJAH HILL, JR.
DR. RICHARD HOCKING
DONALD HOLLOWELL
JEANNETTE HUME
JON J. JOHNSTON
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VERNON JORDAN, JR.
E. T. KEHRER
DR. EDWARD T. LADD
KIEVE LANDESBERG
SAM MASSELL, JR.
SYLVAN MEYER
MRS. NEIL MORAN
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HOWARD MOORE, JR.
MRS. JOHN MORRIS
WILLIAM P. RANDALL
LOUIS REGENSTEIN
RABBI JACOB ROTHSCHILD
DR. GEORGE A. SANBORN
MRS. FRANK SPENCER

MRS. FREDERICK E. ROBIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 11th, 1967

Dear A. C. L. U. Member:

The Annual Meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia will take place on Saturday, May 27th at 2 p.m., at the new Atlanta Press Club, 230 Spring Street, N. W., Atlanta.

You can see from the attached program that it will be a working session. Its goal is two-fold:

o To engage our members more actively in every phase of ACLU activity: policy-making, program and ACLU growth and development. This meeting will be a first, giant step forward in that direction.

o To plan next year's program — where we should be going and how to get there.

But although you should come prepared to roll up your sleeves and work, we hope you will stay for some fellowship and fun. After the working session, we shall have a reception for Florence Robin, our Executive Director, who is moving to Baltimore at the end of the month.

The bar will be opened for members to buy drinks and socialize for about an hour and a half. I know Florence is looking forward to greeting you personally and I am sure you want this last opportunity to say hail and farewell.

As your new President, I, too, am anticipating meeting our new members and introducing you to Rusty Kitfield, our new Executive Director, and to Charles Morgan, Jr., the ACLU's Southern Regional Director.

I look forward to seeing you on May 27th.

Sincerely,

E T Kehrer

E. T. Kehrer
President

1967 ANNUAL MEETING

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF GEORGIA

2:00 P.M. - PLENARY MEETING

Introduction of new President, ACLU officers and new Executive Director by outgoing President, Hugh W. Gibert

The American Civil Liberties Union:

In the South - Charles Morgan, Jr.
In Georgia - Florence Robin
Looking Ahead - E. T. Kehrer

3:00 P.M. - WORKSHOPS

1. Civil Liberties Education

Chairman: Ed Ladd
Resource: Rev. C. S. Hamilton, Sylvan Meyer, Florence Robin
Reporter: J. Otis Cochran

2. Children Behind Bars

Chairman: Grace Hamilton
Resource: Rusty Kitfield, Jean Zorn, Dorothy Gibson
Reporter: Dr. John Ball

3. Rights of Welfare Recipients

Chairman: John Glustrom
Resource: Howard Moore, Karen McCleary, Bill Randall
Reporter: Patsy Morris

4. Due Process of Law

Chairman: William Alexander
Resource: Albert Horn, Charles Morgan, Jr., Hector Black
Reporter: Alan Bonser

5. Death Penalty

Chairman: Rev. Oscar McCloud
Resource: Faye Goldberg, William Stroud, Mike Mahoney
Reporter: Rev. Milner Ball

4:30 P.M. - PLENARY SESSION REPORTS

Five minute report and recommendations from each of the five workshops

5:00 - 6:30 P.M. - RECEPTION

WORKSHOP ASSIGNMENTS

We have taken the liberty of inviting the members we know something about -- either through an expressed interest or from their professional backgrounds -- to participate in a particular workshop. They will find their names, listed alphabetically below. If you find yourself so listed, but would prefer assignment to another workshop, please indicate this on the enclosed coupon.

We ask those members we have not yet had the pleasure of knowing to fill out the coupon and indicate which workshop they prefer. Please give us a second choice, too.

Civil Liberties Education

Paul Anthony
George Beiswanger
Helen Bullard
Milton Chaiken
David Comer
Constance Curry
Al Dale
Abram Eisenman
Bruce Galphin
William George
Hugh Gibert
Mrs. J.C. Harris
Margaret Hurst
Leah Janus
Tobe Johnson
Vernon Jordan
Marilyn Kindrick
Kieve Landesberg
John Lawton
Margaret Long
Thayer Martin
Martin J. Morand
Robert Moscow
Ralf Munster
Judy Neiman
Eliza Paschall
Henry Pratt
Arlie Schardt
Emory Via
Marvin Wall

Abolition of the Death Penalty

L. B. Abbey
Thomas Altizer
Harvey Beal
Franziska Boas
Frances Breeden
H. Stuart Dulpepper
Mrs. F. B. Drake
Clarence Elsas
Elaine Feig
Ted Fisher
Phoebe Franklin
Vincent Harding
Dr. Margaret Heinz
Dr. V. W. Henderson
Butler Henderson
Jeannette Hume
Kay Hocking
Dr. Sidney Isenberg
Rev.Clifton Hoffman
P. Walter Jones
Mrs. M.L.King, Jr.
Dr. Alex McPhedran
Charlotte Moran
Frances Newman
Rev. Frank M. Ross
James O'H. Sanders
Dale M. Schwartz
Mrs. Philip Shulhafer
George Wheeler
Josephine Wilkins

Children Behind Bars

Ronald B. Bailey
Rev.Harwood Bartlett
Alpha A. Bond
Dean B.R.Brazeal
Beryl D. Burns
Mrs. James Boyd
Paul Farmer
Mrs. Sara Flint
Mrs. Rossie Gilmore
Mrs. Harry Gershon
H. Eugene Hall
Dr.Henry Harsch
Mrs. Hilda Henry
John D.Humphries Jr.
W. S. Hutchings
Helen King
Shirley Kuniansky
Dr. Alex.Langmuir
Muriel Lokey
Stephen Mayer
Sarah Mitchell
Mrs. W. Oettinger
Elizabeth Reed
Eleanor Richardson
Dr. Albert Rodwan
Dr. Wm.Rottersman
Dr. Geo. Sanborn
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Mrs. Edith Varon

(more)

WORKSHOP ASSIGNMENTS, CONTINUED

Rights of Welfare Recipients

L. E. Abbey
Dr. Jack Alexander
Dr. Clarence Bacote
George Blau
Betty O'Berry
Dr. C. C. Clements
Noyes Collinson
Leon S. Eplan
Dr. Bernard Fields
Merle Foeckler
William Frey
Winifred Green
Mrs. Herman Heyman
L. S. Johnson, Jr.
Lewis King
Slater H. King
Norman E. Kowal
Jean Levine
Barbara Lipschutz
Dr. A. E. Manley
Father John Mulroy
Frances Pauley
Revelle Pergament
Melvin Rechtman
Mike Reily
Virginia Shields
David J. Snider
Lillian Spencer
Richard L. Stevens
Mrs. E. K. Taylor
LaConstance Taylor
H. D. Thomas

Due Process of Law

Joseph Airov
Julian Bond
Emmet Bondurant
Alexander Cocalis
Harry L. DeLung
Mike DeVito
Madge Feild
Neal C. Gillespie
Denny L. Gore
Leonard J. Haas
Mrs. L. L Hampton
Thomas Harper
Joseph M. Hendricks
Stephen Hester
Joseph Jacobs
Herbert Johnson
Mildred Kingloff
Sidney Maslen
Sam Massell, Jr.
Ralph McCroskey
Laughlin McDonald
James H. Moore
Maurice Mykel
Ted Nordenhaug
Paul T. O'Connor
David Pingree
Louis Regenstein
Morgan Stanford
C. Mildred Thompson

(Please note that in a husband-wife membership, we have listed only one spouse to save space. But of course, husbands are expected to bring wives, and vice versa.)

- -

I shall _____ attend the ACLU Annual Meeting on Saturday, May 27 at 2 p.m. at the new Atlanta Press Club, 230 Spring St., N. W.

I have not yet been assigned to a workshop. I would like to be in the one on _____. My second choice is _____

I have been assigned to the workshop on _____

but would prefer the one on _____

Name _____

agency ACLU ES

FROM: METROPOLITAN DETROIT BRANCH

TO: ALL AFFILIATES, AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

DATE: May 22, 1967

An area of concern for civil libertarians has long been that of how the Bill of Rights applies to children and youth. This concern has led to the formulation of critical issues regarding the rights of juveniles in our courts, schools, and even as they appear on the streets of our cities. These "rights" are sometimes vague and are generally made little more than implicit. Children are frequently viewed in terms of property rights and are almost always without proper spokesman. The Metropolitan Detroit Branch, A.C.L.U. of Michigan, and the Wayne State University School of Social Work joined last year in a joint training demonstration project in an attempt to begin charting this unknown area of children's rights. The committee intends to make explicit those rights or at least, in some cases, to provide guidelines for a civil liberties opportunity range for children.

The Committee on the Civil Liberties of Children and Youth, chaired by David Wineman, has four sub-committees; Courts, Schools, Agencies and Institutions, and Custody. Each of the sub-committees is staffed by a graduate student in social work who spend three days a week at the A.C.L.U. office. The training grant from the Children's Bureau, Department of Health, Education and Welfare provides four student stipends and salary for a faculty supervisor and a secretary. The sub-committees have involved approximately 70 A.C.L.U. members, are all operational, and have moved well into work of accomplishing their tasks.

Enclosed are three policy statements which I feel should come to your attention for your knowledge and because of the potential for application elsewhere. As other statements are developed they will be forwarded to you for your information. The Committee is collecting <u>any</u> available information, e.g., cases, published and unpublished materials, etc., which would enhance its work. We hope to have at the conclusion of the project a rather unique library which will have utility for A.C.L.U. affiliates and other organizations in the United States. We would appreciate any information and material, i.e., briefs, pamphlets, position papers, names of organizations which are pertinent to this civil liberties area.

If there are others who you feel should have this material please refer them to us at the address indicated below.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur E. Antisdel
Unit Supervisor

American Civil Liberties Union
Metropolitan Detroit Branch
1600 Washington Boulevard Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF MICHIGAN
Metropolitan Detroit Branch

POLICY STATEMENT ON HAIRCUT AND DRESS CODES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

General Statement of the Problem

Increasingly during the past several years cases have arisen throughout the country in which students, usually in secondary schools, have been suspended or expelled from school or threatened with suspension or expulsion in relation to styles of clothing worn to school or hair styles. Clothing issues among boys have involved the wearing of blue jeans and levis, tightness of same, height at which they may be worn; the wearing of T shirts versus dress or sport shirts, and among girls the wearing of slacks, certain styles of sweaters, the latter having to do with tightness of the sweater or materials from which it is made (e.g., angora hair sweaters). Among both sexes and increasingly of late with boys the matter of hair length has been the concern of schools, school boards, teachers, principals, superintendents, and occasionally courts of law.

In this issue the problem from the civil liberties point of view lies in the need to determine at which point the rights to freedom of expression of the individual and privacy in the family relationship conflict with the interest of the state, as expressed through the actions of the school.

Freedom of Choice in Dress and Appearance Is a Serious Civil Liberties Issue

In the formulation of a policy statement for the Detroit Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan it should be noted that nationally ACLU's concerns about freedom of expression in dress and appearance are of a continuing nature. In the past five years affiliates in different parts of the country have been involved in numerous law suits raising the fundamental right of the security of the person (California, New Mexico, Washington state, Kentucky, New York). It is certainly likely that many more may become so involved.

Further, the national ACLU has released a preliminary draft on "Academic Freedom in the Secondary Schools" as of last March (1966) in which specific recommendations with respect to the liberalization of the matters of dress and personal appearance are recommended and to which this document will refer. This is included because even to some of strong civil libertarian persuasion it may appear as though these are trivial issues, light minded cracklings in the wind between youth and the adult generations that do not warrant serious legal and philosophical analysis in the spectrum of concern about the nature of personal freedom in our large complex society. The spreading nature of this issue and its realistic as well as symbolic meaning in the relation between youth and society should warn that this is not the case and that, as the journal Education Age (September-October 1966) put it in an article entitled, "Haircuts: The School and the Law":

> In other words and in summary, haircuts themselves are the fringe on the top--the basic, age old crux of the problem is society's (the schools') rights versus individual rights.

The posture in lower courts and some problems therein.--In spite of the fact that the posture of the courts (lower courts) in hearing most of the cases in various parts of the country has been largely to uphold the schools and their rights to establish and enforce certain standards of appearance, there is strong reason to believe that their decisions have not been based on any deep examination of the merits and demerits of specific rules and regulations.

Overall the courts have seen fit to respect the broad discretionary powers of the school in these areas. The assumption has been that school authorities know their own business and that given their right to maintain a proper school atmosphere, under the rights given them by law, their decisions reflect mature deliberation with respect to the issues at hand and represent the best interest and welfare of the community.

The critical note in all such decisions is that the school has assessed correctly that the student behavior in question, if not checked, will in fact disrupt the proper atmosphere of the school conducive to the basic task of education, i.e., the promotion of learning. No court has required the school authorities to establish that the existence of a given dress or haircut style will in fact disrupt the discipline of the school in such a way that learning will be negatively affected. Further no court has inquired into the negative effects of such regulation on the young person's evaluation of the commitment of the school to the principles of freedom insured under the Constitution and central to the basic doctrine of a political democracy.

These two lacunae in the typical behavior of lower courts should be of great concern to civil libertarians: (1) The lack of insistence on evidence that given student behaviors are in fact disruptive to learning especially when (2) the behaviors in question represent constitutionally given freedoms and rights.

It is one thing if a school expels a student for gambling in the locker room or truancy or fighting or drinking, none of which are rights under the Constitution, and another for exercising his right to freedom of expression. Even in the former cases the student, since he has a right to education under the law, should have the right of due process and a hearing. Charges should be proven; innocence must be assumed until guilt is proven. But at least he is not being deprived of a constitutiona right by the very nature of the rules against gambling, truancy, or fighting, and the perception of the youth is bound to be different in such cases than if he is forced to present his person in a particular way of his own choosing.

The position of the national ACLU in "Academic Freedom in the Secondary Schools."--In this preliminary draft issued in March of 1966 and dealing broadly with the matter of academic freedom in the secondary schools for both teachers and students, the ACLU has this to say about dress codes:

> In establishing and enforcing a code of behavior, it must be remembered that an individual student has the right not to conform to the standards of a majority, no matter how overwhelming its proportion, so long as the non-conformity does no injury to the community or any of its members, and so long

> as it does not interfere with the schools's primary function of providing instruction. The compulsory features of any set of regulations can apply only to matters where compliance is essential to the general well-being and to educational goals; they cannot apply to matters where the majority is merely stating preferences. Nor should the administration or faculty ever invoke disciplinary action to force a minority or a majority of the students to comply with its preferences in behavior.
>
> The line between community welfare and personal preferences will often be difficult to establish. The school can for the purpose of distinguishing be guided by the laws, judicial concepts and mores of the community at large. The matter of acceptable dress, for instance, is a frequent issue in schools. Standards of preference might well be included in the student-faculty adopted code. While the faculty members might indicate their concept of preferable social modes, they should not insist that their judgments of good taste are necessarily and in all details superior to that of the students. Rigid requirements and undue emphasis upon dress tend to highlight external as opposed to intrinsic means of expressing the values of individuality and personal freedom. The only restrictions on dress that should be recognized within school are the legal or social limitations that generally obtain in the extramural world and those extremes in dress, or lack of it, which in fact threaten to disrupt instructional processes. (pp 17-18)

To this may be added a note in which the elements of plain "psychological horse sense" would be most pertinent. A well-established principle involved in human interaction is that which is known as the "self-fulfilling prophecy". "A" behaves in such a way toward "B" that "B" in turn responds to him in such a way that fulfills "A's" original expectations. If "A" assumes that "B" is hostile to him, he may start out with a behavior set premised on this assumption of hostility. Then when "B" in turn becomes hostile, "A" says, "Ahah! I told you so!"

The expectation that long hair is disruptive to school discipline causes some administrators to initiate behaviors toward the student which in fact become stimuli for increased attention getting on the part of the student, greater measures of defiance, some of which by the process of group contagion spread to other youths, and the administrators seem to have proved their point. But have they? Especially when the behavior in question touches deep feelings with respect to personal liberty it is almost inevitable that hostile responses will be invoked in the youth which will then be read as a general attitude coupled with the hair or dressstyle which is under attack.

While psychological theory cannot be substituted for the law or the right of the school to maintain proper order and a learning atmosphere, it can provide guidelines within which the school may most wisely utilize the rights it does have. We submit that the test of whether or not a given behavior adversely affects the school must be factual, must be based upon observation ofall the actors in the drama and how they affect each other, not merely the youth in a vacuum, devoid of the behavior of

adults toward him, thus isolating them from any causal part in what ensues.

It is notable in this respect that within the educational establishment there are signs that officials themselves are coming to realize that respect for individual freedom must have high priority, combining this with "psychological horse sense" and a goodly dash of humor:

> Dr. Lewis Albee, assistant superintendent of high schools in San Francisco, said, "Insofar as youngsters behave themselves and are clean, we ignore long hair and other juvenile aberrations like miniskirts."
>
> "Obviously we would prefer men students to wear short hair, but it is a juvenile prerogative to be nonconformist. I suggest the only way to cure the long hair craze is to have all adults let their hair grow. The kids would show up with crew cuts."
>
> There was a similar philosophy at New Trier Township High School on Chicago's affluent North Shore. Supt. William H. Cornoy said:
>
> "We have a very high regard for the freedom of the individual, and if this freedom is not abused to the detriment of others we have no reluctance to let people wear long hair... I don't think we can identify characteristics of people by the way they dress and the way they wear their hair." ("Victory's Elusive as Adults Battle Teens' Long Locks," The Detroit News, October 19, 1966, page 11E.)

Also Commissioner of Education in the State of New York, James E. Allen, Jr., last March and again recently overruled local school officials, once on the wearing of slacks to school by a girl high school student and recently on the matter of long hair on the part of two boys. Allen's rulings are based upon scrupulous legal reasoning with respect to the rights of the individual, parent or child, to protection under the Bill of Rights of both state and federal constitutions from undue interference of government, on the national, state, or local level. It may be instructive to quote from Mr. Allen's ruling on the appeal in the Dalrymple (slacks) case issued March 14, 1966:

> Specifically, the board of education has the power to make "such regulations and by-laws as may be necessary to make effectual the provisions of (the Education Law) . . . and for the . . . general management, operation, control, maintenance and discipline of the schools . . ." The statute further gives the board of education "all the powers reasonably necessary to exercise powers reasonably necessary to exercise powers granted expressly and by implication and to discharge duties imposed expressly or by implication by (the Education Law) or other statutes."
>
> Consequently, there can be no question but that the board of education has the power to make reasonable rules and regulations relating to attire and appearance of students while in school or

on the school grounds. This is part of the board's broad powers and responsibilities to make such rules and regulations as will contribute to the smooth administration and operation of the school. It is axiomatic, however, that such rules must clearly relate to the educative process and must be necessary to the protection thereof.

In regard to attire, the board, for instance, would clearly have the right to prohibit the wearing of such items as metal cleats on the shoes which might damage the floors, a type of clothing in physical education classes which unduly restricts the student from participating therein, long-haired angora sweaters in cooking classes where open flame gas ranges were used, any kind of apparel which indecently exposes the person, or, in sum, to prohibit the wearing of any kind of clothing which causes a disturbance in the classroom, endangers the student wearing the same, or other students, or is so distractive as to interfere with the learning and teaching process.

It must also be pointed out, however, that the rights of the individual, be he parent or child, are protected by the Bill of Rights of both the state and federal constitutions from undue interference by government, on the national, state or local level.

In the cases of Pierce v. Society of Sisters and Pierce v. Hill Military Academy, 268 US 510, 534, 535, for instance, the United States Supreme Court held unconstitutional a State statute which

> "unreasonably interfers with the liberty of parents and guardians to direct the upbringing and education of children under their control. As often heretofore pointed out, rights guaranteed by the Constitution may not be abridged by legislation which has no reasonable relation to some purpose within the competency of the State. The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the State to standardize its children . . . the child is not the mere creature of the State; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for educational obligation." (emphasis supplied)

In an earlier case the United States Supreme Court (Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 US 390, 400, 401) stated as follows:

> "That the State may do much, go very far indeed, in order to improve the quality of its citizens, physically, mentally and morally is clear; but the individual has certain fundamental rights which must be respected. The protection of the Constitution extends to all . . . -- a desirable end cannot be prompted by prohibited means."

In the case of West Virginia Board of Education v. Barnette 319 US 624, 638, the United States Supreme Court stated:

> "If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein. If there are any circumstances which permit an exception, they do not now occur to us." (emphasis supplied)

Application of the above principles to the case at hand indicates that a school district does not have the power to compel students at pain of expulsion to wear a uniform type of clothing. To the extent that in this case the children in senior high school are required to wear dresses rather than slacks, this, of course, immediately gives rise to the presumption that a uniform type of clothing is being prescribed. It is obvious, as a matter of legal power, that if the school district has the right to insist on skirts for girls, it would also have the right contrarywise to insist on slacks or any other mode of dress (Ruling No. 7594, Commissioner of Education, New York, March 14, 1966, printed.)

Recommendations

The Schools Sub-Committee of the Committee on Rights of Children and Youth recommends that the Detroit ACLU adopt the position of the national ACLU document quoted above (pages 2-3) as its basic guideline in approaching school dress problems. Intrinsic to this position is the responsibility of the school to demonstrate that dress or hair style to which the school objects does in fact disrupt the learning atmosphere of the classroom or broader environ of the school.

This position recognizes the right and responsibility of the school to maintain a proper atmosphere conducive to learning but seeks to press the school to define reasons for suspending or expelling students or threatening to do so in relation to dress or hair style on grounds other than the mere existence of a rule per se which assumes in advance that such will be the case and which the violation of per se becomes grounds for disciplinary action. Further, this position expresses our sharp concern with the anti-democratic nature of such policies and our fear that they indeed wreak harm upon the youth not only by depriving him of his rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. They also engender a disillusion and even disrespect for freedom in youth via the influence of very powerful modeling factors in the child's 12 years of exposure to the school environment in which he spends half of his waking time, nine months a year. In short, we fear the negative learning for democracy that the present policies may well be inculcating in youth.

We recommend that the Detroit Branch in taking such a position publicize it, consider intervention in an appropriate case to represent a plaintiff in the courts who seeks to challenge the schools' right to

arbitrarily and unreasonably controll dress and hair codes, that it also seek to exercise its function of negotiation and exchange of ideas with school administrations short of court action toward the broad objective of the liberalization of school policy with respect to both the constitutional rights guaranteed the individual in the society and the implementation of fair procedures in dealing with youthful expression of the individuality of the self.

Submitted by Committee on Rights of Children and Youth
Schools Sub-Committee

Prepared by: David Wineman

Reviewed by: Samuel Clark, Adrienne James

ADOPTED by Board of Directors, Metropolitan Detroit Branch, American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan, October 26, 1966

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

ACLU

ERRATA

"Corporal Punishment in the Public Schools"

Page 12 - last sentence should read:

This transfiguration of the formal requirements of due process in an agent of the state we hold to be a minimal requirement under the Constitution and not the mere reflection of a particular educational philosophy or a benign and child-loving personality, although it may indeed be reflective of these or many other personal and professional characteristics.

(Underlined words were omitted in original copy.)

Policy Statement

Metropolitan Detroit Branch
American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Prepared by: David Wineman and Adrienne James
in collaboration with
Frederick B. Jansen, Fayette Loria,
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Legal sections prepared in consultation
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Reviewed by: Arthur Antisdel, Larry K. Brendtro, Ph.D.

Submitted by: Committee on Civil Liberties of Children
and Youth, Schools Sub-Committee

Submitted February 22, 1967

The conclusions and recommendations of this statement were formally adopted by the Board of Directors April 11, 1967.

Copies available on request at a nominal charge from:

Metropolitan Detroit Branch
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I

POLICY, RELEVANT LAW, AND DEFINITIONS

In order to set a frame of reference for the detailed discussion contained in this document, it is necessary to cite three sources: the written policy of the Detroit Board of Education and the Michigan statutes with respect to "corporal punishment" or "physical force" and the dictionary as a beginning point for the development of definitions relevant to the subject.

Policy

The policy of the Detroit Board of Education with respect to discipline contains the following provisions relevant to the issue of corporal punishment, as outlined in The Teacher's Handbook:[1]

Discipline and Corporal Punishment

The official policy concerning discipline and corporal punishment is as follows:

General Statement

The policy in the Detroit schools is to provide school conditions, conduct school operations, and develop relationships between teachers and pupils, and among pupils, that contribute to orderly operations with as much freedom of expression and activity as will be conducive to the growth of individual responsibility and self-discipline.

There is no formula by which teachers can have appropriate disciplinary action for immature, cooperative children who are well and without special emotional strain, that also will hold when the teacher is confronted with an emotionally disturbed youth or with a group of adolescents seeing how far they can go in making life miserable for a teacher.

It is a general policy to expect that teachers will maintain discipline by means other than the use of corporal punishment. This policy does not prohibit corporal punishment but does restrict its use, in accordance with the following provisions, to these cases in which there is no adequate substitute treatment.

Definition

The term "corporal punishment" shall be understood to mean any use of physical force by a principal or teacher upon a pupil.

Legal Aspects of Corporal Punishment

Under Michigan law the teacher is considered to stand in loco parentis with respect to his pupils while they are under his charge. The teacher thus, in loco parentis, may punish a pupil for acts that are detrimental to the good order and best interests of the school. The punishment administered must not be cruel or excessive and must be proportioned to the gravity of the offense, the apparent motive and disposition of the offender, and to the size, sex, and physical strength of the pupil, and must not be such as to cause lasting pain or injury. The teacher may not act wantonly or from malice or passion.

School Administration of the Discipline Problem

. . . . .

8. A continuous record of student discipline cases will be maintained in a place available for staff use as a basis for recommendations for suspension and intelligent administering of penalties for misdemeanors.

. . . . .

Prohibited Disciplinary Action

Punishment which, in the judgment of the superintendent, is more severe than that which might be administered by a reasonable parent; which is cruel or excessive; which is more severe than is indicated by the gravity of the offense, or the apparent motive and disposition of the offender; which is excessive with respect to the sex, size, or physical strength of the pupil; which results in lasting pain or injury; or which is administered wantonly or from malice or passion, is prohibited in the Detroit schools.

Clear Understanding of Policy Necessary

It is essential that a clear understanding should exist between the principal and the teachers in each school concerning the above policy. Principals should, therefore, discuss this important matter with their teachers frequently enough to insure that all are well informed on this phase of the disciplinary problem. The principal should be informed promptly by a teacher when incidents occur which require the use of corporal punishment. This will permit principals to be of greatest assistance in working with parents and the teacher for a full understanding and solution of the problem.

This policy is incorporated into the agreement between the Detroit Board of Education and the Detroit Federation of Teachers by reference thereto and by specific references.

The reader's attention is drawn to section requiring maintenance of "a continuous record of student discipline cases" and the requirement that teachers promptly inform the principal when corporal punishment is used, neither of which are enforced, according to spokesmen for both the

administration and the union. (See "A Survey of Corporal Punishment in Detroit," section II.)

Relevant Law

Three state statutes specifically relate to the issue of corporal punishment:

15.3755 Physical force to take weapons from students.) Sec. 755. Any teacher or superintendent may use such physical force as may be necessary to take possession from any pupil of any dangerous weapon carried by him.

15.3756 Disciplinary use of physical force.) Sec. 756. Any teacher or superintendent may use such physical force as is necessary on the person of any pupil for the purpose of maintaining proper discipline over the pupils in attendance at any school.

15.3757 Liability for use of physical force.) Sec. 757. No teacher or superintendent shall be liable to any pupil, his parent or guardian in any civil action for the use of physical force on the person of any pupil for the purposes prescribed in sections 755 and 756 of this act, as amended, except in case of gross abuse and disregard for the health and safety of the pupil.

(Public Acts 1964, No. 290.)

Definitions

Attention is drawn to the use in all of these documents of the terms "corporal punishment" and physical force" as synonomous, which they are not, and which we suggest creates an unnecessary obstacle to the development of policy and law which could be effective in maintaining classroom order and discipline.

We recognize that there are occasions on which children in school have to be physically controlled for the reason that their behavior is such as to present danger to others, to themselves, or to the learning atmosphere. We insist, however, that a distinction be drawn between the terms "corporal punishment" and "physical restraint" and offer the following definitions:

Corporal punishment: The infliction of bodily pain as a penalty for doing something which has been disapproved of by the punisher.

Physical restraint: The prevention of another's actions by physical force directed against that person in such measure and no greater than is sufficient to prevent such actions.

In essence, the differences (implicit and explicit) between corporal punishment and physical restraint are the following:

1) Corporal punishment intends pain for an action performed; physical restraint intends only to stop the action.

2) Corporal punishment intends the pain to be experienced as a penalty; physical restraint does not intend the force exerted to be experienced as a penalty.

3) Corporal punishment may be applied after an act has been consummated or during its performance; physical restraint is applied only during the performance of the act.

   a) When corporal punishment is applied during an act, it performs the function of physical restraint and punishment; when applied after an act, it performs only the function of punishment. Corrollary: In all instances of corporal punishment performed during an act, physical restraint itself could be substituted to effect stoppage of the action.

With respect to the claim that physical restraint does not intend pain, it may be observed that pain may occur nonetheless for the following reasons:

1) The subject may hurt himself in his attempt to get free from the restraining force.

2) When the physical strength of the subject approaches that of the restraining adult, in order to successfully prevent the child from breaking loose, the adult may feel impelled to use hurtful holds in order to discourage the attempts of the child to free himself. This, of course, is on the assumption that the adult has been able to gain a certain physical initiative which permits him to do this. We must immediately point out, however, in this connection that the closer the child is to the strength of the adult, the feasibility of both physical restraint and corporal punishment as an emergency behavioral stoppage technique drops sharply. What, for instance, makes anybody believe that if the adult is not physically powerful enough to restrain a child, he is physically powerful enough to cause that child to stand still for punishment? In fact, there is strong support for the view that the use of physical punishment drops off sharply in our school system with older children.

3) The adult may be hurt by the child and may not be able to refrain from hurting the child, either as a reflexive reaction or as a deliberate or necessary action to protect himself.

4) The child may be hurt by inadvertent action on the part of the adult through clumsiness in the physical interaction.

If corporal punishment is proscribed and non-painful physical restraint is sanctioned in school policy, there is every reason to believe that painless use of physical restraint is a highly feasible tool for handling

behavior emergencies in the classroom where other techniques are not adequate to help the child regain control. Especially is this indicated by the fact that corporal punishment is as frequently used to stop behavior on an emergency basis as it is to "teach" the child a lesson. If the child's behavior is stopped through the use of physical restraint and punishment is still indicated, means other than corporal punishment may be used.

In the definition of corporal punishment it is necessary to include under the term "infliction of bodily pain" not only striking but any action which seeks to induce bodily pain; for example, forcing the child to stand on tip toes with his fingertips outstretched against a wall or board, making him stand in one place without moving for long periods of time, forcing him to crouch or bend over and remain in such painful and cramped positions for long periods of time, forcing him to run laps around the building or in the gym until he is exhausted, etc.

* * * *

Reference

1. The Teacher's Bulletin, 1966, Detroit Board of Education, C5-C9.

II

A SURVEY OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN DETROIT

When the Committee on the Civil Liberties of Children and Youth was first introduced to the complaints of parents and teachers concerning the use of corporal punishment in the schools of Detroit, an initial inquiry was made as to the point of view of those who had formulated the policy and those who were charged with its implementation. Interviews were conducted with representatives of the Board of Education (administration) and the Detroit Federation of Teachers. The reports which follow reflect in our opinion the points of view of those interviewed:

Board of Education, Administration

Interview of June 14, 1966: Dr. Norman Drachler, Dr. Charles Wolfe representing the administration; Ernest Mazey, Bernard Gottfried, and Frederick B. Jansen representing the ACLU.

1) The administration has always been concerned about possible abuse of the corporal punishment policy. Dr. Wolfe expressed the opinion that the state by its action in promulgating certain statutes (page 3) relevant to the use of physical force by teachers reversed the administration movement, which had been away from the exercise of corporal punishment.

2) The administration attributes the reactivation of the right to exercise corporal punishment to the overtures of the teachers in the Detroit system even prior to collective bargaining. Prior to this request of the teachers there was an unwritten policy that corporal punishment was an undesirable and ineffective means to solve disciplinary problems.

3) There has been no insistence by the administration on the observance of the requirement in the official corporal punishment policy (page 2) that each incident involving such punishment be reported to the principal in order that conferences might be held with parents in order to eliminate the need for further occasions of behavior disorder and similar punishment. This is the clearly stated intent of the policy. The principal's responsibility is to work "with parents and the teacher for a full understanding and solution of the (behavior) problem."

4) It is the considered opinion of both Dr. Wolfe and Dr. Drachler that there are few serious problems resulting from the use of corporal punishment by teachers and that its use is minimal. Dr. Wolfe especially feels that the problem is being well-handled in a school system of such great size.

Hearing of June 27, 1966: Dr. Wolfe, Dr. Drachler, Dr. Perry, and George Bushnell, attorney, representing the administration; Ernest Mazey and Frederick B. Jansen, representing the ACLU; Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Paul, parents; Robert Paul, student at Monnier School.

1) The administration views serious injury as the chief criterion in evaluating specific instances of the use of corporal punishment.

2) The administration feels that when grievances of parents on this subject are presented, it is not possible to "reconstruct the total picture." (Dr. Wolfe) This position was supported by Dr. Drachler at this meeting and was later supported by Attorney Bushnell at a similar hearing on August 23, 1966, when he said in certain opening remarks that "we can't arrive at a jury determination of the facts."

3) The administration admits that there is no specific action spelled out in the present policy that would enable them to discipline a teacher who had imprudently and unjustly administered corporal punishment short of gross abuse. In cases of gross abuse power exists to transfer or to dismiss from employment but only after a prolonged series of hearings under the teacher tenure provisions.

Detroit Federation of Teachers

Interview of July 19, 1966: Mrs. Mary Ellen Riordan, president, and Edward Simpkins, vice-president, representing the Detroit Federation of Teachers; Dr. Lawrence Tourkow, Mrs. Fayette Loria, and Frederick B. Jansen representing the ACLU.

1) The explicit policy of the Detroit schools is derived from state law and the Detroit Federation of Teachers stands in favor of this statute in its present form.

2) The present policy as defined in The Teacher's Handbook is perceived by the DFT as reflecting accurately the philosophy of the Board of Education on the subject.

3) The rationale of the DFT for official support of the use of corporal punishment is as follows:

   a) It renders the teacher invulnerable to court suits that might result from the physical restraint of pupils intending to harm themselves or others.

   b) Corporal punishment is an appropriate device in the development of pupils' inner behavior controls.

   c) The teachers of the Detroit school system can be trusted to apply corporal punishment sparingly and with good judgment.

   d) Teachers within school systems which do not permit corporal punishment are placed in physical jeopardy by virtue of this lack.

4) The evaluation of the present policy by the DFT is that it is a good policy, reasonable and practical.

5) Although corporal punishment is a legitimate means to maintain order and discipline, it is not to be considered the sole or primary means of maintaining such discipline.

6) It is impossible to formulate a policy statement that will distinguish between the use of physical force in situations requiring physical restraint and in those demanding physical punishment.

7) Psychic and emotional damage is unlikely to result in children who have received corporal punishment.

8) In situations in which a teacher might be using corporal punishment excessively and unreasonably, it is expected that the principal of the school and will be responsible for correction of the situation.

9) In situations in which a local official uses corporal punishment excessively and unreasonably, it is expected that the superintendent of schools or his representative will correct the situation.

10) Record-keeping and reporting to the principals by persons involved in instances of corporal punishment is construed by the DFT as too heavy a burden to be placed upon teachers and would be subject to abuse in action against teachers by school administrators.

As can be seen by these reports, there is a difference of opinion between the administration and the DFT on the effectiveness and appropriateness of corporal punishment. On one point they are agreed: there is a low incidence of corporal punishment in the Detroit public schools.

Survey of Key Personnel

This Committee has not explored with either of the above groups what they mean by "low incidence" but from our investigations and from information that has come to the Committee from other sources we assert that there is a high enough incidence of corporal punishment to warrant concern and to indicate a need for revision of the present policy and procedure. The following evidence is cited in support of this contention.

A brief but significant survey was made of key personnel in several schools and in the administration. This survey does not have the weight that a more scientifically researched project would bear, but we feel strongly that more thorough research would reveal similar findings. In answer to the question as to whether or not corporal punishment as a routine disciplinary technique in the classroom was practiced, the following people made affirmative response:

Community agent, elementary school
Counselor, junior high
Principal, junior high
Teacher, junior high
Social worker, junior high
Social work student, junior high
Attendance department representative
DFT representative

The only negative response came from the principal of a senior high school whose policy is the strict forbidding of corporal punishment in his school and who would not guess as to the practice in other schools. This report covered six different schools, five involving routine use of

corporal punishment. We would not venture to guess the number of schools involved in shaping the opinions of the representative of the DFT and the attendance department. We assume that they were making reference to more than one school.

Complaints Directed to ACLU

Several cases involving the complaints of parents from different schools have come to our attention. Three of these are well known to the administration: incidents at the Monnier, Hampton, and Sampson schools. Summaries of these cases can be supplied to appropriate parties. We would, however, like to present the outline of one such school's practice in regard to corporal punishment as submitted to us by an offended mother whose child attends the Custer school:

> Mrs. C reports to us that her 11-year-old son was severely spanked with a paddle in this school for talking in class without permission. When he returned home for lunch, his posterior was so painful that he could not sit down at the table, and this led his mother to inquire as to what had happened. When Mrs. C attempted to obtain redress of grievances, she was told:
>
> > By the police: That there were no grounds for criminal action against the alleged offender, and
> >
> > By the assistant principal: That teachers had a right by state law "to whip them" (children).
>
> This is not the first time that Mrs. C has had cause to complain about unfair and harsh corporal punishment. Another daughter, while attending this school, was struck on the hand by a teacher using a packet of rulers held together by rubber bands. The injury was severe enough to cause noticeable discoloration and to prevent the use of the hand for several days. Mrs. C reports that the teacher involved in this incident is still at the school, having been promoted to rank of "counselor." She also reports that there are several teachers who are well known to parents as habitual administrators of corporal punishment and that the result has been the creation of a common impression in the minds of many parents that the school is conducted by a "reign of terror.

This particular complaint is representative of the many received by ACLU.

III

A SURVEY OF OTHER CITIES

The Committee also investigated policies in reference to corporal punishment in other large city school systems comparable to Detroit in urban characteristics. We noted first that there are some in which corporal punishment is absolutely forbidden. These include Chicago, Newark (as well as all of the other cities and communities in New Jersey), and Baltimore. The Superintendent of the Baltimore city public schools offered this comment to us in his reply: "It is generally known that corporal punishment as a means of discipline is not an effective solution. It is our feeling, therefore, that the banning of its use would not affect 'teacher morale.'"

Secondly, we discovered that there were school systems which spelled out more precisely than the Detroit policy the conditions and manner of administering corporal punishment. In some school systems only the principal is permitted to use corporal punishment; in others an adult witness is required to be present; in others only certain parts of the body may be struck; in others the offending child must be punished privately and not before his peers; in others the use of instruments is forbidden; in others only male children may be punished corporally.

The intent of these restrictions is to protect the child from spontaneous and momentary loss of self-control by a teacher under pressure and from harsh and unduly painful methods of punishment. For example, San Francisco permits corporal punishment only "in extreme cases, and after other modes of correction have failed." It restricts its use to boys and restricts those who administer it to the principal and assistant principal. It requires the presence of a witness. It requires written records submitted monthly to the superintendent of schools. This policy also contains within it a provision permitting teachers to restrain pupils from behavior which is "uncontrolled or threatens injury to persons or property." A further requirement is that the principal "immediately report to the parents his exercise of corporal punishment."

The implications of this survey of other cities will be reflected in the recommendations of the Committee in the sections to follow. We would, however, suggest immediately that alternatives to the Detroit policy do exist, are found viable by administrators, and appear to do a more effective job in protecting the child from unfair punishment.

IV

ISSUES IN CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

The law is as wise as its understanding of the various permutations of the human condition and their moral and evidential bearing on each other. Law as the instrumentality of society is not an end in itself but properly should reflect all that we can say about the human condition so that it may be instructed as to the proper pursuit of justice. Given this premise, it behooves us to use the broadest array of perspectives with respect to the diverse ways in which aspects of that human condition may be represented.

To this end, we have approached the issue of corporal punishment of our children in public schools through analysis of the following factors:

1) Constitutional issues;
2) The anachronism of the *in loco parentis* principle in the present day school setting;
3) The relationship between bureaucracies and individuals and the impact of public policy on human relations;
4) A survey of professional scientific and empirical evidence,
5) Impact of removing corporal punishment.

Constitutional Issues

The interpretation of the Constitution is an evolving not static process. The shifting demands of an ever-changing social order for legal-philosophical analysis of this seminal, policy-setting doctrine of our society has been leading the higher courts to decisions which provide an increasingly powerful signal that the juvenile is to be considered equal with the adult in his right to the protections of the Constitution.

"Due Process"

The right to due process is a particular concern of recent court decisions. Punishment in the public school acquires the status of a governmental act on the basis that the school is an agent of the state. Certainly the violation of body integrity, which the administration of corporal punishment necessarily includes, must be interpreted as a deprivation of liberty, which under constitutional provisions no state is entitled to enforce without due process of law.

In governmental, quasi-judicial bodies the 14th Amendment guarantees the right of due process to any person facing charges for which the punishment therefor involves interference with or abrogation of a constitutionally-guaranteed right. This process normally includes: (1) notification

of charges, (2) right to counsel, (3) opportunity to rebut charges in a fair hearing, and (4) a separation among accuser, judge, and executioner.

The practice of punishment in the schools, particularly corporal punishment, rarely if ever provides any of the above guarantees to the child. If it were possible to pick and choose among which of such violations were more distasteful than any other, the compression into one person (teacher) of accuser, judge, and executioner would probably win out. Especially since the teacher is usually more powerful, both in physical and psychological terms, than the child, this becomes an even more flagrant deprivation, posing the danger that the child will be too frightened even to be able to conceive of his rights in the matter at hand.

This is a complex issue in its own right. What is at stake is the question of the role of the adult in the child's evolution of a concept of justice. Central to this is the nurturing in the child of his ability to question whether he is being wronged or not. Fear of the accuser is capable of killing such a questioning sense because the child's fear of hurt is so strong that the very idea that he is being treated unfairly becomes, as it were, a dreaded motive which might lead to dangerous conflict with the accuser-judge-punisher and must be suppressed from his consciousness. Of such stuff is repressed hostility composed, only to emerge in other contexts in irrational forms.

This does not mean that simply because the child may judge that he is being wronged that he is correct in his perception. The point is that the child must be free to think in terms of "Am I being treated fairly or not?" and to say it. Obviously, the adult may or may not agree with the child but, most importantly, has a full opportunity to teach the child at this point the basis of adult's decision with respect to the child's behavior which is being questioned or challenged. Of such stuff is proper training provided for the development of a sense of justice.

Yet, is it reasonable to expect the school to provide formal procedural due process protection in every instance of violation by a child of a classroom rule, to have in effect a judicial tribunal in every classroom? It is obvious that such a demand would break down the ability of the teacher to create a normal productive teaching environment.* We should expect, however, that the principle of due process will provide or define for the classroom teacher the basic underlying ethos for the administration of justice in the teacher's own bailiwick. As an adherent of the Constitution and as a practitioner of participatory democracy, the teacher should exemplify to the child the spirit and practice of fair play and procedure: the teacher should embody or personify justice, both as an exponent and model of the Constitution and as an educator in democracy. This transfiguration of the formal requirements under the Constitution and not the mere reflection of a particular educational philosophy or a benign and child-loving personality, although it may indeed be reflective of these or many other personal and professional characteristics.

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*The school may, however, be expected to apply formal due process in instances of higher administrative action, e.g., in cases of suspension and expulsion.

Suspension of formal due process requirements places a greater not lesser burden upon the teacher-practitioner for just and reasonable action because in the necessary embodiment of accuser-judge-executioner the teacher is put in the unenviable position of needing to guard against an accretion of self-serving motivations flowing undammed from the juxtaposition of these three roles normally separated in the justice model of a civil society. We submit that this burden is immeasurably increased by giving the teacher the right to inflict corporal punishment. The very swiftness and retaliatory nature of the "fast swat" do violence to a temperate treatment of the three roles embodied in the person of the teacher.

"Cruel and Unusual Punishment"

Regardless of the model of due process that exists in the classroom (formal or informal), there remains the critical issue of the kind of punishment that may be administered. The 8th Amendment, binding not only upon courts but upon all governmental agencies and upon the states by the 14th Amendment, prohibits the use of cruel and unusual punishment. The definition of cruel and unusual punishment constantly reflects evolving standards of decency in the society. At the root of the cruel and unusual punishment proscription, says the Supreme Court, is "nothing less than the dignity of man." At one time we could incarcerate the drug addict but now, if confined, he must be treated. Incarceration of the chronic alcoholic, who is compelled to drink, is now being challenged in the supreme courts of both Michigan and Washington.

With respect to the use of physical punishment, most if not all states have eliminated whipping of a prisoner convicted of a felony, even on judicial order, because of public indignation over such brutality. May we not then be startled that children in our schools (any one of 350,000) may be struck several times with a 12-inch board for the "crime" of talking without permission or not dressing for gym? What we have, in effect, is that the child, deprived of any semblance of formal due process, may be physically struck with a weapon -- a punishment which may not, in this state and in most others, be visited upon a felon convicted of rape, armed robbery, murder, and other high crimes and who has, in fact, received the benefit of due process in the courts.

To this we must now add that "cruel and unusual" should reflect awareness of the psychological and emotional damage of corporal punishment to the child that is stressed in much of the literature on child growth and development. (See "Professional Viewpoints," following.) Given that corporal punishment, among all the techniques of child management, is the one that raises the most serious question of psychological damage and that it may not be administered in this state even under court order, we hold that its embodiment in public policy and use in the public schools constitutes a form of cruel and unusual punishment.

Conclusion: Corporal punishment as practiced in Detroit public schools violates the constitutionally-guaranteed right of due process and the right to be free from cruel and unusual punishment.

In Loco Parentis: A Critique

The doctrine of in loco parentis is, in the context of today's society, a legal fiction and a psychological naivete.

A Legal Fiction

Legally, the doctrine of in loco parentis stems from the reasoning in the 18th century of the famed English jurist, Blackstone, that the private tutor, contracted to teach the child of the wealthy landowner, had the legal right to treat the child as the parent would in the same situation were the parent present when the child became infractious. Thus, the tutor could not be held legally liable for the use of physical punishment of a reasonable nature any more than could the parent.

Bear in mind that this was one teacher and one child, operating in a private contractual relationship totally voluntary on the part of the parent in the home of the parent. By contrast, in today's educational setting in the typical classroom we have 30 to 40 children and one adult in a public building and not in the child's home. The child faces many adults per day in different rooms and faces a hierarchy of adults per school -- teacher, assistant principal, principal -- with different roles, statuses, and powers. The parent is not in a private contractual relationship to the teacher but in a compulsory public relationship to the state. Child and parent are now in a relationship to a bureaucracy.

Yet the law behaves as though this whole evolutionary process had never occurred. Blackstone's tutor was one person. Today's teacher and child are part of a bureaucracy in which the child is exposed to a mass environment with many complex structures of rules, policies, personnel, roles, and group psychological climates while away from his own home (in which Blackstone's tutor and child typically functioned). To argue further the diversity between the two situations would be carrying coals to Newcastle.

Further, in loco parentis -- literally from the Latin "in the place of the parent" -- is rendered even more fictitious by virtue of the fact that when there is a conflict between what the parent expressly directs toward the school as his wish and what the school considers proper from its point of view, the school enforces its point of view. Is this "in the place of the parent" or superior to the parent?

In a current case in which the ACLU is representing child and parent, and still to be heard on its merits, the mother of a 15-year-old boy supports her son's right to determine his own hair style, but the school insists on enforcing its own standards. In place of, or superior to, the parent? What of the parents in the Birmingham school case (also being represented by the ACLU) who approve of their children having a fraternity but which the school -- on the grounds that membership was selective -- ruled a secret fraternity and banned on penalty of expulsion? In place of, or superior to, the parent?

What of the parent who does not spank his child? In place of, or superior to, the parent?

A Psychological Naivete

Can a teacher be perceived as a parent?

In how many ways may the teacher express the functions of a parent toward the child as compared with the parent himself in his own role? For example, if perception and feeling toward another are based in facts of experience, then the very narrow range on which teachers are free to display parental functions and qualities toward the child -- as compared with the parent himself -- seriously challenge the idea that the teacher can indeed have the psychological and emotional meaning of a parent for the child. The parent may express love, concern, approval, and disapproval, which provide models for imitation, protection, gratification, pleasure, displeasure, and a host of other influential behaviors associated with the parental role. The multiplicity of ways in which the parent does these things so greatly outstrips the range, both culturally and legally, open to teachers as to seriously vitiate the psychological assumptions in the in loco parentis concept.

Does a child have 100 parents?

As it stands, any teacher (the teacher of the moment) is considered to represent the parent. Let us define a parent as an indivisible and non-multipliable unity in the child's experience and of which he normally has only two. The child as a public school pupil on the other hand, as he progresses from kindergarten through 12th grade, has about 100 teachers, strung out in clusters through this time process. Each of these teachers is in many ways different from the other and from each of the child's two parents. Can any and all of these possibly be considered as having the same evidential meaning to the child as his own parents? Should we not ponder to what degree the shortness and changeability of contact between the child and the teacher breaks down the value and meaning of the teacher as parent?

Conclusion: The principle of in loco parentis is based upon an antiquated and contemporaneously inapplicable conception of the parent-teacher and teacher-child relationships.

Corporal Punishment as Public Policy

The legitimation of corporal punishment in the schools on the part of non-parents such as teachers and other school personnel creates a set of consequences for the growing child which are on a level distinctly different than the use of corporal punishment in the home. This argument neither examines nor relates to parental use of corporal punishment but merely examines certain consequences attendant to its use by bureaucratic representatives who have temporary status in the child's life. In the present argument we seek to show that the law and its extension of the legitimation of corporal punishment in school systems is injurious to children. If this can be validly argued, then the policy and laws pertaining thereto should be revoked on the grounds that they are against the public interest.

Error and Accountability

The child may have 100 teachers, more or less, on his way through the transmission belt of public education. The act of making it possible for school personnel to spank children (350,000 in a system such as Detroit with 11,500 teachers) confers the status of public policy on the right to physically pain children and provides sanction to 100 people more or less in the life of a child. Since each of these persons exists for the child in short cross sections of his development, none of them has the opportunity to correct or compensate for judgmental errors which may become evident at some later date. Even if a careful record were kept each time a school adult spanks a child (which it is not, contrary to the requirements of the present policy in Detroit), this problem would not be solved.

For each semester of the child's life in school, from kindergarten through 12th grade, a battery of adults are given the privilege to spank. Spanking is one of the most critically questioned techniques of child management. The time factor required to judge its effects on the child (beyond immediate behavioral stoppage) may well involve many months, perhaps years, of observation of multiple aspects of the child's overall functioning. Presumably the reasonable adult, if he determined that corporal punishment was harmful to the child, would stop it. Yet, in giving the teacher of any semester of four and a half months duration the privilege to spank, we are assuming that the damage to the child could become visible in such a time period. Since a child normally has in every semester several teachers, each of whom can spank, this extends to three or four adult-child twosomes. None of these "spankers" normally have conferences on 30-40 children. They couldn't. Typically, each spanker operates in isolation and silence vis-a-vis the child's other teachers. Then the child moves to the next semesterial slot and so on, where this process may be repeated with a new battery of spankers who have the same limitations. In other words, a child may be spanked all the way through school by about 100 adults who may never talk to each other, even though they may want to, about the effects of such spanking, either in a given semester or between semesters or between schools. Any semblance of appropriate evaluation of the procedure of spanking is terrifyingly absent.

The lack of opportunity to evaluate whether what one has done is good or bad for the child creates a potential threat to the child's welfare. Thus, investing a societal role (the teacher role) with the right to produce pain in children through public policy is inherently dangerous.

Higher Authority Sanction

It is an inescapable observation that to a certain meaningful degree none of us is ever completely free from the impact of hierarchically superior opinions of our behavior. One net effect of this is to feel more justified when the "authority" says something "goes" or is "out." The encapsulation of corporal punishment in administrative policy we hold has the effect of encouraging its use and discouraging alternatives simply (if for no other reason) on the grounds that it has been so sanctioned. It makes not much difference in this sense whether any given adult (teacher)

operating under these conditions has reservations within himself about the use of corporal punishment. A startling and dramatic piece of psychological research bearing testimony to the mechanisms of obedience to authority against the "better inclinations of the self" is reported in Human Relations. Milgram conducted a series of experiments in which he found a high percentage of subjects willing to hurt another person at the command of the experimenter, even though the subject himself experienced considerable tension and conflict at carrying out such instructions.[1]

Translated into the present argument, this means that the sanction of corporal punishment by boards of education will, for an undisclosed number of teachers, mean: "They allow us to do it, so why worry about it?" If we add to this the motivational force in the direction of teacher aggression provided by some children and by a lack of sufficient resources, we have the spectacle of ready-made conditions for the extensive use of corporal punishment on the double ground of authoritative sanction and frustration aggression.

Teacher Peer Group Pressure

Given an administrative policy which sanctions the use of corporal punishment, we may expect that normative standards for how teachers ought to handle defiant children more and more involve physical punishment. We are not certain as to how many schools actually go in this direction mainly because, although required, records are not kept. There is evidence, however, that such norms do exist in some schools. What then happens to the rare teacher in such a school whose conscience and professional ethics still demand avoidance of this technique? Such teachers frequently become objects of ridicule and attack from their peers -- and we have had narrative reports from teachers which support this -- because they represent reminders of the professional conscience from which the others have abdicated. There are even instances of the school administration becoming punitive toward such "deviant" teachers.

Further, we must remember that many teachers develop guilt over the use of corporal punishment. When this happens, the guilt feelings may not be tolerable and in that case contribute to the tension of the teacher. What happens then is that the feelings are released in the form of even more aggression against the objects who inspire them: the children and the "deviant" teacher who doesn't go along. The latter has the effect, of course, of keeping "deviant" teachers to a minimum.

Of such stuff is the brutalization of an environment made.

Only children in schools

Finally, it is observed that in no other public bureaucracy dealing with people who are its compulsory subjects does the American society permit by official policy the use of corporal punishment -- not in law enforcement, prisons, mental hospitals, army, navy, as well as any other settings where children are subjects of control by the state, to wit, foster homes and institutions. While physical punishment, including brutality, undoubtedly occurs in all of these, it needs to be done sub-rosa and can become a basis for dismissal of the employee if discovered.

We are convinced that in all of these kinds of settings the violations of human dignity would be increased if the policy of physical punishment were officially sanctioned, and we reason analogously that this ratio of excess exists in public schools as compared with what might be the case if it were forbidden. It is also noted that in all of the bureaucracies noted the same excuses exist, notably paucity of resources which increase the frustration of personnel, thus leading to punitive behavior, but these are not the basis for official endorsement. Only in the case of minor children in public schools does this become the case, and we are thus constrained to interpret this as a special kind of deprivation of human rights directed against children as compared with adults.

The DFT contends, as reported on page 8, that it is impossible to formulate a policy statement that will distinguish between the use of physical force in situations requiring physical restraint and in those demanding physical punishment. There is every reason to believe that such a policy could be formulated on the basis of careful distinctions between corporal punishment and physical restraint, such as defined and discussed in our first section (pages 3-5). Furthermore, these distinctions must be implicit, if not explicit, in the policies of other organizations responsible for people -- including public schools -- wherein the use of corporal punishment is forbidden and the use of restraint is recognized under given circumstances.

Summary

This argument speaks to the special effect of public policy endorsement of corporal punishment, quite apart from its status as a child management technique. The major points are:

1) Public policy endorsement to punish children by painful techniques confers a privilege on a multiplicity of adults who do not have the opportunity to correct or compensate for judgmental errors because of their temporary status in the lives of the children.

2) Higher authority sanction inherently promotes the use of corporal punishment through the mechanism of obedience to authority, providing an officially endorsed outlet for teacher aggression produced by the frustrations created by the limitations of resources or by any other cause.

3) As an outgrowth of official sanction, corporal punishment in some schools becomes a normative standard and the teacher who does not conform may be ridiculed by peers and/or punished by administrators.

4) The use of corporal punishment as an official policy is not extended to any public bureaucracy with compulsory subjects except the public schools, thus creating a special kind of deprivation for children as compared with adults.

Conclusion: Public policy endorsement of corporal punishment poses a special threat to the best interests of the child.

Professional Viewpoints

This section is an attempt to pose in point and counterpoint knowledge and theory about the impact of corporal punishment on human behavior and development as reflected in books, articles, and professional journals from the fields of education, social work, psychology, and psychiatry. Citations from these sources are used to buttress arguments.

A Neglected Area

In the literature surveyed and in the position of the DFT, a most vital area -- criteria for use of corporal punishment in relation to the effect on the child -- has been neglected. In fact, the DFT position that psychic and emotional damage is unlikely to result in children who have received corporal punishment would seem to indicate a denial that such an issue even exists. We contend that it does.

Analysis of the corporal punishment issue can never be assessed independent of the specific child about whom we are talking. Children (or any human being) cannot be considered mere standardized bits of protoplasm reacting routinely to a given act directed toward them from the outside world. Individuals have different ways of reacting to what happens to them, and it is their reaction to what happens and what that reaction means to their state of functioning and to their future that makes what is done good or bad. What makes sulfa, penicillin, or cough syrup good or bad is never calculated only in terms of the chemical properties of such drugs but also in terms of what happens once they are introduced into the blood stream of the particular patient.

The literature is remarkably inadequate with respect to this assessment of the individual child and the comments of the DFT are devoid of recognition of the individual child and criteria for deciding whether corporal punishment is or is not the instrument of choice. Although the DFT refers to the possibility of "excessive and unreasonable" use of corporal punishment, these terms are not defined. Punishment is administered for "acts that are detrimental to the good order and best interests of the school." What about the best interests of the child? Such a lack of concern for the effects of punishment on the individual child is objectionable from two points of view: (1) from a technical mental hygiene position for reasons elaborated below and (2) from a philosophical position, since it abnegates the individual *qua* individual, which should certainly be high on the list of priorities of the school as a major institution of a political democracy in which individual welfare is the most celebrated single goal.

Every child at times, and some children with developmental problems almost chronically, may be unable to avoid negative consequences from corporal punishment. Whether it be a basically normal child or a disturbed child, the child's vulnerability to damage must be determined before such drastic procedures are used. Then and only then can anything like a go-ahead signal be imagined. Whether or not the teacher thinks she can cause the child to stop the behavior is only one of

several criteria that should be used, although many people think it is the only one or certainly the main one. While this document is not aimed at detailed discussion of criteria for child management, it appears to us that we should at least give examples of some criteria in the case of any kind of punishment, physical or otherwise. From what we know about the child, then, these are some kinds of issues to be addressed in deciding whether a given kind of punishment is indicated:

Timing.-- One of the trickiest issues regarding punishment is its timing in relation to the "offensive" behavior. The fact that spanking tends to come very quickly on the heels of the "offense" enters into this issue because in an untold number of cases the child's act was entangled in so many issues, soaked with so much feeling, anger, confusion, and distortion that no punishment situation can be expected to do the trick unless those problems are handled first.

Group effects on behavior.-- Classrooms are crawling with group dynamics, among which is the usual phenomenon of ranking in group esteem and affection. Every group has its scapegoat, the child who for one reason or another is the butt of other children's cruelty. These usually inept children frequently "bug" the teacher as much as they do other children and may be apt to break rules more frequently out of their general social clumsiness and despair. Of course, a spanking by the teacher delights the group and turns over a new opportunity for merciless razzing and teasing by only too eager classmates. On the other side of the ledger is the "tough guy" of the group, much admired for his tough traits. When spanked, he musters up high bravery in the situation, exciting the admiration of others, which only consolidates his toughness and swings the group more determinedly behind his standards and against the teacher. A common role in classroom groups is that of the instigator, who is expert in manipulating other children's behavior. The object of manipulation is frequently the object of spanking. Certainly both instigator and object are in their own ways victims: the instigator because it feeds his delusion of manipulatory power and the helpless instigatee because he is punished without insight on the part of the teacher, instead of his real problem, suggestibility and gullibility, getting the attention it deserves.

Special symptoms.-- Some children "ask for" punishment because they have begun, in ways that are too complex to describe here, to actually enjoy it. They are moral masochists, who love to feel sorry for themselves and nurse their grudges against the world which has "done them so much wrong" and who turn punishment into self-pitying delight or the juicy gratification of a perverted need. Corporal punishment is also contraindicated for other children who seem to "ask for it," although not with the same frankness as the masochists. These further examples include (a) delinquent children, whose code of violence is only further enhanced by spanking; (b) suspicious children, who provoke the adult to "prove" his enemy status in their eyes; (c) children who are having trouble in the learning process and who express their frustration, anxiety, or guilt in aggressive actions which draw punishment, which then further alienates them from learning, and (d) the "cash and carry" customer, who cheerfully submits to punishment so that he can continue a pattern of

irresponsibility for his own actions. While some may feel that the emotionally disturbed child is a special case and is statistically insignificant anyway, we must keep in mind that many emotionally disturbed children remain in normal classrooms throughout the total school experience and are subject to the same policy as "normals." Further, there is always a hidden -- as yet undetected -- percentage of such children in the normal classroom.

This is not a complete list of areas needing evaluation but is sufficient to illustrate that the effect on the child and what is produced inside of him becomes a very critical point for determining the use of any form of punishment. This is even more critical in the case of corporal punishment because of its particular characteristics of pain, swiftness, and irreversibility. This last point may need a bit of clarification: Say, for instance, the teacher punishes the child by making him stay after school. At the very outset of the punishment, however, she may get a clue that this is not a good move. In that case she can "reverse" by moving into a dialogue with the child in which she suspends or changes the punishment, immediately reviewing with him why she has done so. This same leeway is not present in the swift use of the paddle. When it is done, it is irreversible.*

"Last Resort"

The overwhelming impression the reader gets in reviewing the literature and statements relevant to this issue is that exponents view corporal punishment as a "last resort" device, as reported by Hickman:

> Even schoolmen who oppose corporal punishment in principle tend to support it as a last-resort discipline. The prevailing view in public schools: corporal punishment is not wise; where permitted, it is not recommended; when used, it is after all else has failed; when applied, it must be administered carefully.[2]

In view of complaints received and investigated by this Committee, there is reason to believe that corporal punishment is used in Detroit considerably more than as a "last resort," even though the intent of administration policy is that "last resort" should be the case. An incisive question in regard to this position is posed by Kaplan, who asks, ". . . if this (corporal punishment) is an effective way to manage children, why not use it in the first place?"[3]

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*This section is based on discussion of punishment in Fritz Redl, When We Deal with Children (New York: Free Press, 1966). We do not in this paper wish to appear to be shrinking the whole subject of behavioral management to punishment. There are many ways to influence children without punishment at all. Deciding when to use punishment or other techniques is not, however, the topic of this report. For a thorough discussion of behavioral management, see, for example, Fritz Redl and David Wineman, The Aggressive Child (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), "Techniques for the Antiseptic Manipulation of Surface Behavior."

Protection of Teachers

Significantly, the rationale advanced by DFT officers in the interview reported on pages 7-8 reflects basically the same stance as that of published corporal punishment exponents, i.e., the major focus is on the protection of teachers, in both a legal and physical sense. Protection of teachers against possible court suits is the first rationale indicated by DFT spokesmen, and this question of the legal status of the teacher with respect to the use of corporal punishment receives much attention in the literature.[4] That such legal protections exist cannot be disputed as to fact but only as to rationale and value basis, as has been done in the preceding sections of this paper.

While we would not question the importance of protecting teachers, as any other human being, in those instances where protection, whether of a physical or legal sense, is needed, we contend that permitting teachers to use corporal punishment on students is neither an appropriate nor an effective way of providing teacher protection. More important, the use of corporal punishment in schools leaves the child not only unprotected but makes of him a victim of raw physical power. Legal assistance to teachers who may need it should be provided on an individual case-by-case basis.

Harmful Effects on Teachers

On the other side of the teacher ledger are the arguments concerning harmful effects to the punisher (teacher), of which the following two statements are representative:

> The crying need is to investigate the effects of force on those who resort to it. The answer is unequivocal that the effects are detrimental.[5]

> Perhaps the worst aspect of corporal punishment is what it can do to the punisher in his temptation (God help us) to its pleasurable exercise, the arousal of the atavistic urge, the bared teeth, and the ancient animal lust for battle.[6]

Skinner, who has spent a professional lifetime studying the effects of punishment, comments in this regard that "In the long run, punishment, unlike reinforcement, works to the disadvantage of both the punished organism and the punishing agent.[7]

"Good of the Majority" and Teacher Exasperation

Wilson, in advocating "sometimes" use of corporal punishment as a "drastic substitute" for expulsion, points to two factors which he thinks justify the use of corporal punishment: (1) "the good of the majority" sometimes must prevail "even if an individual must suffer in the process" and (2) teachers have "exasperation points that are real."[8]

Certainly in any civilized society, the best interests of the majority must be recognized and protected, but in the context used by Wilson, the assumption that corporal punishment of the individual may be the best way to accomplish protection of the group is highly debatable. Physical restraint is a better and more effective control measure, as advocated

by Redl and Wattenberg: "In those schools where there are really potentially dangerous children, it would seem wiser to provide adequate personnel capable of restraining children who need it than to give everyone a license to use the dubious measure of physical punishment."[9]

As to Wilson's second point, the fact that teachers have "exasperation points" (as do we all) should not be a basis on which they are relieved of responsibility and liability for their actions. As Hilgard notes in this regard, "Children frequently act in provocative ways which exasperate adults, but the danger of injustice in punishment is great, and children are very sensitive to injustice."[10]

Fear and Control

Moving now to the impact of corporal punishment on children, two arguments are advanced by the DFT which relate to developmental and psychological theory. The first is that corporal punishment is "an appropriate device in the development of pupils' inner behavior controls." We are at a loss to understand the basis for this statement, since we know of no support for it either in the literature or among our own Committee members and their colleagues, numbering among them some of the nation's most prominent experts in child care, development, and education. On the contrary, one of the strongest positions against corporal punishment is that as an educational tool it is not useful because of its reliance on outside control and its failure to contribute to self-control. This is aptly pointed out by Fraiberg:

> For apart from all feelings on the subject, even its exponents cannot claim that this punishment (spanking) teaches anything. At its worst, it is the only punishment that creates its own appetite, so to speak; it is self-perpetuating because no learning takes place and the cycle of crime and punishment renews itself interminably.[11]

Buxbaum notes that "By using fear (as prompted by corporal punishment), we may be able to gain control over the child, but the child will not be able to control himself."[12]

Relationship to Behavior

Nash reports that "A thorough N.E.A. study concluded that the investigation had failed to demonstrate that giving the authority to teacher or principal to administer corporal punishment had any effect whatever in reducing behavior problems" and further that an English study of corporal punishment in schools with students of similar background revealed that "the schools where corporal punishment was absent had the best records of behavior and delinquency" and "that behavior deteriorates and delinquency increases as corporal punishment increases."[13]

Corporal punishment generates counter hostility, which may be directed against another individual or which may strengthen the antagonistic impulses that the punisher is trying to eliminate.[14] Or, as Redl puts it: "Thus, the valid argument against physical punishment is that it calls forth the kind of aggression that can't be internalized. When you are hit, you want to hit back."[15]

Further evidence regarding these particular issues is provided by the research findings of the Gluecks, Freud, MacKinnon, and Sears which verify (1) an inverse relationship between the use of corporal punishment and the development of conscience and (2) a positive correlation between the use of corporal punishment and the development of aggression and delinquency.[16] These outcomes would certainly be at cross purposes with educational and social goals.

Student "Needs"

Esposito argues that corporal punishment provides fulfillment of students' needs and assurance of strong authority figures.[17] These statements are countered by the following, attributed to specific authors but appearing in many writings. As Wolfe points out,

> If punishment, especially corporal punishment, is used on a child, he may come not only to seek punishment but -- what is much more dangerous -- to have all of his human relations colored by the need for it. . . . The child who seems constantly to need punishment may indeed be the very one for whom punishment is most undesirable.[18]
>
> . . . Whatever the reason for "asking for punishment," the parent who cooperates with a spanking will only serve the system (of avoiding guilt) and not the moral education of his child.[19]

Furthermore, experience with delinquents indicates that they would fully endorse corporal punishment in the schools because it vindicates their code of settling interpersonal conflict by physical force. Since youth like these are already in conflict with society because of such codes, certainly the schools, rather than reinforcing such negative attitudes, should model more socially acceptable forms of behavior.

Authority

With respect to "assurance of strong authority figures," there is no argument that such are needed by children. The argument, advanced by many, is that to base such authority on the use of corporal punishment is detrimental to the child's ability to relate to such authority in a socially and educationally constructive way. The child's ability to distort good intentions in some corporal punishment situations and to sense the injustice in others is abundantly clear.[20]

Two other critical factors in this area are: (1) the use of corporal punishment by authority persons (adults) attaches high value to the use of force to achieve one's goals and (2) modeling of aggressive and violent behavior by authority figures (adults) leads to imitation of such behavior by children. Redl and Wattenberg and Aronson, among others, speak to these points:

> In addition (to other arguments against corporal punishment), by using force, teachers set an example which preaches eloquently that deep down they believe that might is right, and that size or brawn mean more than logic and wisdom. Corporal punishment is a denial of everything an educator should stand for.[21]

> For example, child psychologists find that those parents who are most severe in punishing a child's aggressive behavior tend to have children who, although relatively unaggressive at home, are veritable hellions in the schoolyard where their parents are not present.[22]

Another valid point in regard to this issue is that the teacher's most important authority, both to the child and to the society, rests on his or her competence in the teaching role and not in the use of power to compel behavior, which, the evidence suggests, truly undermines the quality of the learning atmosphere. This position appears in many books and articles, including those of Topp, Butts, Hilgard[23] and Mahoff, whose statement typifies this position:

> Teachers are agreed that pupils can learn only in a classroom free from antagonism, fear, and anxiety. In a favorable classroom atmosphere, teachers cement relationships with pupils by tempering firmness with kindness, and by exercising authority without requiring submission.[24]

Furthermore, while strong punishment may temporarily suppress specific behavior, it often has the unfortunate side effect of inhibiting social responsiveness or causing the child to withdraw from interaction with the punisher.

Preferred Educational Methods

Complementary to the preceding position are arguments disputing the effectiveness of corporal punishment and favoring learning techniques which stress reward and approval. Bigge comments on this:

> Results of experiments indicate that punishment does not permanently reduce a tendency to respond. Thorndike's experiments with human subjects indicated that a reward strengthened the behavior which preceded it but that punishment did not weaken it. Through reward, behavior may be stamped in; but the converse, that through punishment it can be stamped out, does not hold.[26]

Woodruff, Bandura and Walters, Aronson, Redl and Wattenberg, and Skinner are among the many others expressing similar views.[27] Skinner further notes the following with respect to schools:

> Ultimate advantages seem to be particularly easy to overlook in the control of behavior, where a quick though slight advantage may have undue weight. Thus, although we boast that the birch rod has been abandoned, most school children are still under aversive control -- not because punishment is more effective in the long run, but because it yields immediate results. It is easier for the teacher to control the student by threatening punishment than by using positive reinforcement with its deferred, though more powerful, effects.[28]

Human "Dignity"

Another argument favoring corporal punishment is a straight moral or religious position, i.e., Smith's contention that human dignity was gained through suffering and is worth suffering to maintain; ergo, since corporal punishment involves suffering, it is good.[29] The logic is weak since we might ask whether all forms of suffering inherently contribute

to human dignity. It is obviously not true that all sufferers maintain their dignity in the suffering process. Furthermore, as a religiously-based argument, it should not be accorded formal recognition in a public school policy.

Home Factors

The final case in favor of corporal punishment, and one that is frequently voiced by classroom teachers, is that with children whose parents advocate and themselves use corporal punishment, this technique must be used because the children do not understand other methods and, in fact, such children often express a preference for corporal punishment. Redl, in commenting on this reasoning on many occasions, has noted that, "Children ask for many things, including booze and girls, but we don't give them that."[30] Topp asks, ". . . if spanking by his parents before and during school years has brought about little improvement in his behavior, how can it be concluded that more of the same by his teachers is going to accomplish anything by way of self-control?"[31] Redl and Wattenberg also point out the critical difference between a parent and a teacher administering corporal punishment, a factor previously discussed in the section on *in loco parentis*.

Democratic Philosophy

Finally, to bring this technical assessment back into perspective, particularly as the issues relate to the ACLU, there is *A Statement of Basic Philosophy* from the Michigan Department of Public Instruction which holds that "our schools should reflect these values":

> 3. *We accept the fact that children are citizens*. The Constitution of the United States gives citizenship, with all its rights, privileges, and responsibilities, to all who are born in our country, or who are naturalized. In addition, we accept the idea that the democratic rights, privileges and responsibilities so guaranteed by the Constitution must be nurtured, and strongly supported and defended by each generation. The operation of our schools and the conditions in our schools should be in keeping with the inalienable rights of the citizen.
>
> 7. *We believe that the school must promote the democratic ideal*. As an important part of the democratic community, the school can and must be a vital means of strengthening democracy. The school must provide experiences in all forms of democratic living. The democratic ideal cannot be promoted by authoritarian methods.

It is important to remember these values, which are apparently not always reflected in school practices, for, as noted previously, it is only against children that corporal punishment is officially sanctioned. The comment of Gummere is perhaps an appropriate note on which to end this section:

> America has generally outlawed the manhandling of prisoners, soldiers, sailors, vagrants, lunatics and animals. But not school children. . . . Winston Churchill said you can tell a lot about a society from the way it treats its criminals. Surely also its children.[34]

Conclusion: Knowledge and theory from the various professions dealing with human behavior provide extensive data against the use of corporal punishment in the schools.

Impact of Removing Corporal Punishment

It must be remembered, as we have pointed out earlier in this connection, that there are major school systems in the United States whose populations have every bit as much social and personal pathology as any school district in Michigan and whose mass management of child behavior has not suffered because of the refusal to provide administrative sanction to the use of corporal punishment. Secondly, our recommendation that physical restraint be retained as an official policy will fully enable the classroom teacher to cope with the same emergencies as does corporal punishment.

It is obvious that the mere removal of corporal punishment from the school system would not in itself immediately result in better experiences for children. There is indeed a lack of proper resources for schools -- smaller classes, better curriculum, availability of special services for hard-to-educate and difficult children, a whole host of improvements in inner city schools, and the general upgrading of life for lower class people are only some examples of needed improvements. To the extent that the use of corporal punishment reflects these flaws in school and society, some teachers will feel even more handicapped if this poor and discriminatory handling of children is removed by policy. However, we are convinced that the institutionalization of corporal punishment, which is really the case when it is encapsulated by official policy, represents an insuperable and dangerous barrier to the effective beginning for such changes. This is chiefly a mechanism through which teachers may continue to vent their frustrations on the child, making the child a helpless victim of a poorly functioning social order. Surely the teacher, while a victim, too, is not as vulnerable a victim as the child. Thus, the justification of corporal punishment through the argument of insufficient resources makes the child pay for society's lack of responsibility.

Further, if we believe that the child is being deprived of guaranteed rights, then regardless of the deplorable state of resources that hamper the teacher, we cannot condone a morally and technically wrong action to go on without protest and challenge. If this reasoning were to apply to other sectors in which the ACLU has expressed itself, such as civil rights, the organization would have remained silent until the proper societal equilibrium had been reached which would have permitted it to correct a wrong without discomfort to some sector of that society.

Conclusion: The dependence of some teachers upon corporal punishment and the feared effects of its removal, while being issues that must be dealt with, are not justifiable reasons for failing to challenge the policy and the law.

V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

A frame of reference for discussion in this paper was first established through description of the current policy of the Detroit Board of Education with respect to the use of corporal punishment, citation of the Michigan statutes pertaining to the use of physical force on pupils by teachers and superintendents, and definitions of corporal punishment and physical restraint. Secondly, there is a report on current practices in Detroit schools as presented by the administration, the teachers' union, other school personnel, and parents and children. Thirdly, the Detroit policy is compared with policies of other cities. The issues in corporal punishment are then divided into five sub-sections, which analyze the following: constitutional issues, the anachronism of the *in loco parentis* principle in the present-day school setting, the relationship between bureaucracies and individuals and the impact of public policy on human relations, a survey of scientific and empirical evidence, and the effects of eliminating corporal punishment in the schools.

Conclusions

The Committee on Civil Liberties of Children and Youth concludes that the use of corporal punishment by school personnel in the management of students, as practiced in the Detroit public school system, poses serious problems with respect to civil liberties. This conclusion is based on the following conclusions, which are discussed in detail in Section IV:

1) Corporal punishment as practiced in Detroit public schools violates the constitutionally-guaranteed right of due process and the right to be free from cruel and unusual punishment.

2) The principle of *in loco parentis* is based upon an antiquated and contemporaneously inapplicable conception of the parent-teacher and teacher-child relationships.

3) Public policy endorsement of corporal punishment poses a special threat to the best interests of the child.

4) Knowledge and theory from the various professions dealing with human behavior provide extensive data against the use of corporal punishment in the schools.

5) The dependence of some teachers upon corporal punishment and the feared effects of its removal, while being issues that must be dealt with, are not justifiable reasons for failing to challenge the policy and the law.

Recommendations

On the basis of the data presented and the issues raised in the foregoing presentation on corporal punishment, the Committee on the Civil Liberties of Children and Youth, through its Schools Sub-Committee, recommends that the Board of Directors of the Metropolitan Detroit Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan approve the following:

1) Adoption of the position that the use of corporal punishment, as practiced in the Detroit public schools, poses an issue of civil liberties concern.

2) Authorization to the Committee on Civil Liberties of Children and Youth to intervene appropriately in order to effect the elimination of corporal punishment in the Detroit public schools.

* * * * *

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American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

May, 1967

GEORGIA ACLU GETS NEW PRESIDENT AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Georgia ACLU members voted overwhelmingly to elect E. T. Kehrer as ACLU President for 1967. Mr. Kehrer, a member of the Georgia ACLU Executive Committee in 1965 and 1966, is the Southern Area Director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. He serves on the Board of Directors of the Workers' Defense League and is a member of the Trade Union Council on Human Rights. He is a member of the Steering Committee of the Southern Inter-Agency Conference, consisting of the Southern-based agencies in the human relations field, and last year served as its chairman.

Other ACLU officers elected are: William Alexander, First Vice-President; Dr. Faye Goldberg, Second Vice-President; John Glustrom, Treasurer; and Mrs. John Morris, Secretary.

The Executive Committee also announced the appointment of a new Executive Director to replace Mrs. Robin, who is moving to Baltimore. She is Mrs. A. M. (Rusty) Kitfield, who has an oustanding background of work in voluntary agencies. She will take over on June 1st.

Mrs. Kitfield has served on the Atlanta Board of the League of Women Voters, as Program Chairman of the Georgia Legislative Forum, as Legislative Chairman for the Churchwomen United in Georgia, and as Publicity Director for the Atlanta Arts Festival.

ACLU members will have a chance to meet both Mr. Kehrer and Mrs. Kitfield at our Annual Meeting. (See the announcement on page 4.)

REFLECTIONS FROM OUR OUTGOING PRESIDENT

Having been two years a celebrity of sorts, I cannot, on leaving, forbear a Parthian shot. The editor has been gracious enough to allow me the use of this space for the purpose. (I will not suggest that the fact that she will leave us soon and will not be able to forbear, had anything to do with it.)

Although our membership growth has exceeded that of any other affiliate in the United States, we have really only just begun. We have a message and a program that would command the allegiance of thousands, not to say millions, if they were properly understood.

We also have, I am afraid, a minority psychology, caused partly by a proper fear that if we become popular we may come to depend upon popularity to the detriment of our mission.

But our mission has to include the spread not only of the mandate of the Constitution and particuularly the Bill of Rights, but also of devotion to them. That is, we must not, in the South, be content with equal justice because it is the law, but we must achieve acceptance of it because it is right. In saying that I do not imply that we have yet achieved either goal, but while the former may come before the latter, it cannot last without it.

Related to this is our greatest unsolved problem, that of how to involve our membership more. We have been forced, so far, to give priority to those things which lawyers must do, but no one on the Board is unaware that we have a large reservoir of talent, for the most part unused, in the membership. I know that members will respond when asked for time and work, because you have done so, and I know there is work to be done. Do not lose heart.

Much of our work in the last two years has been attended by considerable publicity. This has not been unwelcome, because one of our tasks was to get our voice heard so that we could participate in the public debate on issues of concern to us. Now it is generally known that whenever the police abuse their authority by making arrests without warrants, or by using excessive force, and whenever a person is threatened with death in the electric chair, or a child is deprived of education on the whim of the school board, in such cases and numerous others we have an interest.

Some of our work has gone forward without publicity. Defense of the rights of prostitutes to due process of law, and of the right of Julian Bond to oppose the Viet Nam war without losing his seat in the General Assembly make good copy for newspapers.

But there have been times when results could be achieved best by approaches the newspapers knew nothing about, such as the occasion when a 13-year old child was not being allowed to go to school because one of her parents was white and the other Negro. She is now in school.

Such success as we have had has been in large measure the result of the work of Florence Robin. She brought to the job of Executive Director just the right mixture of idealism and pragmatism, and a great deal of elan. Replacing her has not been easy, and we are fortunate indeed in securing the services of Rusty Kitfield. We owe Florence our thanks, and I in particular do.

It has been a great pleasure working with the other officers and the Board. To Al Kehrer and the other new officers, my congratulations and good luck.

Hugh Gibert

GEORGIA ACLU WINS CASE — BUT IT WAS A CLOSE SHAVE!

David Chester Buch, a 20-year old employee of the Atlanta City Construction Department, decided to grow a beard two months ago, and that's when his troubles started.

On February 17th, three weeks before he started growing it, his superiors evaluated his work favorably and recommended that he be given permanent status on the job. While he was growing the beard, a neatly-trimmed one by the way, his supervisor told him that if he didn't shave it off, he would be fired. He refused and was fired for insubordination.

Mr. Buch was represented by cooperating attorney Glenn Zell. The five-hour hearing before the City Personnel Board contained several comic highlights: City officials first claimed that it was not the beard they were objecting to, it was that Mr. Buch sometimes did not wear a tie and jacket on the job. Under cross-examination, however, these officials allowed as how it might be a bit unreasonable to require such formal attire for an employee whose working hours were spent primarily inside the Atlanta sewer system!

At the end of the hearing, the Personnel Board ruled that Mr. Buch must be re-instated and given the back pay accrued during his suspension. Mr. Buch, having won his point, and saved face so to speak, resigned forthwith.

TREATMENT OF ALCOHOLICS TO BE TESTED MAY 12

The ACLU has long taken the position that "...alcoholism is not a crime but a disease. We hold that the customary cycle of arrests and criminal convictions of a chronic alcoholic for public intoxication — an act which he is powerless to avoid — is wholly illegal.

"Because criminal intent to violate the law is absent, the imposition of criminal sanctions upon the victim of a disease for exhibiting the symptoms of his disease constitutes cruel and unusual punishment." (From ACLU testimony before the U. S. House Committee on Interstate Commerce.)

In line with this policy, the Georgia ACLU has taken the case of a chronic alcoholic in Atlanta, arrested twenty-five times for drunkenness in the past two years.

Community agencies, city, county and state health officials and police officers have begun work on a plan for alcoholic treatment centers to replace imprisonment. At the request of some members of this group, we delayed bringing the suit until they could get the plan into operation.

Now we feel, however, that a case testing the imprisonment of alcoholics will serve as a useful spur to these efforts in behalf

of alcoholics. Further delay of our case, we feel, will simply delay the creation of appropriate facilities.

Our client will be represented on May 12th by cooperating attorney Albert M. Horn.

"CHILDREN BEHIND BARS" INVOLVES ACLU, CHURCHWOMEN

The ACLU of Georgia has contributed a leaflet, Children Behind Bars, to a campaign initiated by the Churchwomen United in Georgia to end the practice of sentencing juvenile-court age children to adult prisons. The leaflet is enclosed with this Newsletter.

The Churchwomen are sending the leaflet to every Superior Court judge, accompanied by a letter asking several probing questions:

Why, when we have a juvenile court law in Georgia, were almost 600 children - many of them first offenders - sentenced as adults?

How can probation services for juveniles be improved?

How can we assure juveniles the constitutional guarantees of fair trial and representation by counsel?

The Churchwomen are also sending the leaflet to their members asking their help. We hope ACLU members, too, will want to participate by finding out how many juveniles have been sentenced as adults in their home communities, and why.

ANNUAL MEETING DATE - SATURDAY, MAY 27th

The Georgia ACLU Annual Meeting will be held on Saturday afternoon, 2 p.m., May 27th, at the new Atlanta Press Club on Spring Street. You will get an announcement in the next ten days outlining the program and the speakers.

Meanwhile, we can promise you an exciting meeting which will give you, our members, a long overdue opportunity to speak up for what direction you think the ACLU should be taking so that we can map out our programs for the coming year.

It will also be an opportunity, as noted above, to greet our capable new President, Al Kehrer and our charming new Director, Rusty Kitfield. And also, alas, it will be my chance to say goodbye to the ACLU friends I have met, and those I know only through telephone calls, letters and by their names on membership cards.

SAVE THE DATE: SATURDAY, MAY 27TH, 2 P.M.

WATCH YOUR MAIL FOR THE PROGRAM ANNOUNCEMENT

Children Behind Bars

Case History of a Future Criminal

David Johnson* was eleven years old when he was arrested for burglary. In the county jail, he awaited trial for over two months, housed in the common cell with alcoholics, sexual perverts and thieves.

The Department of Family and Children's Services asked the judge to place the boy in its jurisdiction so that he might be put in a juvenile home. The Superior Court judge refused, stating that in his opinion the child was incorrigible.

At the boy's trial, a man stood next to him and told him when to say "Guilty." The boy says that he had never seen the man before and no one told him that this was his lawyer, assigned by the judge to protect his rights. The boy thought he was a police officer.

David was sentenced to four years and assigned by the State Bureau of Corrections to Alto Industrial Institute, a prison for youthful offenders. By the time he got to Alto, he had had his 12th birthday, so he was not the youngest inmate.

No attempt was made, either before the trial or during it, to determine the boy's mental capacity. In prison, psychological tests revealed his mental age as between seven and eight years old.

Once in his dormitory section, the boy was found swinging a shovel. He explained that some of the bigger inmates were trying to "punk" him (commit a homosexual assault) and that he had to protect himself. So ended his first night in prison.

Is This Treatment Necessary?

What happened to David Johnson is by no means unique. During 1965-66, over 500 children of juvenile court age were sent to prisons instead of juvenile homes.

Many people comfortably assume that because Georgia has a juvenile court law, all children under a certain age are automatically tried in juvenile court. That this is not the case is attested by the hundreds of young people—many of them first offenders—who are sentenced as adult criminals.

This could not happen in two-thirds of the United States. A juvenile cannot be tried as an adult for a non-capital crime in thirty-four states.

One reason for the situation in Georgia is the lack of juvenile courts in every jurisdiction. Another is the refusal of some Superior (criminal) Court judges to turn the juvenile offender over to the juvenile court. Thus, in one Superior Court jurisdiction, a boy of fifteen, who committed a robbery, can be tried as an adult. In another, a boy of the same age, committing a robbery, may be tried as a juvenile. Often, a prison sentence is a matter of local geography.

The ACLU Interest

The American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia has long been concerned with the treatment of juveniles in this state.

First, we know that many indigent juveniles tried as adults are, as in the case above, given only perfunctory representation—representation which robs them of their rights, instead of safeguarding them. A juvenile's liberty is as precious to him as an adult's. Further, even in the informal atmosphere of a juvenile court, the rights of the juvenile to bail, speedy trial and representation must be protected.

Second, we take the position that sentencing a child to adult prison is cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the 8th Amendment of the Constitution. The broadening concept of what is cruel and unusual punishment includes the imprisonment of juveniles in adult prisons, particularly in view of the homosexual activities, endemic to such institutions.

Some commitments of juveniles may be challenged legally on these grounds. But a legal challenge is a partial solution at best. As the ACLU of Georgia's president put it:

"There are hundreds of David Johnsons in prisons all over Georgia, and every night, like David, they cry themselves to sleep. The answer to their cries lies not only in individual legal action, although the *ACLU of Georgia serves notice that it stands ready to test each and every case*. The answer lies in an aroused citizenry which will demand that no child of juvenile court age can be incarcerated in an adult prison."

*Fictitious name

What You Can Do

Don't take it for granted that every child who gets in trouble is being handled by experts who know what is best for him.

Find out in your county how many children have been tried in adult court.

Make it a project of your Church group, your civic or social club to learn about these children: how long have they awaited trial? Are they being kept in the county jail before trial with alcoholics, perverts or hardened criminals? Are they being represented—truly represented—by lawyers? Why are they in criminal, not juvenile court?

When you have the facts, talk them over with the Family and Children's Services Department and the Superior Court judge in your community. Find out the circumstances which led to their imprisonment.

Ask your Grand Jury to recommend creation of a juvenile court if there is not one in your county. Enlist other community leaders in protesting children in prison.

A Letter From an Ex-Convict

Some months ago we received a letter from a man who has spent most of his life —starting as a juvenile offender in an adult prison—behind bars. Here are some excerpts:

"Prisons have lessons to teach the young. They learn that the spirit has no place here. They will learn work without meaning, play without fun, eating without taste. The night-soiled reality of prison fosters a negative personality, and when released, he cannot deal with the challenge of freedom after existing in a vacuum of punishment.

"And so the Davids are drafted into the ranks of convict sub-society by the indifference of the rest of us. Antagonized, troubled, without much human feeling, they drift from a painful yesterday and a hostile today toward a hopeless tomorrow."

Surely, we can promise our troubled youngsters something better than this bleak future. Won't you try to help?

American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia

53 Fairlie Street, N.W. ■ Atlanta, Georgia 30303

CIVIL LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

NEWSLETTER, MAY 1968

URGENT: A WIRE FROM OUR WASHINGTON OFFICE

SENATE DEBATE ON A SAFE STREETS AND CRIME CONTROL BILL (S. 917) began Tuesday, April 30th. Title II would overturn Supreme Court confession decisions and bar Federal Habeas Corpus. Title III would authorize wire tapping for a wide range of crimes with no effective controls. Urge Senators and get others to support deletions of Title II and III or, if unsuccessful, oppose entire bill.

Larry Speicer, Director
Washington Office, ACLU

Never before has a wire tap bill even been reported to the floor of the senate. It would be calamitous, because the issue is of immense importance, if Congress were to authorize wire tapping and electronic surveillance by officials of the government as a RIDE to a number of other law enforcement proposals without benefit of the full scale searching inquiry which such a measure demands.

The ACLU is unequivocally against wire tapping and the use of other electronic eaves dropping devices by any person or agency for any reason whatever. It rests this policy on specific policies of the Fourth Amendment against the use of general warrants and searches by govenment officials, and on the basic right of the citizen to the protection of his privacy.

The eaves dropping and wire tapping authorized by Title III is an indiscriminate dragnet, which authorizes the surveillance for 30 day periods, which are renewable. During the 30 day period the bug or tap would normally be in continuous operation. Such a bug or tap will inevitably pick up all the conversations in the wire tapped or bugged room. Nothing can be done to capture only the conversation authorized in the tapping order; all calls are overheard no matter how irrelevant, intimate (husband-wife, doctor-patient, priest-penitent) or constitutionally proviledged (attorney-client).

Another frightening aspect of the proposed authorization of title III is the wide range allowed for its usage.

"Applications for orders authorizing....the electronic eaves dropping may be made only in the investigation of certain major offenses. Each offense has been chosen because it is intrinsically serious or because it is characteristic of organized crime. Title 3 then goes on to authorize federal wire tapping for such crimes as bribery of union officials, embezzlement of union assets, bribery of public officials and witnesses, offering or soliciting kickbacks to influence the operation of employee benefit plans, and "any offense involving the manufacture, importation, receiving, concealment, buying, selling or otherwise dealing in narcotic drugs, marijuana or other dangerous drugs." Every high school or college student who takes a puff of marijuana could be tapped or bugged - every union activity too.

But thats only the Federal list. This bill spells out a broader range of offenses for which the state could authorize bugging. Would you believe section 2516 of this lugubrious legislation would permit wire tapping and eaves dropping for any state crime punishable by more than one year in prison and dangerous to life, limb or property."

Then the President-without a court order has the authority to bug and tap in "national security cases".

"Nor should anything be contained in this chapter be deemed to limit the constitutional powers of the President to take such measures as he deems necessary to protect the United States against any other clear and present danger to the structure of existence of the government."

What does that mean? Here comes de Judge!

It means that a President under his own motion could declare a militant right wing political group (i.e. the Minutemen or left wing group (i.e. Black Nationalists), a national labor despute, a concerted tax avoidance campaign, draft protesters, the Mafia, civil rights demonstrations a "clear and present danger to the structure of the government." Such a declaration would allow unsupervised bugging and tapping.

More...although Title III places restrictions on third party monitoring by enforcement officials (30 days under judicial authorization) it places no restrictions on consensual eaves dropping and wire tapping. Consensual means that one of the parties to the conversation has consented to its monitoring. Title III of Senate Bill 917 is totally permissive with respect to surreptitious monitoring of a conversation even though the purpose may be for insidious purposes such as blackmail, stealing business secrets ets.

LEGISLATIVE TAPPING - as drafted Title III of this bill authorizes bugging and tapping by State Legislative Committees, State Commissions, Congressional Committees, as "investigative or law enforcement officer includes" any officer of the U. S. or of a state or political subdivision thereof who is empowered by law to conduct investigations."

THIS BILL IS A DISASTER - READ ON

Title II of S 917 not only would deny the Supreme Court and other Federal Courts the right to review decisions of any state trial court on the voluntaries of confessions or the admission in evidence of any alleged eye witness which would make such decisions as Miranda dead letter as a result, this legislative creation would greatly limit the power of the Supreme Court and inferior Federal Courts to review writs of Habeas Corpus!

You must be moved to act. Wire or contact your Senators (Talmadge and Russell) immediately. We can't let them say that their constituents were not interested.

* * *

ANNUAL MEETING JUNE 1

Press Club - more about this later but save the day. It will be a luncheon meeting with Vincent Broderick - former Police Commissioner of New York as the luncheon speaker. You may remember that during his tenure in New York he led a furious fight to prevent New York City from having a Civilian Review Board. He won. But interestingly he came out for the Ombudsman concept, in fact became one of the directors of a citizens group to push for it's adoption in New York.

In the afternoon there will be two panel discussions. The first will deal with the U. S. Riot Commission Report and the civil liberties issues therein. Nothing in 1968 could be more important.

The second will deal with the "frontier" or "far out" issues confronting ACLU. For instance some other affiliates have taken positions on the war; is it constitutional? The draft; is it in fact legal? Is "Nurenberg" a valid defense? These are controversial issues and I suspect the format will be a debate rather than a panel. They are issues which we in Georgia have never discussed. Certainly we should hear the arguments.

* * *

OUR CASES

Prisons-Abolishing the County Work Camps. On May 14 a three judge Federal Court will hear the ACLU Southern Regional Office and ACLU of Georgia case to abolish the county prison work camps

as a form of slavery. It will be argued under the 13th amendment, the 14 amendment, and as crual and unusual punishment. It seems this might be the first "slavery" case since the Dred Scott decision. The suit also seeks to desegregate the entire prison system (predictably successful because of the Southern Regional Office's similar Alabama suit) and also seeks to end discrimination in the employment of all corrections personnel. The implications of this suit are tremendous and lead to such fun speculation as; would the counties have to consolidate if they had no slaves?

Juvenile Case - Willie Foster - On May 28 in the Superior Court of Habersham County (Toccoa) a petition for habeas corpus will be heard - if you remember Willie's case, he was sentenced to eight years for four counts of burglary - he being fifteen years old at that time. All the circumstances of his trial were questionable.

The nagging injustice of all the young boys in Alto prison or most of them, is that they could be tried as juvenies in a Juvenile Court as some of their luckier brothers are. This petition states that at no time was there a hearing to determine whether or not Willie should be treated as a juvenile offender by Superior Court Judge Sosbee under his power and authority to sit as a Juvenile Court. Where or how the judge chose to "sit" that day was of critical importance to Willie as the petition declares he was denied due process of law under the Fourteenth Amendment because he was afforded no judicial hearing in whether or not he would be treated as a juvenile offender; he was denied equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment as there are some counties with Juvenile Courts that automatically would have given him a juvenile status. This is a very important gap in Juvenile justice in Georgia and one only has to visit Alto once to know the horrible inequality of the treatment. Ronald Reed is the ACLU cooperating attorney.

Alcoholics in the City Jail - The out come of this case as in the others dealing with any aspect of alcoholism is more or on ice while the Supreme Court decides on a Texas case that seeks to establish alcoholism as a disease. Al Horn brought our action to enjoin certain practices of the police department in the arrest of alcoholics and to declare certain city ordinances as unconstitutional. The police have been arresting known alcoholics for offenses such as loitering, noises, obscene and profane language. Our complaint charges that these arrests are subterfuges to avoid the court decision we won last year forbidding imprisonment of known alcoholics on drunkeness charges.

These subterfuges violate due process and equal protection clauses and constitute cruel and unusual punishment. You may remember that the inmates of the city jail went on strike because of the tripled length of the sentences meted out to them averaging 75 to 100 days whereas the drunkness ordinance generally carries a sentence of 13 days or 25 dollars fine.

This suit also charges that the indigent find it difficult to raise the defense of alcoholism and attack the "loitering" and the "obscene language" ordinances as unconstitutionally vague and violative of the first amendment.

This case will probably be heard sometime in May before Judge Smith in the Federal District Court.

Burger case: Before Judge Pye - May 6 in Fulton Superior Court. Again Al Horn will be arguing on behalf of another alcoholic. ACLU cooperating attorney Bill George filed an amicus brief. "The only issue presented in this case is whether the drunkeness of an alcoholic which is manifested by boisterness and by indecent condition and acting" but causes no physical damage to person or property thereby constitute a crime. We submit it cannot be a crime because the defendants drunkeness was non volitional.

Vagrancy Challenge - April 4 - The Supreme Court of Georgia decided against our appeal to test the constitutionality of Georgia's vagrancy law. We now have petitioned for certiorari to the United States Supreme Court. It will probably not be heard before the fall session if they do indeed decide to hear it. We charge the law offends due process by being vague and indefinite, denies the person right of privacy and freedom of association, encourages unequal, arbitrary and discriminatory enforcement and offends equal protection by allowing persons of property to lead an "idle, immoral or prolifigate life" while denying such right to poor persons. The vagrancy laws make a crime out of a condition not an act. Cooperating attorney again Albert M. Horn.

Eugene Guerrero- Conscientious Objector who refused induction and indicted. The thrust of this case is that the Supreme Court in the Seegar case had established that the "Supreme Being" or religious requirement for establishing conscientious objection was improper. Yet the hearing officer who recommended against c/o status for Gene Guerrero had advised his superior officer. "The registrant's (Guerrero) position is largely a social and philosophicial position and not one that occupies the place of religion in his life... the registrant is sincerely philosophically opposed to military service but is not opposed because of an existing religious belief and understanding "and the hearing officer recommended that he not be excused from combat or non combat training and service.

Attorney A. M. Horn (Same one? Yes) submitted that in spite of the Supreme Court disapproval of a narrow definition of religion in the SEEGAR case, the government is persisting in a definition that would exclude many persons commonly considered religious, including most Buddhists, who also believe in an impersonal Would Force. It is implicit in the hearing officers report that beliefs, no matter how sincerely or deeply felt (as he concedes the defendent's are) cannot be

religious unless coupled with a supernatural element.

His case comes up in Federal District Court sometime in May.

Athens Student Protest- The students who were protesting the University of Georgia rules and regulations were represented by ACLU cooperating attorney Sturgis Bates after the University obtained an injunction curtailing their demonstration.

The coeds must live under different regulations than the male students, and must live in University housing subject to these rules until they are 23. Many and weird are the tales of the zealousness of the University personnel who check up on the morals and where abouts of the students.

Jehovah Witness-Conscientious Objector- Darrell Camp. ACLU cooperating attorney Morris Brown has appealed a 3 year sentence meted out to Darrell Camp - a Jehovah's witness. The appeal will be probably considered in the fall. The thrust of the argument; that he was not allowed counsel at significant times in his journey through induction land.

He also contends that the District Courts limit appeal review to'basis in fact'and refuses to examine back into the selective service procedure and that is a denial of due process.

So you see, we have a loaded docket. We need contributions for litigation. We need a staff lawyer desperately. We need new members to broaden our base in Georgia. Please bear this in mind when the enclosed material falls into your lap. Membership application envelopes that you can make available to anyone who expresses an interest in ACLU and a repeat of the "friends who might be interested" sheet.

If you fill out that sheet, you and the friends you listed will be invited to one of the membership parties which are held bi-monthly. There the ACLU programs and aspirations are explained to the potential members.

Julie Schardt and Bernard McIlhaney are the new membership development chairman and are interested in volunteers.

* * *

Have you renewed for 68? Please have the warm feeling that you are needed.

See you June 1st at the membership meeting. A letter to remind you will go out and we will send at that time a synopsis of the Kerner report, the Riot Commission report so that you can come to the meeting well briefed.

The following are the names of friends or acquaintances who should be asked to join the American Civil Liberties Union:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

_____ You may use my name when you circularize them.

_____ I would prefer it if you did not use my name.

Signed _____

CIVIL LIBERTIES

file

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

JANUARY NEWSLETTER

TELL IT LIKE IT IS
ACLU-1968

Chuck Morgan! Ramona Ripston! Henry di Suvero!

GREAT BIG MEETING
January 29 - 8 P.M. - FREE
Georgian Terrace Hotel Ballroom
Cocktail Reception 7-8 P.M. - CASH BAR

FREE! BRING FRIENDS! LEARN! QUESTION!

We are so very fortunate to be able to have the National Office, the Southern Regional Office and a member of the National Development Council meet with ACLU of Georgia membership to tell what is happening nationally and regionally in our organization - the dynamic involvement that ACLU is projecting in this era of social change.

Ramona Ripston di Suvero and Henry di Suvero are new breed leaders. Young, dynamic, creative in their approaches to civil liberties problems, their selection to important ACLU positions was natural. Ramona, now director of communications in our National Office, served as Associate Director of the ACLU of New Jersey and formerly worked as communications director of New York ACLU.

Graduate of Harvard Law School, member of the National Development Council, Henry di Suvero is the Executive Director in New Jersey and was Staff Counsel of the New York Civil Liberties Union. Both he and Ramona are heavily involved in civil liberties suits growing out of the Newark and Plainfield, N. J., riots -- one of which asks the federal courts to take control of the Newark police force to prevent further brutality until the force can be rehabilitated, and another which seeks one million dollars damages against New Jersey Governor Hughes and other state officials. While civil libertarians everywhere are watching the outcome of these unusual suits, our speakers will give us a participant's account.

Two truly more dynamic people would be hard to find. This is a real chance to have any questions you may have about the National Office and the Development Council answered by those who know.

Chuck Morgan - no slouch in the dynamism department has also consented to speak, in spite of a serious knee injury, to let us on the "inside" of the Southern Regional Office. He will tell it like it is about the Howard Levy case, with all the implications regarding the military in our lives, and the Muhammad Ali case now pending. Suits calling for the desegregation of the prison systems in Alabama and Georgia are also on the docket. Chuck welcomes questioners, supporters and hecklers.

It's not often three such stellar attractions are under one roof and the evening will be too short, so come early to meet them and your friends before the program starts - cash bar from 7-8 P.M.

* * * *

THE BILL OF RIGHTS DAY DINNER was a smashing success. 250 attended and had a wonderful evening with speaker John Henry Faulk, The Honoree, Donald L. Hollowell and the Wits Ends Players. Not only were there great laughs but the deeper note was sounded by both speakers. The thread that binds us all together: our commitment to the freedon and liberties guaranteed by our forefathers.

* * * *

THE PLEDGE CAMPAIGN FOR QUARTERLY PAYMENTS: You will be called in the near future by an ACLU volunteer to ask if your annual membership contribution to ACLU can be increased by pledging a quarterly payment. This division of the amount can make your giving relatively painless and you will receive a bill from the National Office each quarter. We need in Georgia and nationally this increased commitment from our members because of the greatly increased scope and involvement of ACLU and because of pressures from the social changes in our country and the dissent steming from Viet Nam. No one particularly enjoys asking for money - and many times giving is difficult but please seriously consider what we're trying to do and what we are up against and decide accordingly. If you cannot be reached by phone - we will send the pledge envelope on to you.

* * * *

MEMBERSHIP RECRUITMENT: On January 21, the first of the ACLU Sunday Punch's for prospective members will be held. If you have any friends or prospective members you would like to have invited please call the office - 523-5398. We are planning more, perhaps one every other month, and hope you will submit names regularly to us to follow through with.

* * * *

ROBERT FROST: On February 27 we will present, again at the Georgian Terrace, a filmed interview with Robert Frost and a talk by the producer, Robert Hughes. More about that in Februarys newsletter.

* * * *

Below is a letter from Charles Blackburn - a man of wondrous energy and enthusiasm, who is Field Development Director of the Southern Regional Office. All his efforts in Jan. and Feb. are to be centered on ACLU of Georgia and he explains how and why.

THE CHALLENGE AND THE PROMISE: In my observation of the Georgia Affiliate of ACLU in recent months and in reviewing past actions; I have been impressed by the nature and caliber of your position-statements, case work, publications and program events. The Steering Committee of the National Development Council shares this enthusiasm, and made a very tangible expression of confidence in you, the Board and Ruste Kitfield, in the form of a $12,000 grant to the A.C.L.U. of Georgia for the year 1968. What you may not realize is the tremendous significance of this grant, and the challenge which it imposes. This grant is double that given to any other affiliate from regular grant-fund sources, and it constitutes one-third of all grant monies available in 1968. Since such generosity cannot continue in fairness to other affiliates, the promise given in return was to do everything possible to raise the level of contributions of present members and to seek to double the membership within a three year period in order to achieve a self-sustaining budget.

As you can see in the other items in this newsletter, Ruste and Al and I have been at work planning events to further these goals among you, the membership; and to attract new people to support the vital work of the A.C.L.U. We hope to make the forthcoming membership events pleasant as well as informative, and we ask your suppoet both financially and through your suggestions and participation.

Charles B. Blackburn
Field Development Director
Southern Regional Office

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GEORGIA ABORTION LAW REFORM: A Georgia Group is working to extend the cause for legal abortions in Georgia. The present Georgia Law dates back to 1876 and permits an abortion only when the Mother's life is at stake. However, last year Representative Richard Starnes, Jr. (Rome, Georgia) introduced a reform bill that passed the House, but got tied up in the Georgia Senate Judiciary Committee.

The proposed bill is based upon Model Abortion Reform bills approved by the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association. It would permit a hospital abortion when three physicians agree that:

" 1. A continuance of the pregnancy would endanger the life or would probably seriously impair the physical or mental health of the pregnant woman; or
2. The fetus might reasonably be expexted to be formed with a grave and irremediable mental or physical defect."

Bills similar to the above bill were passed last year in Colorado, North Carolina and California. (except that in California the deformed fetus section was stricken to obtain Governor Ronald Reagan's signature).

Bills based on the Model Abortion Act are pending in about twelve other States. Last year the Georgia House of Representative passed the Georgia bill by a vote of 129 to 3. However, Catholic opposition arose and the bill almost died in the Senate Judiciary Committee. It survived by a vote of four to two. The bill comes up for automatic consideration by the Committee this session, but could die without support.

An organization called Georgia Citizens for Hospital Abortions exists for the sole purpose of getting this House Bill #281 passed. You can obtain more information by writing to them at P. O. Box 15544, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia 30322. They suggest several steps if you would like to see Bill #281 passed. First; visiting, calling or writing your Representative to the Georgia Legislature. Second: doing the same to the members of the Senate Judiciary Committee. (Names are available from the Georgia Citizens for Hospital Abortions. Their task is huge and they need help in all sorts of ways!

By Alan Bonser

* * * *

IN THE LEGISLATURE

OPEN HOUSING: ACLU Vice President Bill Alexander has introduced a local Bill calling for open housing and Rep. J. C. Daugherty has introduced a similar one with statewide implications.

ANTI BRUTALITY BILL: Again Bill Alexander authored a bill which would make it unlawful for any law enforcement officer including any person engaged in supervision of prisoners to physically abuse or injure any person in his custody.

EVICTION: This is an amendment to the present eviction law which allows the landlord to evict after giving the tenant only three days notice. When this happens on a weekend there is no way for them to make any arrangements. This amendment would require a landlord to give six days notice and while far from ideal would at least prevent the "weekend" notification.

REVISIONS OF THE CRIMINAL CODE: Five years preparation have gone into this legislation and has been studied this past year by a committee of the house. It faces opposition that is fairly powerful in the house and it has been suggested that it would not pass the Senate this year because of the length and scope. That it would take a year of study by a Senate Committee. The Revison would make substantial change in Georgia law and particularly in the application of the Death Penalty. It would require juries to request the supreme penalty in capital cases. rather than it be automatice upon conviction as is now the case.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT: While the study committee on that subject voted nine to one to retain the death penalty, there are bills in the hopper calling for abolition. Therefore it still is possible for you to register your feeling on the issue with your Senator or Representative. The executions continue to be scheduled with dismaying regularity, and there are still 32 whose stays are in varying stages of appeal. Sooner or later one is going to reach the end of the line and we will each have to ask ourselves if we really did all that we could to prevent it. Call or write your Legislators TODAY. You can just address it to the State Capital and they will get it.

* * * *

CASES

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR: Gene Guerrero, Jr. declined to be inducted because he is a conscientious objector. An investigation is being conducted to bring possible criminal action against him. Albert M. Horn is the ACLU cooperating attorney in this case which raises some very interesting religious issues. From a letter from attorney Horn to the U.S.Attorney we can get a sense of the contention. He writes "As I read Mr. Guerrero's file, including various government documents, it appears that the essential basis on which he is being denied c.o. status is that his beliefs are not religiously motivated. In a country that Thomas Jefferson helped found, this is strange reasoning...some of the governments documents, while conceding his sincerity indicate that his philosophy is confused.

I know many confused religionists including m nisters, but I rather doubt that these are made to articulate a consistent and credible code of belief before being allowed c.o. status. In fact, as one who obtained a minor in philosophy and religion at a Methodist college, I defy anyone to expound a wholly consistent life philosophy."

This case is illustrative of the increased pressures because of dissent, draft and c.o. status and the Di Gaulle-like antics of Gen. Hersey. There have been 5 affiliate suits brought against local draft boards challenging reclassification of persons who pass out leaflets and do other awful things to interfere with the draft.

Army officials turned over Guerrero's case to the U. S. Attorney who turned it over to the F.B.I. Army officials said he was subject to a maximum penalty of five years imprisonment and a $10,000 fine.

VAN SKELTON CASE: Hugh Gibert, ACLU cooperating attorney. This is the case of a former inmate of the Ware County Work Camp who wrote a critical letter to the Jones County newspaper alleging the camps food "is not decent for anyone....that he was treated like a slovenly animal....that the camp was was infested with roaches and other germ carrying insects, and that one of the county commissioners eats 90 percent of his meals at the camp."

The paper quoted Camp Warden Hansen Kelly saying that he and the commissioners want Skelton "to retract what he said in

that letter" and that if he didn't they would "probably try to get him some more time in prison."

Then followed a warrent for his arrest on a LIBEL charge. The case will be heard in February.

AMICUS BRIEFS to be filed on a challenge to the "vagrancy" charge on a case of Al Horns and in another, a challenge of Boisterous conduct and Indecency charges which is often tacked on to an alcoholics charge, even though no physical damage has been done to anyone.

DE WAYNE MASSEY: ACLU cooperating attorney Peter Rindskopf filed a habeas corpus petition on behalf of Mr. Massey who was scheduled to die on Bill of Rights Day, December 15. The request will be heard February 6 in Hinesville, Georgia on the same day and place and before the same Judge that William Patrick Clarks petition will be heard. He of course being our other death case. Incidentally - Mr. Clark, thanking ACLU for its intervention in his behalf, wonders if anyone "would try and get some books for me. I am mainly interested in biographys of Kings and Queens and famous soldiers of history. Books about the histories of various European nations - Germany, Poland, Russia etc. For lighter reading I am adicted to westerns. He also would like to receive letters. (William P. Clark, 54495, M4-seg-#12, Reidsville, Ga. 30453)

* * * *

Again please consider pledging a quarterly payment so that your contributions to ACLU of Georgia can be painlessly increased.

* * * *

ACLU CALENDAR

January 14 - Sunday - 10:30 A.M.
Civil Liberties address
at the Central Unitarian
Society (in Fulton County
Medical Society Building)
875 W. Peachtree, N. E.

January 21 - Sunday - 9:30 & 11:15 A.M.-Charles Blackburn
"Whither Civil Liberties?"
An address by Charles Blackburn
at the Unitarian Universalist
Congregation of Atlanta
1911 Cliff Valley Way, N. E.

January 29 - Monday - 8 P.M.
Meeting at Georgian Terrace

February 27 - Tuesday
Robert Frost Film

A.C.L.U.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

July-August combined Issue

OUR CASES MAKE THE NEWS

THE ALCOHOLICS CASE: VICTORY

July 14, the ACLU of Georgia won its test case determining that chronic alcoholism is a disease - not a crime and its victims cannot be convicted legally of public intoxication and loitering. The ruling was handed down by Fulton Superior Court Judge Jack P. Ethridge. The case was brought by the ACLU of Georgia on behalf of Jack Dunlap, a 57 year old admitted skid-row drifter and alcoholic and it was argued that his charges of drunkenness and loitering were illegal because they were only symptoms of his disease. The Judge remarked upon the alcoholics' plight as "a life sentence on the installment plan."

ACLU cooperating attorney, Albert M. Horn, acknowledged confusion lay ahead, the problem being indentification of chronic alcoholics - just who is one and who merely is a drunk, and secondly what to do with them when they are picked up, for their own safety as well as others. Mr. Horn stated that "although agencies are working to provide health services for chronic alcoholics, politicians don't act until they are forced to. Everyone has been happy to pass the buck to someone else, but the development of health facilities is not a question before this court."

As predicted, the confusion ensued. An almost comical note was sounded when the test case defendent, Jack Dunlap, found himself arrested, tried, and sentenced again to the stockade, although the superior court had classified him as an alcoholic. The Municipal Court seemed totally bewildered and at this writing, the questions are still unanswered as to who are the alcoholics and what to do with them.

ACLU of Georgia's president, E. T. Kehrer, in a statement to the press concerning the buck passing warned "within a reasonable period, if no one will answer the requests of the Municipal Court Judges to classify arrested drunks, the ACLU of Georgia intends to test the proposition that anyone who makes a reasonable claim to be an alcoholic cannot be convicted of public drunkenness unless the city rebut the claim by competent medical testimony. This course of action may temporarily result in hundreds of skid row denizens being turned on the streets of Atlanta without any place to go, but the ACLU believes it has no other alternative to compel the political action necessary."

THE DECATUR SCHOOL BOARD CASE: VICTORY

ACLU cooperating attorney, Stephen Hester, represented Calvin Youngblood, a twelve year old Negro boy who was expelled from Decatur Jr. High School last November. The expulsion seemed to be indefinite and the school system showed no inclination to ever consider educating him. Stephen Hester presented his defense to the Decatur Board of Education, and although with testimony of a

THE DECATUR SCHOOL BOARD CASE CON'T

psychiatrist working with the boy that he was like thousands of other children his age - his crime of drawing a questionable picture and putting a balloon under his shirt seemed horrendous enough to deny his readmittance. The next step was an appeal to the State Board of Education who ruled that although the Decatur school board may have had reason to expel Calvin they had gone about it in the wrong way and Calvin was to be reinstated!

THE WALT WHITMAN JOHNNY-APPLESEED CASE:VICTORY

Again Stephen Hester, cooperating ACLU attorney defended a victim of unusual circumstance. This office was called by a prisoner at the jail. He was a wanderer who covered the country by working as an electrician. He carried with him his clothes and tools. Going through Atlanta, he stopped off at the Humane Society and bought a six month old puppy and progressing along got caught in a heavy rain. He went into an empty wooded lot, changed his rain soaked shirt, tied the puppy to a tree, left his tools there and went to get some water for the dog. Two little old ladies peering out of the window called the police and when he came to the door for water, the police were there and arrested him for prowling and public indency. Steve Hester established that changing a rain-soaked shirt was hardly indecent and the Judge agreed. Due to the furor raised by ACLU, two detectives embarked on a hunt of the hungry dog and the electricians tools. To no avail, the puppy was gone and half the tools stolen. Another unhappy note is that Steve Hester is leaving Atlanta, and the ACLU of Georgia will surely miss him.

THE HIPPIES CASE: VICTORY

Another desperate call from the jail - two young musicians were walking on Peachtree Circle with a machete in the hand on one, on their way to cut bamboo for flutes. They were arrested for violation of the knife ordinance and disorderly conduct. They were given a 30 day sentence, and when they indicated a desire to appeal, the judge set a bond at $500 each. The thing that seemed to incense the arresting police and the judge was a button one of the flower children wore which proclaimed, "Jesus was a drop-out." ACLU cooperating attorney Dick Hubert appealed to the judge who carefully reconsidered and changed the 30 days in jail to a $ 33 fine.

THE "NECESSARY FORCE" CASE: VICTORY

A man charged with assult, resisting arrest, disorderly conduct, and drunkenness was set free by a College Park Judge after ACLU cooperating attorney, Glen Zell, forced the arresting policeman to describe under oath what he meant by the "necessary force" he used in arresting the man.

"I hit him with a black jack. I knocked him down two or three times with a black jack." He got back on his feet and he knocked him down again this time losing his black jack. "So I hit him with my fist at least two times. I hit him till I got him where he couldn't get up."

The defendant weighing in at 129 pounds testified with his skull encased in bandages that he never struck the officer but was "trying to keep him from beating me to death." His testimony was borne out by witnesses and also the policeman's size and weight - 240 pounds and 6 feet, 2 inches were observed.

The judge dismissed all charges against the defendant except drunkenness and then declined to impose any fine or sentence since he said the officer's beating at the time of arrest was punishment enough.

ACLU of Georgia has requested an investigation from Fulton County Solicitor General Lewis Slaton, charging that "the policeman had neither the right nor the duty to inflict any punishment at all, and it would seem that a charge of assault with a deadly weapon was called for." The morning mail brought a reply from the Solicitor's office that the matter was being investigated.

THE JUVENILE CASE: HALF A VICTORY

Fifteen year old Willie Foster was arrested for burglary with charges against him in two countys, Lamar and Spalding. He was tried in Adult Superior Court in Lamar County with a court appointed lawyer who counseled with him for 15 to 30 minutes. He received a sentence of 8 years in the Georgia prison system - 2 years on each count to run consecutively. Then he faced trial in Spalding County on 1 more count. This time he was represented by ACLU cooperating attorney, Herbert Johnson, who pled the boy's case so convincingly that no more time was added to the boy's sentence. Now Herbert Johnson plans an appeal in the original sentence in Lamar County. Meanwhile the child is at Alto.

JUVENILES IN JAIL

The Juvenile Committee has assembled a searching questionaire concerning the intake, holding and judicial disposition of juveniles over the state. Some of our members were contacted and asked to volunteer to go to the judicial circuits with the questionaires and while some hardy souls were able to - - great areas of the state remain unquestioned. Any volunteer will be received with joy and thanksgiving by the Juvenile Committee. N.J.D. Versluys, the Temporary Chairman, has moved to Ohio and is surely missed, but his replacement, Al Mullikin, seems equally inquiring and determined.

NOTES FROM ELSEWHERE

NATIONAL ACLU has called upon Attorney General Ramsey Clark to order an immediate investigation to determine whether Jim Garrison, District Attorney of New Orleans, is misusing the powers of his office in an attempt to intimidate those who disagree with his theory concerning the death of President Kennedy. "Actions by Garrison indicate a gross misuse of his public office in infringing on Constitutional rights." . . . TURN THE OTHER CHECK DEPARTMENT: From a Klan flyer released in Atlanta, "The ACLU is closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States. . .the main objective of the ACLU for 1967 will be a major test case to get the remaining prayers out of public schools in Georgia and a state-wide campaign to abolish the death penalty so that murderers and rapists will have a free hand in the State of Georgia. . .this red network blah blah blah. . .The California ACLU appeared as amicus curiae in challange of constitutionality of an ordinance which prohibits the Ku Klux Klan in San Bernadino from holding public meetings on private property...LOITERING again challenged in court - petition filed before the California Supreme Court.

* * * *

The response from the "profile" and "names of potential members" was most gratifying. Slowly but surely we are contacting the people you recommended.

Just think - if every member signed up just one member in August, our membership would double in one month! We'd have the biggest membership jump of any chapter in the U. S. To make this pipe dream a rosy reality, enclosed please find membership blank and return envelope. LET'S TRY.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

A.C.L.U.

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

NEWSLETTER NOVEMBER ISSUE WE HAVE MOVED TO 5 FORSYTH STREET

BILL OF RIGHTS DAY DINNER
DECEMBER 15, MARK YOUR CALENDER
BALL ROOM OF THE BILTMORE HOTEL 7:30 P.M.

This year marks the 176th anniversary of the adoption of the Bill of Rights and ACLU affiliates all over the country are observing the day with dinners such as ours. This year is the second Georgia observance so now we can claim it as a tradition.

Our speaker, honoree and entertainment promise a most exciting evening to those concerned with Liberty and the Bill of Rights.

JOHN HENRY FAULK, our speaker is one of those rare ones whose very lives became a dramatic example of the courage to be free. And that is his topic, "The Courage To Be Free."

Nationally known as a humorist, Faulk was a rising star in radio and television in 1956 when accused of communist associations and sympathies by Aware, Inc., which acted as a self-styled "consultant" to the entertainment industry. After the blacklisting by Aware, he lost his job on the Columbia Broadcasting Company's New York Station, WCBS, and for the next six years he was unable to get any kind of work in the radio and television industry. Faulk and his family suffered near starvation during these years.

With Louis Nizer as his attorney, Faulk filed a $3 million dollar libel suit. After six years of tracking down minute documentation and witnesses, some reluctant to testify in the then prevailing climate of fear, the case came to trial in 1962.

The trial, which received nationwide news coverage, required 11 weeks. The evidence revealed that Aware, for a fee paid either by the advertising agencies, the producers, or the networks, determined who were loyal Americans and who were not. Those performers whom Aware claimed had communist association, afiliations or sympathies were never advised of the charges against them, or told why they were not employable. A child actress was blacklisted because her father was suspected of communist leanings. Another actress committed suicide after being blacklisted. Oscar Hammerstein, Moss Hart, Judy Holiday, Abe Burrows and Joseph Cotton were among the many Aware claimed bore taints of communism.

Testifying for Faulk and against the blacklisting practices of Aware were such stage, screen and television names as Gary Moore, Kim Hunter, Tony Randall, David Susskind, Mark Goodson, and Charles Collingwood. So strong and damning was the evidence against Aware that the jury awarded Faulk an unprecedented $3-1/2 million in damages, which was $3 million above the highest previous libel award by an American jury.

DONALD L. HOLLOWELL was the choice of the Executive Board to receive the Civil Liberties Award. Back when it was far from acceptable and even dangerous, he was a champion of Civil Liberties.

A listing of some of the major cases in Georgia involving civil rights and civil liberties will illustrate the reason for the Boards decision to honor Donald Hollowell, Attorney. They read as a history of the decade. Holmes vs.Danner (University of Georgia), State vs. Martin Luther King, U. S. vs. Anderson (Albany Movement), State vs. Cobb (Capital Case involving 15 year old), Calhoun vs. Latimer (Atlanta Public School), and hundreds of others involving public facilities, sit-inners, capital offenders.

Presently, he serves as Regional Director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

"TAKING LIBERTIES" a muscial revue by the WITS END PLAYERS will be another dinner attraction. Their genius at mirroring the absurdities we are and we live with has convulsed Atlanta Audiences for years. They are an eight member group - 6 actors and 2 musicians.

Their satire is an outgrowth of the original partnership of producer-star Phil Erikson and his then partner Dick Van Dyke, Coincidence rears its funny head. Dick Van Dyke will play John Henry Faulk in the movie Fear on Trial, which is Faulk's book, an account of his ordeal.

We need your attendance at this dinner --- it's crucial. Please, at the earliest opportunity make reservations and get your tickets. It will be appreciated. This hopefully will be a fund raising affair. The price of the tickets is $10.00. No funds will be solicited at the dinner.

It has been suggested that members meet beforehand and come in groups. Reserve a table.

* * *

THE BILL OF RIGHTS PAMPHLET

Before her departure, Florence Robin, famous former director, wrote and produced a pamphlet, The Bill of Rights. It was illustrated by Patti McDonald, well known Atlanta artist and wife of Laughlin McDonald, staff Counsel of the Regional Office.

They have made readable, understandable, and loveable the docu-

ment that is the very basis of ACLU existence. Of course you know, or new members may not know, that Florence wrote a pamphlet Know Your Rights which explained to the poor and uneducated in vivid clear terms the horizons and boundaries of their rights under law. This office is still getting requests from schools, congressman, police departments and crime commissions all over the country for copies.

She has repeated in the Bill of Rights pamphlet what she gave to Know Your Rights. Because of the breadth of her experience (former secretary to Roger Baldwin, 17 years with ACLU) she is able to make applicable todays confrontations with the constitution real and alive. I have read no other Bill of Rights treatise more contemporary. In the booklet are explanations of the Supreme Court's recent decisions, for instance, Gideon and Miranda, both of which have radically affected police and court procedures. She gives the added dimension of what the amendments really mean today, an example, the Eighth Amendment, which in part, forbids excessive fines, She explains how fines can foster the reality of punishing a person for being poor as well as committing a crime.

We can all learn from this pamphlet. It was conceived as an educational tool to counteract the lack of an awareness that the general public has concerning the Founding Fathers gift. We hope it will receive the same wide distribution that Know Your Rights had.

We sent out a mailing to other affiliates and received return orders in 2 days from Illinois and California. "Brilliant" "we are very impressed" with there comments.

Read the copy we have enclosed. The price is .50, however, why not send us a dollar and we will return to you another copy in a gift envelope that you can use for a Christmas gift. We envision it as the perfect answer to mothers who have to buy presents for their childrens school friends. The order form is on the back page. Order lots.

* * *

ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

ACLU of Georgia testified before the Special Committee of the legislature on Capital Punishment. The public hearing was lightly attended undoubtedly because the hearings were not announced, in fact, the press had not even been alerted. We are toying with the idea of a petition to be circulated hoping to convince the legislature that people do care. . House Speaker George T. Smith hinted at perhaps the first crack in legislative resistance, offering a 99 year sentence as an alternative, so we must keep the issue alive. We continue to distribute the excellent National memoranda on the subject and it is still available to you upon request.

There are 22 men at Reidsville under death sentence, and 10 more around the state in County Work Camps because of the overcrowding on death row, so that legislative action is more than a theoretical need.

* * *

CASES

WILLIAM PATRICK CLARK: On November 16 Judge Caswell in Hinesville, Georgia will hear the petition for habeas corpus on behalf of William Patrick Clark, convicted for rape, sentenced to die, declared insane, declared sane, commuted to life, now living in limbo.

ACLU of Georgia took the case when Clark's death sentence was imminent and when there had been statements by the parole board and Governor's Office that there was no action contemplated by either of them. Our action saved him from the chair and our petition stated that his trial because of the death penalty factor resulted in violation of his constitutional rights. We hit the selection of the jury and the strategy of the defense counsel. (There was no cross examination of witnesses). Attorney Howard Moore and Peter Rindskopf are the ACLU cooperating attorneys.

HOUSING AUTHORITY REGULATIONS

A letter from a prisoner in Reidsville brought to our attention the regulations of the Atlanta Housing Authority. Any wife of a prisoner, to obtain public housing (and naturally with the family breadwinner, incarcerated, the family now on welfare can only afford public housing) must get a divorce or legal separation from her husband in order to remain in public housing or to have her application accepted.

Considering the gigantic problems facing the poor to establish even rudiments of family life, this added hurdle, besides being unconstitutional borders on the inhuman. This particular case had some implications that made it advisable for the clients benefit to withhold action. But ACLU of Georgia is very interested and if after pursueing other avenues of redress the regulations remain, we will take legal action.

COUNTY WORK CAMP

WOULD YOU BELIEVE a former prisoner, Van Skelton, who spent four months in a county work camp wrote a letter to his hometown newspaper exposing the condition of the camp: food, roaches, etc. and was sued (Would You Believe) for criminal libel. ACLU is preparing to enter the case. It is an obvious free speech case with some interesting side issues.

PROSTITUTES

An Amicus Brief was filed by ACLU before Judge Duke in superior Court regarding the arrest of prostitutes. The issues raised by the clients lawyer, Albert Horn were invasion of privacy, vagueness of the statute, lack of equal protection because of selective enforcement, lack of protection as regards men and women and the applicability of the Miranda decision as regards entrapment.

The Amicus Brief filed by cooperating attorney William George

for ACLU of Georgia remarked on "the vagueness of the code section" and that "in Atlanta the law is enforced only against women (and sometimes their procurers) but virtually never against their male customers, although the law apparently literally applies to them also. The ACLU of Georgia does not advocate prosecution of males as a first alternative, but it does believe that it is hypocritical and a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to enforce the law only against women. Perhaps one way to make people aware of this anachronistic law would be heavy handed and equal enforcement."

The court answered in so many words "This court is not clothed with legal power, jurisdiction ot authority to administer the police department or to act as a disciplinarian of the Atlanta Police Department or the Municipal Court....the complaint addresses itself to the Mayor, aldermanic board and chief of Police of the city of Atlanta" whereupon he sent them copies of the proceedings. As Al Horn picturesquely put in his original petition. "It takes two to tango" and the powers that be are on notice - we shall see how the arresting procedure is now pursued. We will keep you posted.

DRAFT BOARD CASE

"A conspiracy for the purpose of punishing Arthur Carpenter,III for his activities in opposition to the Viet Nam War and for the purpose of seeking to terminate those activities by causing his induction into the armed forces" is the basis for ACLU of Georgia taking civil action, claiming a violation of the First, Fifth and Sixth Amendments.

Carpenter, a student at LaGrange College, cannot get a review of his status as a full time student because when reporting for his preinduction physical in New Orleans, he passed out leaflets condemning the war in Viet Nam. For this he was ejected by a policemen at the request of the military officer in charge. Carpenter claims he was ready willing and able to take his physical and at that time stated his desire to do so but the New Orleans Board chose to classify him as a delinquent and so notified his local draft board. The request for a temporary injunction was denied by Judge Edenfield and will be appealed.

Placement at the top of the draft list, where speedy induction is almost certain, has been the usual punishment for interference with draft.

Draft chief Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey in an October 26 letter to 4,000 local draft boards wrote that student deferments were given in the national interest and suggested that students illegally interfering with drafting or recruiting be reclassified for immediate induction.

This brought forth a warning from Jack Pemberton ACLU executive director "the National interest in free and open debate is in serious jeopardy if the purpose of the draft law is distorted to punish free expression....the job of the Selective Service is to administer the draft law and nothing else. Selective Service officials misuse the authority of the law and of their office if they harass lawful political activity. The draft law in no way permits Selective Service official to discipline registrants because of their political views

and any reprisal taken against them because of any political belief they hald, including opposition to American Policy in Viet Nam, perverts the purpose of the draft law and is unlawful harassment of constitutionally protected activity.

As the national debate on U. S. policy in Viet Nam grows more and more intense, opposition to the draft also grows. If the first amendment is to have any meaning, it must be respected in the lawful expression of disagreement with government policy."

* * *

WE HAVE MOVED

Our new address is 5 Forsyth Street. We now occupy a very large room on the floor adjacent to the Southern Regional Office. We now have room for the many volunteers to work on membership development, committees, and we now have room for Dr. John Fordon of the Roger Baldwin Foundation who is here to help us raise funds for staff counsel, which increasingly becomes desperate need. So many of the really important cases we regretfully turn down require such long extensive litigation that a cooperating attorney cannot commit the time. We have promised the National Office in return for an increased grant to pay for the larger Office, a doubling of our membership in three years. With your help we can make it.

If you have not renewed for 1967 this is about it. We reached 89% of our quota as of the end of October and if all you procrastinators will use the enclosed envelope we might make it by December. If we do not the shared money to run this office, cover mailings, litigation, etc. will be lessened.

* * *

Our thanks and recognition go to all our cooperting attorneys - to Sidney Marcus who donated the use of his 7 telephones for our renewal campaign, to Dorothy Gibson who securred for us about $500.00 worth of furniture for our our new office - to Virginia Stevens and Katherine Harrison for their membership calling and Bernard McIlhaney who helped us move.

* * *

*******SEE YOU DECEMBER 15*******

Please mail your dinner reservations in EARLY. Also on this form, it would be helpful if you would submit names of people who should receive invitations. (Friends-Neighbors-Newcomers...)

Please reserve _____ place(s) for the Bill of Rights Day Dinner, Friday, December 15, 1967 at 7:30 P.M. at the Biltmore Hotel.
$10.00 per person. Check enclosed
$_____.

Name_____ Address_____

City_____ Zip_____

Please send invitations to:

Name_____ Address_____ Zip_____

Name_____ Address_____ Zip_____

Name_____ Address_____ Zip_____

Name_____ Address_____ Zip_____

THE BILL OF RIGHTS PAMPHLET

Send me _____ additional copies of the pamphlet with gift envelope

@ .50 per pamphlet. Check enclosed $_____
Address same as above_____

Name_____ Address_____

City_____ Zip_____

This is my 1967 renewal. I realize you are glad to have me better late than never.

Name_____ Address_____

City_____ Zip_____

Check enclosed $_____

(Please make checks payable to the ACLU of Georgia. Mail to 5 Forsyth Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303)

Police Fairness Cri
In Civil Liberty
Civil Union Hits Fulton Grand J
Denounces Stand
Death Row
End Religion O
Police Are Urg
Six Years Before the
His Lawyer Dearly
Front Page For Freedom...
ACLU Head Hit
Of Antideath-
Right of Dissent
ressed by ACLU
Civil Liberties Union Criticizes
Probe of Klan, Judge Duke

Will The Headlines Tell The Same Old Story?

Does this sound familiar?

Georgia votes to retain capital punishment . . . All-white jury sends Negro teenager to chair . . . Compulsory prayer rule urged . . . Legislature refuses to seat Negro because of Viet-Nam views . . . Attorney General asks stiffer control of demonstrators . . . State Literature Commission to press for book ban . . . School administrators evade desegregation questions . . . Protestors jailed in Southwest Georgia . . .

Many people read these headlines and see no cause for alarm. "Yes," they say, "of course I believe in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, but after all, crooks and Vietniks and demonstrators and atheists are trouble-makers and they ought to be suppressed."

These attitudes exist not only among the ill-informed and the uneducated. On December 15th last—Bill of Rights Day—the American Civil Liberties Union conducted a poll of one thousand college Georgia students. We found that the majority of them believed that minority group members should not have the same rights as the majority; that persons with unorthodox political views should not have the right to travel freely; that criminal suspects should not have the right to a lawyer or to the Constitutional protection against self-incrimination; that "dirty books" should be banned.

It is such attitudes, often translated into action, sometimes even into law, which can erode the foundation of our democracy. For when the rights of any American, or any group of Americans are denied, the rights of all of us are jeopardized.

The purpose of the American Civil Liberties Union—and its only purpose—is the preservation and strengthening of freedoms guaranteed under the Constitution. These rights must be safeguarded not only for the middle-of-the road majority, but for the minority, for the unpopular—even the hated and the feared. The Bill of Rights was not written to protect only "nice" people. It was meant for every American. Thus, only a few weeks apart, the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia first insisted the pro-Castro "Peace Walkers" be permitted to hold a demonstration in Albany; then it demanded that the Ku Klux Klan be permitted to hold a public rally in Atlanta.

Or Can We Write A New Chapter In American Freedom?

In Georgia, the ACLU is waging the fight for Constitutional freedoms on many fronts. And we're beginning to fashion some new endings to those old familiar stories:

◆ We are fighting in the courts, the legislature and the community to end "segregated justice" in the courthouse, to do away with the long-accepted practice of all-white juries, all-white court officials, all-white law enforcement. Only by securing non-discriminatory juror selection can we be certain of equal justice under law.

◆ The Georgia ACLU will continue to oppose capital punishment. Under its sponsorship, faculty members of the University of Georgia published the definitive study on the case against the death penalty and ACLU witnesses all over the state testified in the legislative hearings. We will continue to help organize community sentiment until the death penalty is outlawed in Georgia.

◆ The Georgia ACLU won the courtroom victory which outlawed the 1935 loyalty oath for college teachers—an oath which worked to inhibit scholarly inquiry and to curb the free exchange of ideas in the classroom.

◆ Georgia ACLU attorneys participated in the successful suit to reapportion the Georgia Legislature and bring "one man—one vote" rule to this State.

◆ Georgia ACLU is focusing attention on illegal police practices—illegal arrests, illegal searches and seizures, illegal interrogations, illegal denial of the right of counsel, illegally secured confessions. We have done this by providing counsel to defendants whose rights have been violated—and sometimes winning in the courts. We have done it in a lengthy, well-documented report which gives the facts about police procedures in Atlanta.

What Is The American Civil Liberties Union?

The American Civil Liberties Union is a national, non-profit, non-partisan, interracial membership organization, founded in 1920. Among its original founders were such distinguished Americans as Jane Addams, Roger Baldwin, Clarence Darrow, Felix Frankfurter, Helen Keller, Monsignor John Ryan and Norman Thomas.

Its purpose at its founding—as today—has been to preserve, strengthen and defend the rights of all Americans as guaranteed in the Bill of Rights and the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth amendment. The story of the ACLU is interwoven with momentous events in the history of American liberties. It participated in the Scopes "monkey trial" in Tennessee; in the fight to revoke the illegal wartime incarceration of Japanese Americans; in the struggle to establish the right of a government employee to confront and cross-examine his accusers in a loyalty hearing during the fifties; in the major civil rights decisions, and in securing the rights of the accused in criminal cases.

From a handful of pioneers, the American Civil Liberties Union has grown to 85,000 members in thirty-eight regional affiliates. Its present Board of Directors and National Committee contain the names of outstanding Americans from the fields of law, arts and letters, journalism, medicine, business, labor and education. Among them are: Francis Biddle, Pearl S. Buck, Karl Menninger, Lillian Smith, John Mason Brown, Henry Steele Commager, Melvyn Douglas, Erich Fromm, James Farmer, Robert M. Hutchins, A. Philip Randolph, J. Robert Openheimer, Arthur Schlensinger, Jr., Edward Bennet Williams.

The ACLU Of Georgia

The American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia is one of the newest affiliates. As guardian of the rights of Georgians, it works in many ways:

IN THE COURTS: Cooperating ACLU attorneys represent persons or groups whose civil liberties have been denied. Here are a few of the challenges Georgia ACLU lawyers have faced in court:

◆ The conviction by an all-white jury of a Negro for murder. It has kept the defendant from the electric chair for more than six years.

◆ The action of police officials in rounding up "lewd" women when there was no evidence of wrong-doing, and based on an unconstitutional ordinance.

◆ The refusal of the legislature to seat a Negro representative because of his statements on foreign policy.

◆ The requirement of the Board of Regents for a loyalty oath by Georgia educators.

◆ The arrest of a community worker for trespassing when he distributed blankets and clothing to needy slum dwellers.

IN THE LEGISLATURE: The Georgia ACLU supports a variety of civil liberties legislation:

◆ Anti-discrimination laws in education, housing, public accommodations, employment and voting.

◆ It opposes censorship, and has made its views known to both legislators and the Board of Regents responsible for Georgia's educational TV programs.

◆ The Georgia ACLU has prepared reports by experts on legislative matters for distribution to the General Assembly. In addition to the University of Georgia report, *The Death Penalty in Georgia,* it has submitted papers on *Counsel for the Indigent,* calling for a state-wide public defender system, and *"Stop and Frisk"* calling for constitutional procedures in the arrest of suspects.

IN THE COMMUNITY: The ACLU of Georgia acts as a watchdog to prevent public officials from abusing their powers. Our police procedures report is one example. Another is continuing negotiation with school boards to conform to the Supreme Court ruling and end sectarian religious practices in schools.

Educational community activities are carried out through newspaper publicity, TV and radio appearances, and the widespread distribution of National ACLU pamphlets, reprints and monthly bulletins. The Georgia ACLU also sends members its own monthly newsletter, *Civil Liberties.* From time to time, it holds open meetings with prominent guest lecturers.

The Georgia ACLU And You.

The ACLU is a voluntary association which depends upon the membership and financial support of concerned citizens to promote its programs. Unlike many voluntary agencies, it gets no funds from foundations or community chests—its support comes solely from individual contributors.

Your membership in the ACLU of Georgia automatically grants you membership in the National ACLU, which includes the authoritative Annual Report on the state of civil liberties, a national newsletter nine times a year, and a wide choice of ACLU pamphlets.

The American Civil Liberties Union is an organization for those who believe in a society where the protection of our Constitution extends to all, regardless of race, color, national origin or station in life.

If this is your dream, too, may we ask you to fill out the coupon and join the ACLU of Georgia—today?

The American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia has a policy-making Advisory Board composed of community leaders from all over the state, and elected by the membership at its Annual Meeting.

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52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ■ TELEPHONE 404/523-5398
■ ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

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52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W. ■ ATLANTA, GA. 30303

Here is my $_____ membership contribution to the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia*

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____

Contributing Member ..... $ 6 Sustaining Member $25
Supporting Member ..... $10 Cooperating Member $50

* Membership in the Georgia ACLU includes membership in the National American Civil Liberties Union.

ACLU

The Bill of Rights

CW PHOTO—JOAN SYDLOW

Urban League's Puryear (left) and Holmes need CPI help to make their new Skills Bank of nonwhites work.

They Make Opportunity Knock

Within the next few weeks the strongest evidence yet that some of the chemical process industries have changed their attitude toward racial employment problems will be working for all to see: It is the National Skills Bank, essentially a complete, up-to-date file on highly qualified Negroes that will be available to personnel-seeking companies anywhere in the U.S. The bank is the outcome of close cooperation between several CPI companies*—and a number from other industries—and the National Urban League.

The Skills Bank is only one of several examples, however, of how CPI companies have moved from passive to positive in their approach toward providing more and better jobs to nonwhites. Clear-cut examples of a change in attitude are still rather spotty, but they include everything from altered recruiting plans to special training courses for Negroes. The programs run from schools in office and vocational basics to lessons in plant technology. Their variety makes clear that there is a need for all sorts of courses if real aid is to be given to Negroes seeking jobs as well as to those seeking to upgrade themselves.

Typical of the "fundamental" help that is much needed is the vocational training service station Shell Oil set up in Chicago last summer expressly to train Negroes in sales and management. Humble Oil followed suit with a similar station this month in New York. And Socony Mobil Oil Co. and others have pooled funds to help pay for an 11-week course in typing, shorthand, English, office practices, grooming and deportment at New York University. Now in progress, the course is being taken by 38 women between the ages of 17 and 50, 30 of whom are Negro. Object: to qualify the trainees for jobs already open. Malcom Andresen, a Socony Mobil lawyer, says, "Frankly, this idea developed because (participating corporations) want qualified secretaries from minority groups and many applicants don't come up to our minimum qualifications."

As for special courses beyond the fundamental levels, examples are difficult to find. Mainly, *CW's* regional

*Among them: Goodyear, Union Carbide, Bristol-Myers, Socony Mobil, Schenley Industries, St. Regis Paper, Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, Colgate-Palmolive, Procter & Gamble, Eastman, Lever Bros., and A. O. Smith.

editors find, the effort has been to encourage present Negro employees to take the courses already offered. In the past, many Negroes apparently felt they gained nothing by taking the courses; now, with management assuring them advancement opportunities exist, more nonwhites may participate.

Regional Difference: In the case of both basic and higher-level courses, companies outside the South have shown the greater initiative. In the Southeast and Southwest the unwritten policy continues to be much as before—office and lab employees are white; manufacturing and warehousing workers are Negro. Intervention by federal agencies has resulted in Negroes being "considered" for some jobs, but few companies have made much progress in changing the situation.

And in the South more than elsewhere, the complaint that Negroes have a "lack of training" is constantly repeated.

It is true elsewhere too; even Urban League spokesmen concede it. And poorly educated Negroes are at a particular disadvantage in chemical processing. The CPI's advance into automation tends to eliminate blue-collar (production and maintenance) jobs where Negroes are most numerous.

If a Negro does independently upgrade his skills to meet new job demands, he may still find the door barred because of bias. According to Labor Dept. figures, 11% of white men with a year or more of college were working in low-paid, low-skill jobs. Of Negroes with similar qualifications, 33% were filling the marginal posts.

Change the Case: It is to help change the "lack of qualifications" situation that some companies have devised their training programs. Wyandotte Chemicals' (Wyandotte, Mich.) Vice-President George Baker says, "We have contacted high schools in predominantly Negro areas to see if they would be willing to put on a cooperative program with us—bringing students here for a day's visit in our offices to see our equipment and learn about business procedures. We also have asked the Urban League for help in connection with recruitment of technical people from Negro colleges. And we are supporting the United Negro Fund Drive."

Parke, Davis says "a number of Negroes" have moved up to white-collar jobs within the company as the result of an upgrading program open to all employees. Dow Chemical is working with colleges and high schools, says it "hopes to raise the expectations" of Negroes "to have and hold a job at Dow."

No Exceptions: Education is indeed the touchstone to a job in chemicals. But most companies do not want to set up any special training program for nonwhites, since this would pose too many administrative problems. Rather, the preferred course seems to be that chosen by Union Carbide: "Those individuals who wish to do so will be encouraged to seek opportunities for informal on-the-job training and in any of the formal job training programs undertaken by the corporation."

Participation in these programs may mean sacrificing overtime and other pay benefits (trainees start at low pay, work their way upward) for the sake of a better job in the future. Carbide's experience so far refutes the claim that Negroes won't try to upgrade themselves. Says Carbide: There is no discernible difference between nonwhites and whites in their willingness to take these courses and in their ability to complete them satisfactorily." And the spokesman adds, "Of course this is true only if you have created an environment in which the Negro knows he is going to get a fair shake."

Du Pont's secretarial school has Negro girl employees among its

Birdie Lodkey (shown left with Urban League's Susan Cohen) won 'Best Potential Secretary' award.

"alumnae." Last summer the firm also ran a week-long tour for guidance counselors from local high schools to show them types of training high school graduates (appreciable numbers of whom are Negro) will need on typical Du Pont jobs.

Aluminum Co. of America (Pittsburgh) recently hired Birdie Lodkey, winner of this year's "Best Potential Secretary" contest sponsored by the Urban League of Pittsburgh (*see pictures*). The contest is held annually and is designed to stimulate interest in business careers among Negroes.

Matter of Militance? Doubtless, the rising militance of such Negro organizations as the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People and the Congress of Racial Equality have awakened management in all industry to the Negro's job problems. (Less overt pressure by such groups as the Urban League has probably been as vital to the change as have the pressures applied by other organizations.)

Clearly, boycotts of a company by the Negro community can hurt. Gasoline makers are particularly vulnerable, since Negroes are among their best customers. American Oil, fresh from talks with NAACP, is now recruiting Negroes in the Pittsburgh area. Mobil Oil has come to terms with NAACP about Negro summer employment, particularly for college students. United Negro Protest Committee plans to demand training programs in upcoming negotiations with Amoco and Atlantic Refining over transportation jobs.

Other CPI companies have been affected also. The Mine Safety Appliances plant in Homewood, Pa., near Pittsburgh, came to terms with United Negro Protest Committee after a three-day boycott early this month over the number of Negroes MSF should hire. One key point: the company will now provide on-the-job training.

A Little Brighter: Whether through altruism or pressure or both, some upturn in Negro employment in the CPI is clearly discernible. Du Pont hired 13 Negro college graduates this year. Equipment-maker Link Belt Co. (Chicago) says its percentage of Negro workers has risen recently. Richfield Oil (Los Angeles) is making a "concerted drive" to hire Negroes. FMC Corp. says it is making "an effort to recruit Negroes when jobs open up requiring new skills." Tidewater Oil employs Negroes in engineering and sales, says it will hire more of them. Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical (San Francisco) says: "We're doing all we can to make minorities aware of job opportunities. It's our policy to hire as many qualified people as we can, in positions as high as they're qualified to go."

It is plain that "qualified" will always be a familiar word in company hiring policy statements; within the limitations it faces, the Urban League's Skills Bank may do much to make the word less discouraging.

Mahlon Puryear, associate director, and Adolph Holmes, assistant director of National Urban League tell CHEMICAL WEEK the new bank will contain "profiles" (résumés, transcripts, letters of reference) of perhaps 3,000 executives, chemists, engineers, foremen, etc., who are interested in new employment commensurate with their skills. Cooperating firms will file descriptions of job openings with the bank, whose staff will arrange for candidate and company to get together for an interview.

Help Themselves? The Skills Bank is too new to have reaped much reaction outside the areas where it is being born. But already, special programs for Negroes have drawn attacks from proponents of *laissez-faire* in hiring —the courses are described as a sort of "reverse discrimination." Negroes are preparing for better jobs. But the job probably cannot be done without help of industry, and some of the CPI is now rising to the challenge.

It helped get job interview with Alcoa's Karl Newman; she's now receptionist for staff assistant H. S. Best.

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More Salaried Positions Are Opened to Negroes by Business and Industry Here

By DAMON STETSON

115 CONCERNS JOIN NATIONWIDE PLAN

Business and industry here, in the face of the civil rights revolution, have been reassessing their employment policies and hiring Negroes for office and other salaried posts that they rarely held before.

Many national concerns with headquarters in New York City have announced new nondiscrimination policies or reaffirmed old ones. Personnel officers are taking a new look at their recruiting methods and seeking advice from Negro leaders on how to find and attract the best-qualified Negroes.

On a nationwide basis, about 80 of the country's largest companies enrolled under Plans for Progress of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity have reported substantial increases in the hiring of Negroes for salaried positions.

"Two years ago," said G. A. McLellan, administrative director of Plans for Progress, "you could walk through any corporation office in New York City and count nonwhites on two hands. Today it's different."

So far, Mr. McLellan reported, 115 of the nation's top companies with 5.5 million employes have enrolled under the Voluntary Plans for Progress program and have given assurances that they would not discriminate in their hiring policies.

The latest figures for the 80 companies that filed reports in the last year, he said, showed that nonwhites got 2,241 of the 31,698 salaried jobs that opened up. This represented an increase of 8.9 per cent in the number of jobs held by nonwhites in those companies.

Nonwhites previously had held only 1.5 per cent of the salaried positions in these companies. In contrast, the new nonwhite hirings represent 7 per cent of all those employed in the reporting period.

Although acknowledging that the numbers of new jobs going to Negroes were not large, Mr. McLellan said they represented gains of 16.5 per cent in the officials and supervisors classification; 10.1 per cent in professional and administrative jobs; 49.4 per cent in sales; 9 per cent for technicians, and 7.1 per cent for office and clerical.

Even with the gains, however, nonwhites still held less than 2 per cent of all salaried jobs. In New York City, however, the hiring pattern in salaried positions was better—even before some of the more recent breakthroughs.

Dr. Aurelia Toyer, research director of the city's Labor Department, said that in 1950 nonwhites held 61,894 white-collar jobs in New York City, or 3.2 per cent of all such positions.

By 1960, Dr. Toyer pointed out, nonwhites held 148,424 of the salaried positions, of 7 per cent of the total.

The figures cited by Dr. Toyer, however include employment in government, where large numbers of Negroes have found jobs that they could not get in private industry.

Richard Clark, owner-director of the Hallmark Employment Agency in Rockefeller Center, said that there had been a marked improvement in the employment prospects for qualified Negroes in the New York area.

His agency alone, which specializes in Negro placement, has put 5,000 Negroes in white-collar positions in the last six years, he said.

Mr. Clark was critical, however, of the manner in which many companies were now hurrying to add Negroes to their staffs.

'Hothouse Negro' Sought

"Too often," he said, "they're trying to come up with a hothouse Negro fully prepared to fill a specific job in a company. It's like an advertising company saying it would like to hire a media analyst at $12,000 a year. It takes a long time to come up with precisely this kind of man—especially when few Negroes have prepared for such work."

However, some Negroes with experience are moving into more prominent positions.

Mal Goode, a 55-year-old former newspaperman who was in local radio and television for years in Pittsburgh, is now a news commentator at the United Nations for the American Broadcasting Company.

George Smith, who started as an installer with the New York Telephone Company, has now risen to the management post of communications consultant to nine of the company's biggest customers in Brooklyn.

Georg Olden is a newly employed vice president on the professional advisory council of the McCann-Erickson advertising agency.

But he formerly served as head of the art department at C.B.S. Television and before that as a group supervisor at Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc.

Charles T. Williams is another Negro vice president—appointed in September at Schenley Distillers Company after serving with the company since 1951.

Openings for Young Men

Ramon S. Scruggs, a former employe of Michigan Bell Telephone Company, is now public relations manager for the American Telephone and Telegraph Company here.

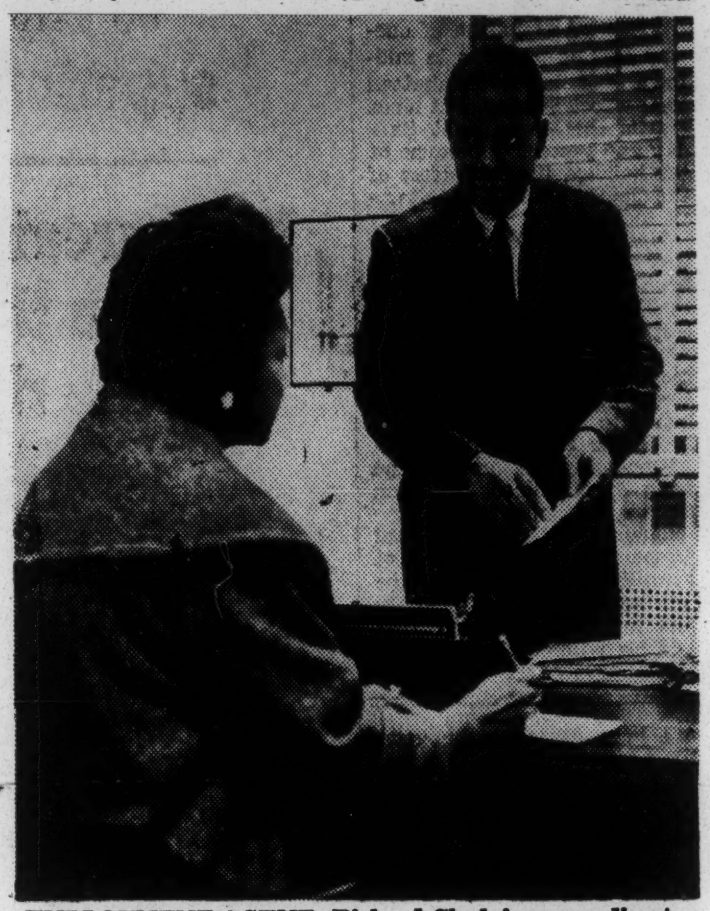
Even more important than the relatively few Negroes who have reached the top executive levels, according to Negro leaders, are new openings for younger men and women in training programs.

C. Godfrey Walker, a graduate of the University of California and now a Brooklyn resident, entered a sales training program at Socony Mobil Oil Company, Inc., here last summer after a long, frustrating period of job hunting.

"I feel I'm embarking on something I should have been in eight years ago," said Mr. Walker who is now 31 years old. "My sights are set high now, but over a seven-and-one-half year period I went to 95 employment agencies without getting a job."

James W. Helper, a 28-year-old graduate of Florida A.&M. University, was hired recently by Air Reduction, Inc., as a trainee in industrial relations in the company's New York office.

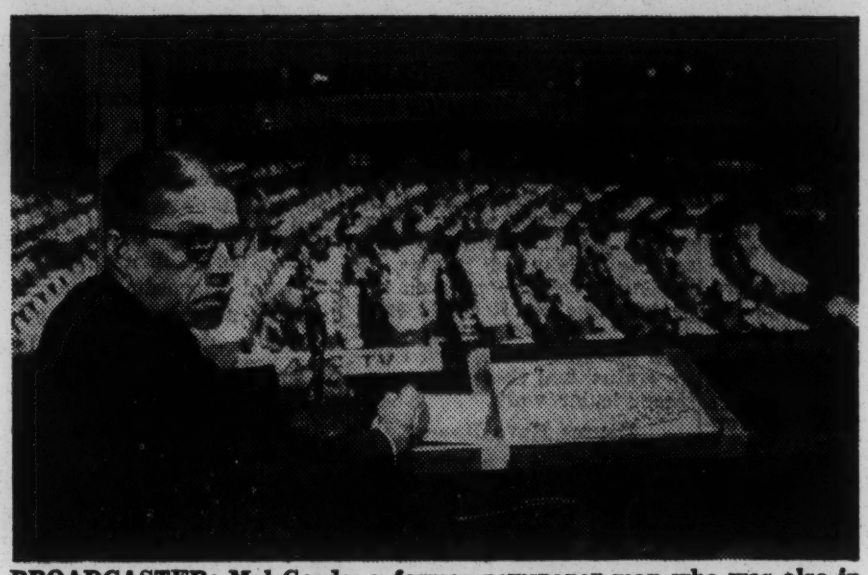
"I had gone to a lot of places and could almost bet I was getting a runaround," he said.



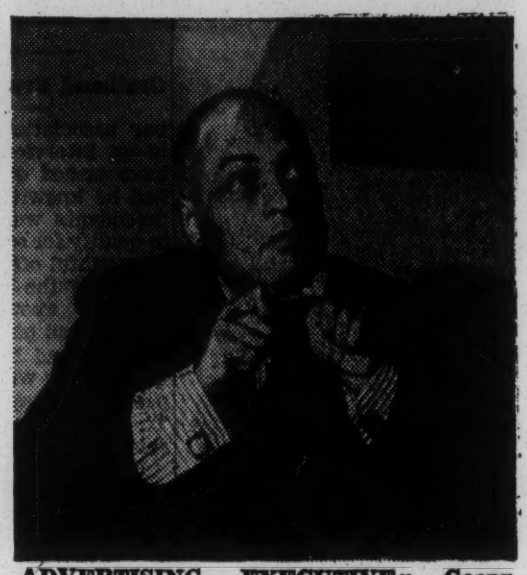
EMPLOYMENT AGENT: Richard Clark is owner-director of the Hallmark Employment Agency, which specializes in services to Negroes. He said opportunities had risen.

The New York Times

PUBLIC RELATIONS MAN: Ramon S. Scruggs, former employe of Michigan Bell Telephone Company, is currently with American Telephone and Telegraph Company here.



BROADCASTER: Mal Goode, a former newspaper man who was also in TV-radio field in Pittsburgh, comments on news at the United Nations.



ADVERTISING EXECUTIVE: Georg Olden is a McCann-Erickson vice president.

"But I think companies have awakened quite a bit now. And the guys I work with have accepted me very well."

Both Mr. Walker and Mr. Helper were assisted in finding their present positions by the Job Talent Center of the city's Labor Department, set up to aid nonwhites.

Miss Harriet Buggs, a graduate of Morris Brown College in Atlanta, is working as an executive secretary in the offices of the Olin Mathieson Corporation here. She was a qualified secretary and was recommended by a Negro friend who is an official with Trans World Airlines.

Though she got her job with relative ease, she said some of her friends whom she considered well qualified had had trouble getting good positions.

These cases are symbolic of advances now being made by Negroes in the salaried field, but the comments also reflect the frustrations they have faced.

Some Compete for Negroes

Many companies, however, are actively competing for talented Negroes. Recently, for example, 200 members of the Office Executives Association of New York spent two-and-a-half hours listening to four Negroes — an International Business Machines executive, an Urban League official, the head of an employment agency, and an editor of the Amsterdam News—as they outlined techniques for recruiting Negroes.

An airline that was impressed with the talent and promise of a young Negro employe in its New York office has given him time off to attend law school and is continuing his salary.

The New York Telephone Company and the Humble Oil and Refining Company recently sought assistance from Harlem's experimental domestic "Peace Corps"—known as Associated Community Teams, Inc. — in recruiting Negroes for their training programs.

The telephone company, which already employs 4,600 Negroes, helps pay the tuition for employes who want to further their educations while working. Humble plans to hire four or five Negroes for training as service-station attendants and to give them the opportunity to advance to service-station management.

This week the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce, in cooperation with several civil rights group, is conducting a retail sales clerk training course to give a group of 100 people, mostly Negroes, an understanding of what stores look for in personnel. The enrollees are people now unemployed who will be looking for jobs in the retail field after completing the one-week course. A second course is being planned.

Four large New York corporations are financing a special secretarial course for Negro women to improve their skills, so that they can better qualify for jobs in big business.

Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, is far from satisfied with recent advances in the hiring of Negroes in the professional and salaried field. But he says that he is encouraged by current business attitudes.

"I think business has made a major decision," he said in an interview. "Business leaders seem to realize that business itself cannot survive in a state of national tension.

"They also realize that the whole situation, with 15 per cent of Negroes unemployed, is a challenge to the free-enterprise system. They're becoming convinced that we've got to prove for the people of the world that free enterprise can work here for those of all colors."

Herbert Hill, national labor secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and long a critic of discriminatory hiring practices, expressed the view that in recent months there had been a significant change in the atmosphere toward hiring Negroes as salaried workers.

At a time when the unsalaried Negro is experiencing a major unemployment crisis, he said, the "one hopeful area" has been on the professional and technical level in enterprises operated by multiplant corporations with Government contracts.

He said there had been "symbolic break-throughs" of considerable significance in salaried Negro employment at such companies, but little or no progress at the unsalaried level.

There is no doubt that economic considerations—enter the picture.

Many company officials, when questioned about their policies toward hiring Negroes referred to President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925 prohibiting discrimination against any employe or job applicant by Government contractors with contracts in excess of $50,000.

Thomas D. Sharkey, compensation manager for Olin Mathieson here, said that the order "may well have been the beginning of one of the greatest revolutions this country has seen since the organization of the United States."

A top official of a New York-based paper company suggested that the order and its nationwide impact on business and industry might be the "most vital and constructive achievement so far in domestic affairs by the present Administration."

Private Survey Cited

In a recent private survey of hiring policies, more than 100 of the nation's major companies asserted that they did not discriminate against Negroes. But many of them admitted that the implementation of their policies left much to be desired.

The president of one of the city's largest banks acknowledged that its announced policy of nondiscrimination in hiring did not become a fact without positive action to employ people from minorities. Although he said the bank kept no count of its employes by race, he estimated that 1,000 of its 8,000 employes were from "minority groups."

A soap company said that it had "specifically sought Negro employes to fill a wide range of types of jobs—production and clerical to white-collar positions."

Some companies complain that they cannot find qualified Negroes for the jobs they have available. Negro leaders tend to scoff at such complaints

Mr. Clark said that he considered it unrealistic for a company to ask for a Negro precisely qualified in a field in which there have been few opportunities for Negroes in the past and for which few have been motivated to prepare.

It would be better and more realistic, Mr. Clark suggested, for companies willing to hire Negroes to recruit promising high school and college graduates, put them in training programs and then promote them on merit to the better jobs.

Nevertheless, the process of matching qualified Negroes with available jobs is a problem today—both for well-meaning employers and organizations such as the Urban League.

"It's one thing to batter down the door," said Mr. Young. "It's another to qualify the Negro to walk through."

As a step toward bringing together the already qualified Negro and prospective employers, the league, with help from a $100,000 grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, is establishing a national "skills bank."

Reservoir Sought

Henry Steeger, the league president, said the bank would provide a reservoir of qualified Negroes to help meet the increasing job demands.

At the same time, both Negro leaders and business executives emphasize the importance of improving the educational qualifications of Negroes so that in the future they can qualify for more and better jobs.

But the fact of progress nationally for Negroes in the salaried field, even in the face of present handicaps, is attested by Hobart Taylor Jr., executive vice chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity.

"The number of minority-group members in higher levels in private industry has risen sharply," he said. "Traditional color barriers have been broken in many jobs to which all could not aspire before. And responsible government positions have been opened to many who formerly were trapped in menial jobs."

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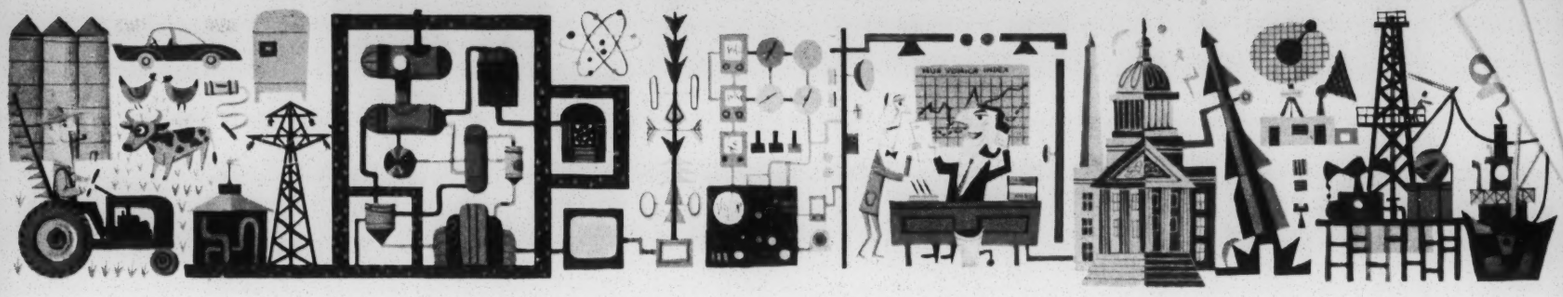

FORTUNE

September 1963

The Businessman and the Negro

by Charles E. Silberman

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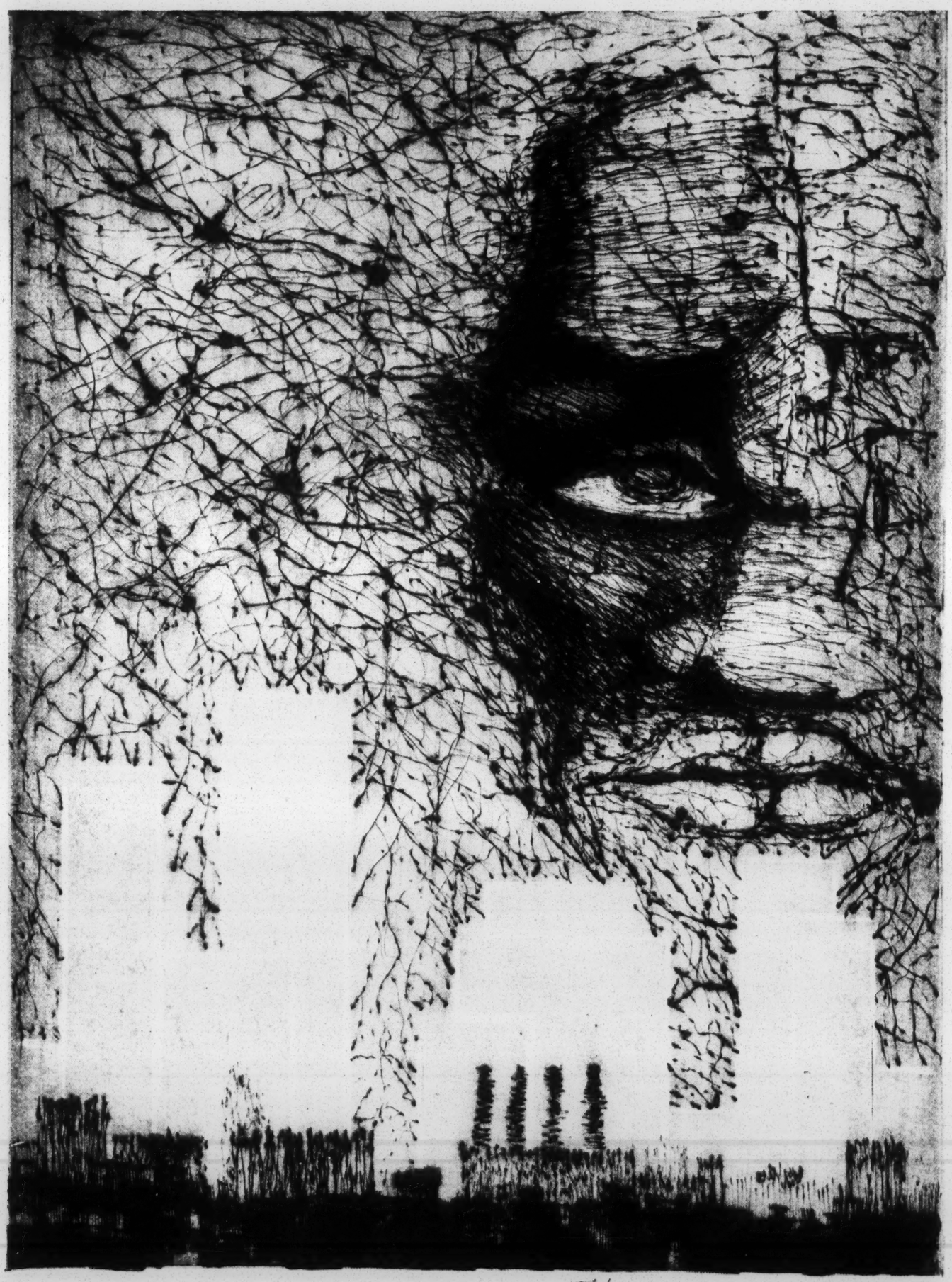


Hammer imp. 1963

The Businessman and the Negro

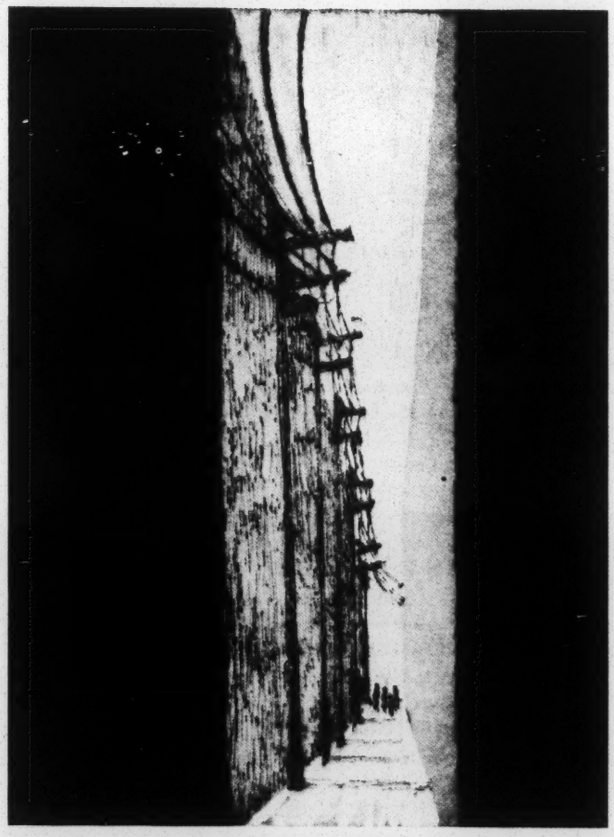
by Charles E. Silberman

The events of this past spring and summer, beginning with the demonstrations in Birmingham in April and May, represent a major watershed in the history of U.S. race relations. Birmingham, and its aftermath in a hundred cities around the country, demonstrated, so that no one could doubt it any longer, the depth of Negro discontent, the extent of Negro anger and hate, and the ease with which it can flare into violence. Politics, churches, schools, and all aspects of American life will be affected by this anger. Businessmen in particular will be involved more deeply and painfully in the racial struggle.

To be sure, businessmen have been in the fray for some time. They have been the targets of Negro demands for the desegregation of lunch counters, washrooms, and other facilities in Atlanta, Georgia; Birmingham, Alabama; Greensboro, North Carolina, and countless other cities. And businessmen throughout the South—in Austin, Texas; Spartanburg, South Carolina; Knoxville, Tennessee, among others—have taken the initiative in urging the desegregation of public facilities.

The great mass of Negroes, however, are more concerned with where they work than with where they eat: winning the right to eat at a desegregated lunch counter is small consolation to men who can't afford the cost of the meal. The great majority of Negro Americans are still mired in poverty. Until the Birmingham crisis, however, these lower-class Negroes were imprisoned by apathy and despair, and they left the protesting to small, highly disciplined cadres of educated, middle-class Negroes. But when the police dogs were unleashed in Alabama, every Negro in America felt their fangs in the marrow of his bones. The explosion of anger and hatred that resulted broke through the traditional apathy of the poor and created an almost universal desire to act.

The entrance of the poor into the Negro protest movement has profoundly altered its direction and temper. Jobs, not civil rights, will be the key issue; boycotts, sit-ins, and mass picketing, not "moderation," will be the principal weapons; the streets, and not the courts, will be the major forum. Indeed, Negroes of every income level are now eager to demonstrate. They are increasingly intolerant of "moderation," and the poor, in particular,



Prints by Sid Hammer

are contemptuous of the doctrine of nonviolence that has dominated the struggle so far. (Within a single week this summer, the Reverend Martin Luther King was pelted with eggs in Harlem, James Meredith was publicly rebuked for being a "moderate," and the Reverend Joseph H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, largest Negro church group, was booed off the platform at an N.A.A.C.P. rally and threatened with bodily harm for having called for a halt to anti-segregation demonstrations.) The Negro rank and file are now bringing pressure to bear on their leaders, instead of the other way around. Indeed, the Negro leaders' position recalls Mahatma Gandhi's famous remark, "There go my people. I must catch them, for I am their leader."

The verge of crisis

Underlying this shift in goals and tactics is the fact that two out of three Negro households earn less than $4,000 a year, and that one Negro male in nine is out of work. This poverty and insecurity are particularly galling to the Negro, who sees the white society that surrounds him grow increasingly affluent while he remains tied to his slum. Contrary to popular impression, Negroes' economic position has actually deteriorated over the last ten years, relative to that of whites. Negroes did make enormous advances during World War II and the boom years that followed, for the shortage of labor drew them into factory and white-collar jobs that had always been barred to them. As a result, Negro income increased 80 percent faster than white income, and the median income of Negro families jumped from only 37 percent of white income in 1939 to 57 percent in 1952. But this escalation came to a halt with the slowdown of the economy after the end of the Korean war. As a result, the median income of Negro families dropped from its high of 57 percent of white income in 1952 to 53 percent in 1962.

The future is even bleaker than the present; it is no exaggeration to say that Negroes are on the verge of a major economic crisis, for the gap is widening between Negro education and training, on the one hand, and the requirements of the labor market, on the other. Automation, new management techniques, and changes in consumer spending patterns are all reducing the demand for unskilled and semiskilled labor and increasing employment in professional, managerial, clerical, and sales jobs, many of which require considerable education and training. These white-collar occupations account for no less than 97 percent of the total increase in employment that has occurred since 1947. The professionalization of the labor force accelerated during the mid-Fifties, and will pick up more momentum in the decade ahead. But Negroes are badly prepared for this change. Three Negro men in five now work in unskilled or semiskilled blue-collar jobs, compared to three out of ten white men, and more than half the Negro men over the age of twenty-five (vs. 21 percent of white men) have had less than a grammar-school education. Small wonder that in northern industrial centers one out of every three Negro workers has suffered unemployment in the last several years, or that in some Negro neighborhoods the unemployment rate may run as high as 40 percent.

But Negroes' lack of education and training and their concentration in unskilled occupations—conditions produced by past discrimination—do not entirely account for Negro poverty. On the contrary, the Negro unemployment rate is higher than the white rate in *every* major occupational group. Among craftsmen and foremen, for example, Negro unemployment runs to 9.7 percent, compared to 4.8 percent for whites; among clerical workers, 7.1 percent vs. 3.8 percent. While a great many Negroes can't find jobs because they lack the necessary skills, all too many Negroes who do have the education and training are unable to put their skills to work.

Many firms employ Negroes only in a few job classifications. In the South, employment of Negroes is limited by the tradition that Negroes not be permitted to work on an equal status with whites, and that they never be placed in a supervisory position over whites. In the North, exclusion of Negroes from the better jobs stems less from conscious corporate decisions to discriminate than from the conscious or unconscious biases of the personnel officers, the foremen, the executives, i.e., all those involved in hiring and promoting. At the heart of this kind of unconscious discrimination, management consultant John Perry has suggested, is the concept of "place"—i.e., the notion that certain jobs and certain situations are appropriate, others inappropriate, for Negroes. In almost every company, that is to say, whether through accident or choice, tradition has reserved some jobs almost exclusively for Negroes and some almost exclusively for whites ("Negroes wouldn't be happy there"; "Negroes wouldn't fit in there"; "I'm not prejudiced, but my customers might object").

Because discrimination is so endemic, Negro youngsters all too often see no point to finishing high school or going on to advanced training; they drop out at the first opportunity, and they shirk their studies while they are in school. "Education is a difficult enough process under any condition," Dr. Carl Hansen, Superintendent of Schools of Washington, D.C., has explained, "because educational effort is primarily an expression of hope on the part of the student . . . The Negro pupil is obliged to be more hopeful than the white student. He is asked to have faith and confidence which at the moment he is in school seems unreasonable and unjustifiable."

"The politics of repair"

Jobs are the fulcrum, therefore, on which Negro progress rests, and to which Negro protests will be directed. Businessmen will be in the thick of the fray. Corporations of every sort will be served with demands to hire more Negroes in non-menial positions and to train them for promotion. The pressure to open up job opportunities will encompass every level, from apprentice to foreman to the executive suite, though the emphasis will be on the broad middle range. The pressure will be at least as strong in the North as in the South; more than half the Negroes of the U.S. now live in the cities of the North and West, where they constitute a large and rapidly growing proportion of the population. The methods used will run the entire gamut from polite moral suasion to legal action to boycotts, mass picketing, and sit-ins.

Thus, the problem of race relations may become a major—at times *the* major—preoccupation of top management for a number of years to come. As J. W. Putsch, president of the National Restaurant Association, told his members in June, "American businessmen are now involved in something greater than a business problem."

Charles E. Silberman, a member of FORTUNE's *board of editors, wrote "The City and the Negro"* (FORTUNE, *March, 1962*). *The present article is based on a chapter in his book,* Crisis in Black and White, *soon to be published by Random House.*

They are, in fact, engaged in one of the most far-reaching and important changes in the nation's history: an attempt to liquidate, in one generation, the consequences of 250 years of slavery and 100 years of discrimination and neglect. To do so, needless to say, will require difficult and heroic decisions on the part of civic and political as well as business leaders; it will require changes in the behavior of Americans in every walk of life.

But businessmen occupy a peculiarly strategic position, and they may, as a result, be called upon to bear more than their proportionate share of the burden of change. In the opinion of Ray Eppert, president of Burroughs, however, businessmen "recognize both the justice and the inevitability of this movement" and are prepared to accept responsibility for carrying it along. But whether or not they recognize the justice of the changes, a good many businessmen are willing to grant their inevitability. "I'm no integrationist," says Sidney Smyer, the real-estate executive who headed the white negotiating team in Birmingham, "but I'm not a goddam fool, either."

If businessmen are to do more than just float with the tide, if they are to play a constructive role, they will have to look beyond the usual rules and canons of business management. Pressed by demands from angry Negro activists on the one side and resistant white workers, trade unionists, and executives on the other, managers will find themselves involved in an unending process of accommodation, mediation, adjustment, and persuasion. Executives, in short, will need to learn the art of politics in the highest sense of that term, for they will be engaged in what has been called "the politics of repair." Businessmen like to think of themselves as conservatives; they now have a rare opportunity to conserve American society by repairing what has to be repaired and changing what has to be changed. The slow pace of desegregation since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision on public education has brought to the surface and magnified Negroes' basic distrust in the efficacy of law and in the integrity and good faith of white leadership. By acting on their own initiative to create jobs for Negroes, businessmen may be able to convert that distrust into some degree of confidence and so, in the phrase of Edmund Burke, "make the Revolution a parent of settlement and not a nursery of future revolutions."

"They mean something else"

So far, however, business has done little more than react to pressure from Negro groups. A few companies, to be sure, are making conscientious efforts on their own to break the color line—among them, R.C.A., I.B.M., American Telephone & Telegraph, and Thompson Ramo Wooldridge—and their experience is highly relevant. But in the aggregate, corporations' voluntary actions have fallen desperately short of what needs to be done to increase Negro employment. Indeed, the evidence suggests that despite management's preference for voluntary methods some form of compulsion is necessary to evoke a real change. The "Plans for Progress" program of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity provides a perfect case in point. Over 100 corporations have signed Plans for Progress, promising to "undertake a program of affirmative action" to recruit Negroes and train them for employment and promotion. The President's committee has the power to force compliance with the plans, but until very recently it emphasized the virtues of voluntary compliance.

The virtues are hard to find. While total employment of Negroes has increased since the program began, only a few contractors account for the bulk of the increase. Most firms have done very little to redeem their pledges. Last winter, for example, the highly respected Southern Regional Council studied the action taken by the Atlanta branches of some twenty-four Plans for Progress signers. Only seven of these firms could produce any meaningful evidence of compliance, and only three—Lockheed, Western Electric, Goodyear—had really gone out of their way to create job opportunities for Negroes. A FORTUNE survey in July of Plans for Progress signers in twelve cities around the country revealed the same pattern. In Detroit, FORTUNE's correspondent reported, "Businessmen regard President Kennedy's 'Plans for Progress' program as that big business integration program in the sky." They "applaud the lofty ideals and worthy goals of the program," but they haven't done very much to reach those goals. Nor have firms in other cities; the most common reaction FORTUNE received was that since the company had never really discriminated, the Plans for Progress agreement was a pure formality.

The fact that so few firms are carrying out their commitments under the Plans for Progress program does not necessarily imply that the signers are insincere; it does suggest a lack of realism on their part about what they have to do to carry out the program. "You can have all the talk in the White House or the front office you want," C. W. Robison, personnel director of Thompson Ramo Wooldridge in Cleveland, suggests, "but until you bring the message right down to the front line, you're just talking." (After T.R.W. had signed the Plan for Progress, Robison personally "hand-carried the message" to each one of the corporation's forty-two plants.) And in fact a good many of the cases of noncompliance reflect top management's failure to communicate its intent, or to take the sometimes drastic measures that are required to overcome inertia and prejudice along the line. Edgar Kaiser, for example, is a member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity as well as a participant in the Plans for Progress program, and his good will is attested to by the most militant Negro leaders in Oakland, where Kaiser's home offices are located. Yet at the time of the Southern Regional Council study, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical's Atlanta office had made no attempt at all to open sales jobs to Negroes: "It would strike me as rather ridiculous to hire [a Negro] for an outside sales responsibility," the sales manager explained. "If we had a lot of Negro customers, we would have a Negro salesman." The personnel manager of Martin Marietta's Chicago branch told FORTUNE's correspondent that he'd never heard of Plans for Progress, and wondered why it should concern him, anyway. The manager of another company's branch in Atlanta was even more explicit. "I have other things to worry about, like selling merchandise, rather than what Mr. Kennedy says," he told the Southern Regional Council. When reminded that the president of his company had signed a pledge to create job opportunities for Negroes, he had a ready answer. "They don't mean regional divisions like us. They mean something else."

"They just don't apply"

Most executives contacted by FORTUNE had heard of the Plans for Progress program, however, and most seemed willing enough to hire more Negroes. The problem, they

said, was that qualified Negroes just didn't seem to come around. "We would hire Negroes," the manager of Du Pont's sales office in Atlanta explained, "but we have no opportunity to do so. On the one occasion that we needed clerical help, we advertised, and our ad stated that we had signed the equal-opportunity agreement. But we had no Negro applicants. They just don't apply."

Of course they don't; the door has been closed too long. Three hundred and fifty years of exclusion from American society have persuaded Negroes that there's no point in applying, that "the man" (the white man) has stacked things so that Negroes can't get ahead, and that there is, consequently, no use in trying. Hence Negroes will assume that a firm discriminates until they get positive reassurance to the contrary.

Merely adding a "We Are An Equal Employment Opportunity Employer" tag line to a company's want ads, for example, will not persuade Negroes that the way is open to them. "Industry has to do more than just sit and wait for Negroes to come to their doors," J. J. Bricker, personnel vice president of I. B. M., argues. It has to beat the bushes to find them, by recruiting at Negro colleges, high schools, and employment agencies; by advertising in Negro newspapers and over Negro radio stations; and by using the employment services of the National Urban League, which has representatives in sixty-five cities.

A number of companies are doing just this. Thus, I. B. M. now visits seventeen Negro colleges to recruit engineers, mathematicians, scientists, and sales and management trainees. McDonnell Aircraft of St. Louis has developed a slide presentation for predominantly Negro high schools, showing Negroes working alongside whites at every job level. (McDonnell employs Negroes in 127 job classifications.)

The best recruiting in the world, however, would still leave corporations short of qualified Negro applicants; Negroes have had neither the incentive nor the opportunity to acquire the qualifications that business firms are now demanding. It would be unrealistic to assume that Negroes *would* be qualified. "White folks seemed always to expect you to know those things which they'd done everything they could think of to prevent you from knowing," Ralph Ellison sardonically remarks in *Invisible Man*, perhaps the best novel written by an American Negro.

A number of factors have conspired to keep Negroes from acquiring the education and skills they need for non-menial jobs:

▶ Negro high-school students in the South are generally offered vocational education only in traditional Negro occupations. In Houston, for example, the sole vocational high school, which is restricted to whites, offers three-year courses in air conditioning and refrigeration mechanics, automotive mechanics, drafting, machine shop, photography, printing, radio, television, and welding. None of these courses are given in the five Negro high schools. As school officials explain it, "It would be wasteful . . . to educate a student for admission to a craft or trade that is not open to him."

▶ Trade unions are equally culpable. In a number of occupations, workers can qualify for employment only by completing an apprenticeship-training program, which is usually controlled by the trade union involved. Negroes have generally been barred from access to apprenticeship programs run by the plumbers, sheet-metal workers, steam fitters, lathers and plasterers, and electricians, among others.

▶ At Hughes Tool in Houston, for example, Negro as well as white employees are now permitted to receive a tryout for promotion to skilled jobs that open up. But since Negroes, until now, have been restricted to menial jobs, like sweeping, very few qualify for better jobs. As FORTUNE's Houston correspondent put it, "The past practice of keeping Negroes from running the machines has proved effective in continuing to keep them from running the machines."

▶ Most important of all, years of slavery and the discrimination that followed destroyed Negroes' self-confidence, and thereby limited their aspirations and their willingness (and ability) to compete. They are understandably fearful about trying to "make it" in the white world, especially the impersonal world of business.

Are tests necessary?

To end this vicious circle that keeps Negroes untrained and unemployed will require patience and imagination, and, in many cases, a break with corporate tradition. How can it be done? I.B.M. now includes mathematics and science professors from Negro as well as white colleges in the summer programs it runs at several computer centers; the program explains to the professors the career opportunities that are available for their students and the requirements for those careers. Texas Instruments, the Dallas electronics manufacturer, has gone further. It helped establish guidance councils at two nearby Negro colleges where scientists, engineers, and executives from firms in the Dallas area* have been helping the colleges overhaul their obsolete curricula and beef up their inadequate placement services.

A few companies have tried modifying their employment and promotion procedures. When the Negro boycotts were under way in Philadelphia last year, for example, the president of one major corporation decided to take a look at his company's position in advance of any attack. He discovered that his Negro employees—200 out of 2,000—were all at the bottom rung, although the company had no overt biases. Upon further examination, it developed that Negroes stayed at the bottom because they never took the written exams which the company used to measure qualifications for promotion; they simply assumed that the tests were designed to give the company an excuse for not promoting them. Since the tests bore little relation to the job functions involved, the president ordered them replaced with job-performance tests and on-the-job training. As a result, seventy Negroes were upgraded. "I'm convinced that we'll have to do some innovating in order to hire more Negroes," says I.B.M.'s Bricker; re-examination of corporate testing procedures, in his view, is a good place to start. He feels that there are a great many positions where on-the-job training can be given Negroes who fail the usual qualifying tests.

If Negro employment is to be increased, moreover, firms will have to find substitutes or shortcuts for the experience they now demand as a prerequisite in certain jobs. A large merchandising chain, for example, recently asked the National Urban League for help in hiring Negroes for a number of jobs, including store managers. But there was an unintentional catch; the firm required ten years of merchandising experience with the chain as a condition for promotion to manager. Since it had never employed Negroes in merchandising jobs before, the requirement obviously made it impossible for them to qualify for at least another ten years. The Urban League suggested that the firm develop methods for testing managerial ability in a shorter time.

**Including Ling-Temco-Vought, General Dynamics, Collins Radio, Bell Helicopter, Ford, G.M., and Procter & Gamble.*

The doctrine of the debt

All this sounds like a demand for special treatment for Negroes, and that is precisely what it is. Negroes are not content with equal opportunity any more; they are demanding preference, or "positive discrimination" in their favor. Negroes liken their position to that of a runner who is kept at the starting line until his opponents in the race are halfway to the finish line; merely "freeing him" to run will not enable him to catch up. More and more Negroes, therefore, are espousing "the doctrine of the debt," which holds that the U.S. owes the Negro something for 250 years of slavery and 100 years of discrimination. "If those who make the decisions in this country are really sincere about closing the gaps," Whitney Young, the brilliant young director of the National Urban League, argues, "they must go further than fine impartiality. We must have, in fact, special consideration if we are to compensate for the scars left by three hundred years of deprivation, which actually represented special consideration of another sort." Hence Young is demanding special priority in employment, suggesting as a precedent the ten-point preference given veterans on civil-service exams after World War II.

The Urban League is proposing that when a Negro and a white have equal qualifications for a job, the former should be given the preference. Militant Negro organizations are demanding considerably more; they are insisting, in effect, that business firms hire Negroes not because they are qualified but because they are Negroes. And they are developing a good deal of muscle to back up their demands for preferential hiring. The most widely used technique is the boycott, or "selective patronage campaign," as Negroes prefer to call it. "Don't buy where you can't work" campaigns were frequent during the 1930's, but they were sporadic and only occasionally effective. The contemporary use of the weapon began three years ago in Philadelphia. The campaign was organized and directed by a group of Negro ministers (some 400 ministers cooperated) with no formal organization. The ministers' technique is to approach one company at a time, usually a manufacturer or distributor of consumer products for which a number of competing brands are available—e.g., bakeries, dairies, oil companies, supermarket chains. If the company refuses to negotiate with the ministers, it is given an ultimatum to hire a specified number of Negroes in specified job classifications before a given date; if the demands are ignored, a boycott ensues. With 400 ministers using their pulpits to announce the boycott, a substantial portion of the Negro population takes part. A number of firms—e.g., Pepsi-Cola, Esso—have come to terms without a boycott. Others held out—but generally not for long; Gulf Oil capitulated in twelve days, Sun Oil in three months. All told, the ministers have won concessions from twenty-four firms so far. The technique has spread to Boston, New York, Atlanta, Detroit, and other cities, and is bound to be widely imitated. As the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, Martin Luther King's chief lieutenant, puts it, "Not every Negro is able to go to jail, but every Negro can stop buying a particular brand of bread or milk or gasoline."

Cracking the "power structure"

Now the boycott is being supplemented by the use of mass picketing, which is better suited to industries that do not make any consumer product. This summer, for example, a coalition of civil-rights groups has been picketing construction sites in New York City in an effort to enforce their demand that Negroes make up at least 25 percent of the work force on all governmentally financed construction projects.

Negroes are demanding more than jobs, however. Their leaders are determined that what they refer to as "the power structure" recognize them and negotiate with them—that business and civic leaders, in short, come to the bargaining table not as patrons but as equals. Negroes have long been rankled by the white "power structure's" traditional prerogative of picking the Negro leaders with whom it wants to deal. They are insisting that whites recognize the leaders selected by the Negro community, whoever they may be or however distasteful the whites may find them.

When businessmen (or civic and political leaders), as is their wont, talk to the eight or ten most prosperous or most politically sophisticated Negroes in town, they aren't really talking to the Negroes at all, and they can be badly misled as to the temper and desires of the Negro community. In Oakland, for example, failure to recognize the grass-roots Negro leadership is nullifying, and may very well destroy, a program that a group of local industrialists has been developing to expand Negro employment. The businessmen wanted to ease racial tensions and avoid Negro demonstrations and boycotts by developing a program in advance of Negro demands. But when it came time to sit down and discuss alternatives, the businessmen did not call upon those Negroes who would be most likely to organize a boycott or call out the pickets. "We didn't want any of those emotional fellows from the N.A.A.C.P.," one executive explained. "We wanted sound men who would be willing to ignore the past and just concentrate on the future, so we asked Mr. X to get a group together. He's a sound man," the executive added. "In fact, he's the whitest Negro we have in town."

The result was as predictable as it is unfortunate. The grass-roots Negro leaders in Oakland, all of whom are Democrats, interpreted the move not as an attempt to help Negroes, but as a plot by a group of businessmen to attract Negroes to the Republican party. For if the program works—if it does create job opportunities—Mr. X, "the whitest Negro in town," would replace D. G. Gibson, the Negro Democratic boss, as the man to see when a Negro was in trouble. Instead of gaining the support of the Negro leadership, therefore, the businessmen have aroused bitter anger and violent opposition.

Negroes' insistence on recognition is more than just a play for power; it is a crucial part of the struggle to overcome the devastation that the past 350 years have wrought on the Negro's personality. The apathy, the aimlessness, the lack of interest in education that characterize the Negro lower classes stem from their sense of dependency and powerlessness—their conviction that "Mr. Charlie" controls everything, and that he's stacked the cards so that Negroes can never win. Negroes must gain a sense of potency if they are to move into the mainstream of American life.

And power has to be taken; the nature of power is such that it can never be received as a gift. Hence when businessmen say they're willing to grant some of the Negro demands, "but not if we're pushed too hard," they're missing the point. Negroes want to achieve their aims by their own efforts, not as a result of white beneficence. Thus, the very militancy and stridency that whites find so upsetting is essential if the Negro is to shuck off his traditional dependency and become truly free and equal, if he is to learn to respect himself, and to be respected by whites.

The years ahead may be harsh and painful but a necessary prelude to the peace that will follow, it is to be hoped. But it would be fatuous to pretend that any set of policies adopted by business and government can bring racial peace within

the next few years. For one thing, Negroes' impatience, bitterness, and anger are likely to increase the closer they come to full equality. This is not a quirk of Negro character but a characteristic of all disadvantaged groups: the closer they are to their goals, the harder it is to understand or justify the disparities that remain. Indeed, it is a commonplace of history that revolutions (and the Negro protest movement resembles a revolution in many ways) stem from hope, not despair; from progress, not stalemate. And the nearer to triumph the revolutionaries get, the tougher they usually become. Corporations will find, therefore, that there is no magic formula, no safe and sure way of buying immunity from racial conflict. Indeed, firms that have taken the initiative in employing Negroes may still find themselves the object of attack, perhaps the victim of internecine warfare between competing Negro groups.

Redressing the injuries done to Negroes in the past, moreover, will involve some heavy costs in the present. Granting Negro demands for more jobs, for example, may mean fewer jobs for whites, or at the very least, an end to the monopoly that white employees have thus far enjoyed in many job classifications. Executives can expect to be attacked from both sides, therefore; they will need all the political art they can muster to persuade white employees that "reverse discrimination" is socially necessary and for the greater good. And businessmen may find, to their surprise, that they actually *want* an F.E.P.C. law forbidding all businesses to discriminate in employment or in customer service; such a law would protect them against employees, trade unions, and hostile elements in their communities.

The cost will be high

Efficiency may be lowered by the costs of hiring unqualified Negroes and training them on the job. Even more damage to efficiency may be done by the blow to the morale (and consequently to the productivity) of white employees when firms begin to discriminate in favor of Negroes.

To be sure, no corporation is completely consistent in its adherence to the principle of merit; all kinds of subjective and irrational judgments enter into the selection and promotion of employees. But deliberately departing from the merit principle is something else again, and there is no point in pretending that corporations won't pay a heavy price for doing so. The cost of not discriminating in favor of Negroes, however, will be considerably greater, both to business and to the community at large. "Make no mistake about it, we're going to have to subsidize Negro employment for some time," one industrialist told FORTUNE. "But it will be a lot cheaper to do that than to pay it out in welfare"—or in the cost to the community of racial violence.

It will be far easier to do these things, of course, if the present business expansion continues and the economy returns to full employment. During the labor shortages of World War II, and again during the Korean war, business learned that it can put "unqualified" men and women to work by teaching them on the job, reorganizing the work where necessary to require less skill.

During World War II, for example, U.S. optical manufacturers assured naval procurement officers that it was impossible to manufacture more than a few thousand prism binoculars a year; there was a shortage of lens grinders, and it took a number of years to train one. By breaking the lens-grinding operation into several steps, however, the Navy was able to get the training time down to a few weeks—and to get output up to a half-million binoculars a year. More recently, industry has had to meet its need for engineers through on-the-job training and upgrading. Between 1954 and 1957, for example, industry increased its employment of engineers by 100,000, or 27 percent. In the same period only 70,000 engineers were graduated by all American colleges, and not all of them went to work for industry. Clearly, corporations supplied the difference through upgrading, promotions, and transfers from other work.

Some U.S. corporations that operate in the underdeveloped nations have had to be even more ingenious in upgrading unqualified workers; employing native workers may be the price of staying in the country for any length of time. Aramco, for example, used to import virtually its entire labor force from the U.S.; it seemed "obvious" that illiterate Saudi peasants could never cope with the complex technology of oil drilling and transportation. Faced with the long-range danger of expropriation, however, Aramco discovered that the Saudis could be taught after all. The company now uses Saudi drilling crews directed by Saudi foremen; roughly one-quarter of the labor time Aramco pays for is spent in education and training of some sort.

Broadening the labor pool

Negro Americans, needless to say—even those from the rural South—are quite a few notches above the Saudi tribesmen. If given the chance, they can learn as well as whites; the expense of training them represents a cost of broadening the labor pool. There are present or potential shortages in a good many skilled jobs, partly because of skyrocketing demand, but in good measure because union training regulations artificially restrict the supply. The pressure to hire more Negroes in skilled jobs may give industry the opportunity to take a fresh look at obsolete training requirements.

There are other precedents for the actions business is being urged to take. In many ways, the current racial conflict resembles the conflict over trade-unionism during the 1930's. (The analogy can be pressed too far, of course; there are important differences, the main one being that trade unions could purport to speak for *most* of a firm's employees, whereas Negro organizations speak only for a minority.) Businessmen then resented the unionists' demands to share in managerial power; but the U.S. averted class warfare because large corporations gradually came to accommodate themselves to trade-union power, i.e., to negotiate with it.

When all is said and done, however, business must take the initiative not because it is expedient, nor even because it is necessary, but because it is right. "I tremble for my country," Thomas Jefferson wrote, "when I reflect that God is just." Nor can there be any question about the moral issue involved, unless we are to discard the Judaeo-Christian tradition altogether. "Unlike any other social problem religion has ever had to come to grips with," the Reverend Will D. Campbell of the National Council of Churches has written, "here is one on which there is no room for argument . . . It was settled for the Jews in the wilderness when they were admonished to accept the Ger, the sojourner, the stranger within their gates . . . and it was settled for Christendom at Pentecost when members of every race and nation and tongue were 'altogether in one place hearing the mighty works of God.' " The question, therefore, is no longer what to do, but whether there is still time in which to do it. END

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BECKER, Gary S. The economics of discrimination. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1957. 137 p. (Chicago. Univ. Economics Research Center. Studies in economics).
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Discusses federal and state regulations on discrimination and offers suggestions for integrating the workforce.

LELYVELD, Joseph. "Racial image challenges big business." Reprinted from The New York Times, Dec. 19, 1963. New York, National Urban League, 1963. 1 p.
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ROBINSON, Jackie. "American enterprise and the racial crisis." Sales Management, August 16, 1963. p. 33-37.
An appeal to the nation's business executives to take the initiative in throwing open the doors to Negroes on an equal basis with the whites.

ROSS, Irwin. "Negroes are moving up the job ladder." Condensed from Christian Herald. Reader's Digest, Dec. 1963. p. 53-57.
An encouraging report on expanding opportunities for Negroes. Points out that there is still a shortage of qualified applicants for certain positions, since past discrimination had discouraged young Negroes from training for those positions.

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The problem has grown to such proportions that one city, Chicago, Illinois, has enlisted the aid of business, social agencies, and educators to combat it. The Double EE program, established as a pilot study, combines training for employability and encourages further education.

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Discusses the manner in which firms are hiring Negroes for office and other salaried posts that they rarely held before. Notes that 115 of the nation's top companies with 5.5 million employees have enrolled under voluntary Plans for Progress to promote integration.

STIX, Harriet. "In training to take a better letter." Reprinted from New York Herald Tribune, Dec. 3, 1963. New York, National Urban League, 1963. 1 p.
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Explains the Demonstration Manpower Program and shows how people lacking skills are being helped to overcome their handicaps in communities throughout the nation.

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The first in a series of reports intended to inform government agencies, officials, and the public of the progress and problems of the training programs.

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March 1964

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a kit of materials assembled by the National Skills Bank of the National Urban League and the Race Relations Committee of the American Jewish Committee as an aid to businessmen in promoting job integration of minority group workers.

The kit includes reports of successful minority-group placements, suggestions of key private and government resources helpful in job integration and an annotated bibliography of pertinent readings. Among these items you will find:

1. STEPS TOWARD JOB EQUALITY. A record of experiences of members and friends of the American Jewish Committee, stemming from our off-the-record conference of business leaders in Washington last July, and from additional reports received subsequently.

2. THE SEARCH FOR CREATIVE BRAINPOWER and THEY MAKE OPPORTUNITY KNOCK (Chemical Week). Excellent descriptions of how the National Skills Bank of the National Urban League helps employers looking for qualified Negro manpower.

3. NEGROES ARE MOVING UP THE JOB LADDER (Reader's Digest) and MORE SALARIED POSITIONS ARE OPENED TO NEGROES BY BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY (New York Times). Reports of leading companies which are pointing the way to equal job opportunities.

4. THE BUSINESSMAN AND THE NEGRO (Fortune). Discusses the responsibility of business leadership in the current race-relations crisis and emphasizes the need to involve all management levels in the drive to increase Negro employment.

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57th Annual Meeting, APRIL 30–MAY 3, 1964, THE NEW YORK HILTON

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5. AN EXPLANATION OF THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT (MDTA) and MANPOWER PROBLEMS AND LOCAL ACTION. How firms may avail themselves of government funds to promote on-the-job and other training programs, and how business leaders may become active in Local Manpower Advisory Committees which recommend and support MDTA training programs.

6. INTEGRATION IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY. A selected, annotated bibliography prepared by the Blaustein Library of the American Jewish Committee.

We welcome any comments you may have about this kit, and any suggestions for further materials you might find useful. Above all, we should appreciate hearing about your own activities in your business, industry and community, so that your experience may be used to aid others in this vital effort.

Sincerely yours,

Irving M. Engel

Irving M. Engel, Chairman
Race Relations Committee
American Jewish Committee

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encl.

LET'S BE human

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 EAST 56 STREET
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FEBRUARY 1967

QUERY

"What do bigots burn instead of crosses," asks Jerome Beatty, Jr. in Saturday Review, "in non-Christian countries?"

SCIENCE -- MONSTER OR FRIEND?

Science scares me. Scientists at the University of Pittsburgh reported recently that by isolating an important ingredient of Kava Kava, a ceremonial beverage drunk by South Sea Island natives, they may have discovered a hate-destroying tranquilizer. The native drink reportedly gives people a peaceful happy feeling without destroying self-control or bringing a hangover.

Pitt's Dr. Joseph Buckley said that the substance, F-1, has a "remarkable" taming effect on wild, hate-crazed laboratory animals. Whereas alcohol affects brain areas concerned with reason, balance and coordination, F-1 acts on brain areas associated with rage and hate.

Another case in point is the use of electric shock to cure adulterers. Two psychiatrists in Shrewsbury, England told last month of showing a patient, Mr. X, color pictures of his wife and mistress. The pictures were projected on a screen for 30 minutes a day for six consecutive days. When the mistress showed up on the screen, the unfaithful husband received a 70-volt shock on the wrist. When his wife's picture appeared, a tape recording stressed the harm he was doing by his adulterous affair. This is "aversion therapy," associating an unpleasant experience with the object of the patient's desire. It's also been used in efforts to cure compulsive gamblers and alcoholics.

Prior to treatment, the psychiatrists report, although the husband still loved his wife, he considered their future hopeless because of his helpless attraction to his mistress. However, in the six months since his treatment, his marriage "has been happier than ever before and he is now completely indifferent to his former mistress."

Maybe Kava Kava and "aversion therapy" can make Brotherhood Week unnecessary. On the other hand, perhaps they could turn us into contented cows, unwilling to struggle against injustices. I'm still scared.

MEMO TO STATESMEN

If logic goes out of the window this month and you suddenly receive a flood of letters calling for escalating the war in Vietnam, even though you know most people long for peace, don't rub your eyes in surprise. The John Birch Society has asked each member to write a minimum of five letters per week to office holders, editors and other influentials.

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BROTHERHOOD QUOTES

With Brotherhood Week fast approaching, what could be more appropriate than a tasteful dish of quotations from books concerned with that very subject? Here are a few selections from two that I found helpful -- The Eternal Light, a Heritage Album mirroring 4,000 years of Jewish inspiration and wisdom, edited in consultation with the Jewish Publication Society of America and published by Harper & Row ($8.95); and The World Treasury of Religious Quotations, compiled and edited by Ralph L. Woods, Hawthorn ($15.00).

*We did not all come over on the same ship, but we are all in the same boat -- Bernard M. Baruch,

*Only a life lived for others is a life worth while. -- Albert Einstein,

*This is to be a Jew! You have no country but the world; and you inherit nothing but wisdom and brotherhood. -- Phyllis Bottome,

*There is more power in the open hand than in the clenched fist. -- Herbert N. Casson,

*Love blinds us to faults and hatred to virtues. -- Moses Ibn Ezra.

BIG JOKE

When a top department store places big newspaper ads backing community action and the war on poverty, all we can say is "Hip, Hip, Hooray." That's what Nieman-Marcus did in Dallas to counteract middle-class resentment against the poverty program.

One ad, headed "Big Joke," showed a well-off citizen in his new convertible with a bumper sticker proclaiming, "I Fight Poverty, I Work."

The ad's copy answers the Birch-type misconceptions implicit in the bumper sticker. It reads:

"Harry put the bumper sticker on his car because he believes poor people should work for a living instead of taking federal handouts. Harry doesn't know it, but the people who run the War on Poverty in Dallas County agree. These are the 150 non-salaried directors of the Dallas County Community Action Committee, a local, non-profit corporation.

"They feel so strongly about this that they have set up many programs designed to provide the poor with the education and training they need to support themselves. They want to help get the poor off welfare rolls and on payrolls.

"Harry calls the War on Poverty a worthless giveaway program. That's because he doesn't know that DCCAC has no money, food or clothing to give away. DCCAC can only give the poor the tools they need to help themselves: opportunity and motivation.

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"Poverty is expensive when you treat it halfway with handouts. Four out of five children on welfare raise their own families on welfare. And taxpayers, including you, Harry, must support them. Laugh that off."

This public information approach was backed by many Dallas firms as an imaginative and daring public service.

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

"Black Power can win or conquer, but it does not bring change. It is as bad as white power. The only power that can do any good is the power of love." -- Joan Baez.

ALONG FREEDOM ROAD

*A union-management program sponsored by New York's Hotel Trades Council and the Hotel Association opened up skilled white-collar and front office jobs for 73 workers who had been restricted to lower paid jobs as maids, dishwashers and elevator operators. The workers, mostly Negro and Puerto Rican, are now housekeepers, front office cashiers, room clerks and auditors.

*A Louisiana drive-in restaurant chain, with nine units, had no Negro managers, one Negro curb attendant and three Negro countermen. When the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission stepped in for conciliation, things changed quickly. The chain now has two Negro managers, seven Negro curb men and ten Negro countermen. The chain also promised to promote qualified Negroes from within and to advertise in Negro newspapers.

*Sweetbriar College in Lynchburg, Va. has appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court to restrain state authorities from enforcing the segregated will of its founder, Indiana F. Williams, whose bequest stated that the college should be "for white girls and young women." Last September, the first Negro student enrolled at the fashionable women's college.

*The day before Christmas, 150 Negro teenagers marched on the District 4 police station in Cincinnati -- for a Christmas party, with gifts, for the District's 83 policemen. One placard on the march said: "Santa Claus is dependable one day a year -- but District 4 is dependable 365 days a year."

EDUCATION AND THE WAR ON POVERTY

"In the first year, a typical on-the-job trainee." reports Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, "repays the Federal Government (in taxes) about 43 per cent of its total investment in him. Before the second year is over, the government has been repaid in full."

Currently, we spend $564 per pupil in elementary and high schools. If we think that's too much, we can push them on the path to prison. There, of course, the cost of maintaining one person for a year is $2,690.

ON FREEDOM LANE

When one of the nation's biggest home-builders says open occupancy works, maybe we should all listen. William J. Levitt, president of Levitt and Sons, who once sold only Jim Crow homes, told Congress that his company sold $74 million worth of houses last year, a five-fold increase in the last five years "since we began to sell on an open occupancy basis." He said that selling houses on that basis in areas where there are fair housing laws is profitable, that there are no outbreaks, no violence, no picketing, no commotion of any kind. In response to questions, he said that colored residents are accepted by their neighbors and that when they leave the houses they occupy the company has no problem selling such dwellings to white buyers.

Backing up Levitt's testimony is a report proving once again that property values do not drop after non-white locate in a residential area. The San Francisco Council for Civic Unity noted that not a single census tract in Oakland -- including the areas where Negroes located for the first time -- suffered a drop in property values between 1950 and 1960. Census figures revealed the following examples:

*In one area four Negro families and 765 white families lived in homes valued at $11,789 in 1950. In 1960, 101 Negro families and 935 white families lived in homes valued at $19,000 -- an increase of 60 per cent.

*By contrast, in an exclusive area that effectively barred Negro home seekers, property values rose only about 30 per cent -- 15 per cent less than the overall average for the city.

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LET'S BE human

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

(agency) AJC

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 EAST 56 STREET
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APRIL 1967

PUT YOUR MONEY WHERE YOUR MOUTH IS

It's easy to "talk" civil rights, but the payoff is what you do about it. The Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit, a member of Project Equality, awarded a contract for 1,400,000 collection envelopes to an Ohio firm though it was not the low bidder. The firm, Postal Church Service Inc. of Youngstown, Ohio, was second in the bidding but first in "superior performance in hiring and promoting minority group employes."

In addition, the Archdiocese awarded a $350,000 fuel-oil contract to a major American oil company which hired a full-time equal employment director; employed a Negro as assistant personnel director; hired a Negro executive at its Houston plant and a Negro professional at its home office. What's more, the firm also found homes outside the ghettos for all these employes.

Project Equality, initiated by the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, is a cooperative effort cosponsored by the Catholic Archdiocese, the Council of Churches, the Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches and the Jewish Community Council. It pledges churches and synagogues to purchase goods and services only from firms carrying on affirmative action for racial and religious equality in hiring and promotion practices. Forty-three religious jurisdictions throughout the nation are now in Project Equality.

Morality, added to economics, makes an unbeatable combination.

QUOTES OF THE MONTH

* The worst sin towards our fellow creatures is not to hate them, but to be indifferent to them: that's the essence of inhumanity.
  --George Bernard Shaw

* We who lived in the concentration camp can remember the men who walked through the huts comforting others, giving away their last piece of bread. They may have been few in number, but they offer sufficient proof that everything can be taken from a man but one thing: the last of his freedom -- to choose one's own way.
  --Viktor E. Frankl

IN PRAISE OF DIFFERENCE

"What is it that makes America better?" asked dramatist Morton Wishengrad. "Is it because the sun always shines here, and the moon is bright? The sun also shines on Frankfurt-am-Main. And the moon

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is bright over Moscow and Madrid. What is better in America is neither a catalogue of rivers, nor the advantages of commerce, nor good plumbing. What is better about America is that we are a cultural and a religious pluralism."

This theme has been ably stressed in a new Public Affairs Pamphlet entitled "Differences Can Enrich Our Lives: Helping Children Prepare for Cultural Diversity." The pamphlet, written by my friend, Ann G. Wolfe of the American Jewish Committee, analyzes the positive forces that link people of the same ethnic and national groups together, as well as the barriers that limit their participation in the larger society.

One moving illustration of the way ignorance creates problems involves a young volunteer working in a youth club on an Indian reservation who tried to compliment a Hopi girl by praising her neat hair. Instead of being delighted, reports Mrs. Wolfe, the child burst into tears. What the volunteer didn't know was that "for a Hopi to be singled out is a terrible shame."

The pamphlet includes valuable suggestions to encourage fruitful contacts among the different groups in America and to help children "rediscover America." It is available for 25 cents from the Public Affairs Committee, 391 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016.

TAX EATERS OR TAXPAYERS?

Detroit's Adult and Youth Employment program started last fall with $850,000 of War-on-Poverty government funds, and a hard-hitting team of job placement specialists. The result? Some 1,270 hard-core unemployed -- many longtime welfare recipients -- have gone to work for private employers.

The new workers will pay a total of $680,000 in taxes this year, and Detroit will save another $250,000 in welfare payments. The initial $850,000 investment has already more than paid off. Want to talk about government waste, anybody?

EMBARRASSMENT

How dangerous can a 12-year-old girl be? Dangerous enough, thinks our Defense Department, to warrant cancelling 13,000 military subscriptions to a Presbyterian Sunday School magazine.

Barbara Beidler of Vero Beach, Florida, reports the Butcher Workman, wrote a poem about napalm bombs dropped on a jungle village in Vietnam. It read:

> "Then there was the flash -- silver and gold, silver and gold. Silver birds flying, Golden water raining. The rice ponds blazed with new water. The jungle burst into gold and sent up little birds of fire. Little animals with fur aflame. Then the children flamed. Running -- their clothes flying like fiery kites. Screaming -- their screams dying as their faces seared. The women's baskets burned on their heads.

The men's boats blazed on the rice water. Then the rains came. A rag, fire black, fluttered. A curl of smoke rose from a rice stem. The forest lay singed and seared. A hut crumbled. And all was still."

The Defense Department, ruling that the little girl's poem was "an embarrassing item concerning Viet Nam," promptly ordered the cancellation of all subscriptions. Editorialized the Butcher Workman: "If the poem embarrassed the Defense Department, the Viet Nam war embarrasses every nation on earth!"

For her vivid imagery and her appeal to our heartstrings, Barbara deserves the country's thanks, not censorship by the Pentagon.

TALLY HO

A Negro steel worker in Wales, Arthur Emanuel Joseph, whose ancestors were slaves, is a huntsman with the aristocratic fox hunt circle of Britain's Duke of Beaufort, Master of the Horse to Queen Elizabeth II. Joseph is the first Negro in Britain to become an official of a fox hunt.

Apparently Joseph feels it's better to be a hunter than hunted.

ALONG FREEDOM ROAD

* Chicago banker Norman A. Simon, 45, last month became the first Negro to be appointed president of a bank with an all-white board of directors. Now head of the Guaranty Bank and Trust Co. in Chicago's Loop, Simon urges young Negroes to choose banking as a vocation. Since banks with Federal deposits may not discriminate in hiring, said Simon, "it is likely that more jobs will open for Negroes." Trainees begin at an annual salary of $6,500.

* The Pittsburgh City Council enacted a broad anti-discrimination ordinance which covers all housing sales and rentals. It also bars discrimination in employment and public accommodations.

* The value of "one man, one vote" shone through when the newly-apportioned Maryland legislature adopted the first statewide open occupancy housing law south of the Mason-Dixon line. The legislature also broadened the state's non-discrimination public accommodations law and repealed Maryland's 300-year-old law against interracial marriage.

* Like King Canute commanding the waves to stop, the Wallaces continue to defy the Federal Government on school integration. But, almost four years since George Wallace stood in the doorway of Foster Auditorium to try to bar entrance of Negroes into the University of Alabama, 298 Negroes now attend the university.

COCKPIT CAMPAIGN FOR THE UN

Eleven years ago, United Air Lines pilot Charles C. Dent talked with his co-pilot Dick Munger and flight engineer Jim Dunn about the recently crushed Hungarian revolt. As they sat in the cockpit of a

DC-7 flying nonstop from Denver to New York, Dent mused, "Maybe if the United Nations had been stronger it wouldn't have turned out this way."

Dunn recalled how he had been shot down over Hungary on Christmas Day in 1944, and Munger noted how everybody said then, "This time we must win the peace as well as the war." Added Munger ruefully, "Then the shooting stopped and it was business as usual."

"We blame others," said Dent, "but what have we done?"

The three decided to start a campaign to circulate throughout the world a peace symbol containing the UN emblem -- a globe framed by two tassels of wheat -- and the motto, UN, We Believe. The union pilots and engineer concentrated on unions and corporations to spread their message.

Money was always a problem. One day, on a routine flight, the wheels jammed as Dent came in for a landing. He circled the field over Los Angeles for three hours while the nation watched over TV. The runway was covered with a special foam so that Dent could land the ship on its belly and let it slide to a halt. For bringing the plane and its passengers to a safe landing, United Airlines awarded Dent a citation and $5,500. He kept the citation but the cash went to UN, We Believe, which is still hard at work helping spread its message around the world.

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Enclosures: Flyers on: THE GOLDEN TRADITION, THE SHORTCHANGED CHILDREN OF SUBURBIA and AJC SCHOOL CALENDAR

LET'S BE human

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

file

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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JUNE 1967

GUN LAWS?

The John Birch Society has long held that laws to register gun owners are unconstitutional and part of a subversive plot to disarm loyal Americans. A more respectable group, the National Rifle Association, with 800,000 members, defends the private ownership of guns as "a potential community stabilizer" in the event of urban riots. An editorial in the May issue of its magazine, the American Rifleman, pointing out that the National Guard has had to be called upon to help control disorders in cities, declares:

> "What if the National Guard were overseas in a major war. Who then guards the doors of American homes from senseless savagery and pillaging?... The armed citizen represents a potential community stabilizer. His support of law and order, whether as a civilian member of the posse comitatus or as one of the unorganized militia defined as the 'whole body of able bodied male citizens,' could prove essential."

What's the other side of the picture? In 1965, Philadelphia passed a law -- the first in the nation -- to regulate the purchase of rifles and shotguns as well as handguns. In the first 18 months, reports Carl Bakal in the Saturday Review, "the ordinance prevented 110 convicted criminals from purchasing guns locally." Among those "potential community stabilizers" denied the "right" to buy guns were "25 burglars, 13 robbers, 22 persons with convictions for aggravated assault and battery, five dope addicts, two rapists, two habitual drunks, seven former mental patients, 16 people with previous records for illegally carrying concealed deadly weapons, four convicted of intent to kill -- and two murderers." Moreover, murders in Philadelphia in the first nine months of 1966 dropped 17 per cent below the same period in 1965, whereas murders in the nation as a whole rose 9 per cent.

But the law, being local, is not completely effective. An enterprising firearms firm, just outside Philadelphia's city limits, advertised that it could "guarantee all Philadelphia area residents the handgun of their choice within 48 hours." One impatient Philadelphian, notes Bakal, who was denied a police permit to buy a pistol, did then obtain a gun outside the city and used it to kill his wife.

A final note of irony: In February 1958, the editor of American Rifleman, Ashley Halsey, Jr., wrote an article for the Saturday Evening Post entitled, "Murder Weapons for Sale," relating how he had bought a "deactivated" submachine gun by mail in the name of his two-year-old daughter.

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BALKING AT BIAS

The highest paid athlete in the world ($250,000 or more), South American Negro soccer star Edson Arantos De Nostimento, better known as Pele, was invited to a luncheon in Harlem, but he turned the invitation down. Pele, who has been billed in Harlem as "the most popular Negro in the world," told Jet, the Negro weekly, "I put a condition on my acceptance that my white mates also be invited. The condition was refused and I did not attend."

WITHOUT WINDOWS

"A house without books," said educator Horace Mann over a century ago, "is like a room without windows." What with air-conditioned windowless buildings and TV, Mann's comment almost describes the new way of life. I say "almost" because book printing (and reading) is still on the upswing.

One window on the past I enjoyed recently was Just Around The Corner -- A Highly Selective History of the Thirties by Robert Bendiner (Harper & Row, $6.95). While Bendiner makes the depression seem much more fun than it was to me, the book is witty, and the many illustrations bring back bittersweet memories. One amusing item was a reminder of how both the ultra-left and the ultra-right viewed the world through the same "conspiracy-colored" glasses.

"Why does Lindbergh fly all over?" Bendiner quotes a Communist street orator as asking. "Why did Post and Gatty go around the world? Why does Amelia Earhart, a woman, fly to Ireland? I'll tell you why, my friends: to divert the minds of the masses from the crisis, that's why!"

When the Soviet Union, a couple of years later, sent a plane from Moscow to the United States by way of the North Pole, the Chicago Tribune explained that the Russians "timed their flight to land in America when Lewis and the C.I.O. needed something to distract the public attention from their violent activities."

Suggests Bendiner: "Possibly the Tribune and the Communists were served by the same public relations firm."

DID YOU KNOW

* Negro inventor Elijah McCoy devised the self-lubricating machine.

* Negro Mathew Henson was the first man to set foot on the North Pole -- 45 minutes ahead of his chief, Admiral Peary.

* Twenty-six Negroes were among the 44 settlers who founded Los Angeles.

MONKEY LAW -- RETURN ENGAGEMENT

In the first "Monkey Trial" in 1925, John T. Scopes was convicted of breaking the Tennessee law by teaching evolution. Fundamentalist William Jennings Bryan was the prosecutor and Clarence Darrow, Arthur Garfield Hays and Dudley Field Malone were lawyers for the defense in

that celebrated test case. Now Scopes has written, with James Presley, a fascinating and compassionate account of his trial and conviction, Center of the Storm (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $5.95). Instead of recalling Bryan as an evil bigot, Scopes writes that a fair man would pity Bryan "for the bad he brought into the world, and love him for the good." And Scopes sticks a pin into each of us when he warns that "intolerance plays no favorites," and that "prejudice means people are afraid of what they don't know and don't understand. By these criteria, who of us is not afflicted by prejudice?"

I had no sooner finished the book than a return engagement appeared on the scene. A 24-year-old science teacher, Gary L. Scott, was fired from his $4,700 a year job at the high school in Jacksboro, Tenn., because of charges against him by Archie Cotton, a coal mine operator who is a member of the Campbell County Board of Education. This time the results were different. Scott prepared to fight the case, but was rehired when the Tennessee legislature finally repealed the "Monkey Law" forbidding the teaching of evolution.

Who says that man does not progress?

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

Nothing will repay a man for becoming inhuman. The aim of life is some way of living, as flexible and gentle as human nature; so that ambition may stoop to kindness, and philosophy to candor and humor. Neither prosperity nor empire nor heaven can be worth winning at the price of a virulent temper, bloody hands, an anguished spirit and a vain hatred of the rest of the world.

-- George Santayana

ALONG FREEDOM ROAD

* Nine Negro steel union members have been named foremen of integrated work crews at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Maryland.

* Local 19 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union in Memphis, Tenn. has been upheld in its fight for job equality for Negro members at two of its shops. An examiner for the National Labor Relations Board found Federal Compress guilty of using job classifications to discriminate against Negro employees. And the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission found Kimco Auto Products guilty of illegal employment practices under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for discriminating against Negro workers in hiring and promotion and maintaining segregated washrooms.

* Illinois State Treasurer Adlai Stevenson III announced he will not deposit public funds in any Illinois bank which discriminates against Negroes in hiring or lending practices. Justifying this policy, Stevenson told Jet, "You don't get a tax exemption if your skin is black."

*Not all suburbs oppose school integration. Voters in Westbury and Bellport, N.Y. backed candidates who supported school busing to promote desegregation.

IRGP, LPKE, LBH, LPK, NEG A, NEG B

LET'S BE human

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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JULY - AUGUST 1967

This issue of the Let's Be Human column is the combined July-August 1967 issue. You may use it all at once, or divide it for use in two installments.

Have a nice summer.

SUCCESS IN SURVIVAL

A body blow to deodorants has just been dealt by noted scientist Louis Leakey. Other animals fell prey to hungry carnivores but man escaped for millions of years because he has a distinctive body odor and taste that turned the stomachs of predatory animals.

Dr. Leakey said he came to this conclusion when he noticed that leopards and other predatory cats steal baboon babies "nearly every night," while leaving chimpanzees -- man's distant cousins -- alone. "Man is not cat food. The chimps are not cat food either," Dr. Leakey said.

Now we know, suggests John Sherman in Local 1199 Drug & Hospital News, how Daniel really escaped all those lions.

CRISIS

When written in Chinese, Whitney Young of the National Urban League reminds us, the word crisis is composed of two characters: one represents danger and one represents opportunity.

Many civil rights workers resent the white stress on merely "cooling down the summer." Byrd R. Brown, Pittsburgh president of the NAACP, put it this way: "People keep asking me about violence as if I'm a weatherman for riots. It's unfortunate the community concerns itself with whether there's going to be a riot, rather than with eliminating the conditions that breed riots."

That puts the question to us squarely -- do we want to make progress without riots?

That seems like an absurd question, until you start examining the way the nation is behaving. The Atomic Energy Commission picks Weston, Illinois as the site for a $375 million atom smasher despite the refusal of the state legislature to adopt a fair housing law. (Du Page

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County, in which Weston is located, has a population of 300,000, of which only 600 are colored). The other five states competing with Illinois for the atom smasher all had fair housing laws.

In city after city, Negro complaints about lack of jobs, decent housing and recreational facilities are brushed off until a riot occurs. Then city, state and Federal governments manage to find some money to dampen further outbreaks.

In his sober but optimistic book, Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community? (Harper & Row, $4.95), Martin Luther King, Jr. notes that many black power advocates look upon violence as "the only thing that will bring about liberation."

Such desperation is understandable, Dr. King argues, but it is a nihilistic philosophy that "carries the seed of its own doom" -- a philosophy "born out of the conviction that the Negro can't win." Violence, he maintains, even when it gets a few concessions after riots, fails in the long run to be effective, partly because it does not appeal to conscience. He calls not for black power, but for poor people power -- for unity of the poor with unions, religious groups and liberals to achieve the Freedom Budget with jobs for all who can work and a guaranteed minimum income for those who can't.

But Dr. King warns us: "Negroes hold only one key to the double lock of peaceful change. The other is in the hands of the white community."

Are we ready to accept that challenge?

BON MOT

When William Hartsfield was the mayor of Atlanta, he was startled one day to see a horse being led into his office. A fast-talking press agent explained that the "talking" horse was the star of a movie holding its world premiere in Atlanta that evening. Hartsfield, rarely at a loss for an appropriate comment, welcomed the horse and its attendants with these words:

"Gentlemen, this is the first time a whole horse has been in my office."

STANDARDS OR STRAITJACKETS

Several years ago, the noted nuclear physicist Dr. Edward Teller was alarmed by his children's poor instruction in mathematics and physics in a West Coast high school. He volunteered to teach regular courses in the subject as his contribution to the improvement of learning. His offer was rejected because he did not have the necessary teacher-education courses to qualify for certification.

The latest example of public education's "confining straitjacket of assembly-line standardization" is related by Fred M. Hechinger in the New York Times. An old friend of mine, Dr. Elliott S. Shapiro, was the unanimous choice of Local School Board 3 for the post of district superintendent for the 29 schools in the district ranging from New York City's lower East Side to West 59th Street.

New York's school superintendent, Dr. Bernard Donovan, at first rejected Shapiro because he lacked certain academic credits in "community relations." Shapiro was beloved in Harlem where he was an elementary school principal and where he was called by parents "the principal of the whole neighborhood." "Asking Dr. Shapiro to 'study' community relations puts the spotlight on the absurdity of a rigid system," Hechinger points out. Even if there is some risk in relaxing uniformity and "objectivity" in the rule book, Hechinger reminds us, this might be more than offset by the gain that comes from "the visibility of occasional daring and extraordinary, even if unconventional, action."

OUCH

You've heard about professors at universities being fired for failing to publish books. The unverified story now making the rounds is that priest-professors at Catholic universities are being confronted by a new version -- "Publish or parish."

SUBSIDIZE ASSASSINS?

In our last column we noted that Philadelphia's gun control law not only "prevented 110 criminals from purchasing guns locally" but that murders in Philadelphia in the first nine months of 1966 dropped 17 per cent below the same period in 1965, whereas murders in the nation as a whole rose 9 per cent.

A letter from Eugene W. Garges, Jr. to Newsday, a Long Island daily, replies to this news with "I would not be at all surprised if I should someday learn that the Crime Commission of Philadelphia and its vociferous Mr. Ephraim Gomberg were knowing or unknowing tools of the Communists and/or syndicated criminal elements, for both of these groups desire that the law-abiding citizen be disarmed, or else they want to know who has arms."

How do some of these "law-abiding citizens" behave? Last month an argument over the use of a fire hydrant in the East Village section of New York City wound up with three men wounded. With the temperature near 90, a group of youths turned on a fire hydrant. Then they prankishly directed the hydrant's flow at Henry Schmautz's second-floor window. Schmautz, a long-time member of the National Rifle Association, took his .30-caliber rifle, and after an argument, opened fire. One bullet struck Carmelo Garcia in the back, went through his body and hit Jose Molina in the back. A second shot hit Julio Rivera in the back. Schmautz was arrested.

But that was child's play compared to plots of would-be assassins. Late in June, 16 members of the Revolutionary Action Movement were charged with plotting to assassinate prominent civil-rights leaders and elected Negro officials. The group, operating under the cover of the Jamaica Rifle and Pistol Club, managed to build up an arsenal of army surplus weapons, secured at discount rate under National Rifle Association auspices.

"The free ammunition used for rifle practice in the plot against the lives of Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young was furnished by the Federal

government under a marksmanship program operated by the National Rifle Association," charges James V. Bennett, president of the National Council for a Responsible Firearms Policy.

No wonder Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara urges Congress to enact "the necessary controls to assure that the sales and use of weapons are effectively kept out of the hands of those who use them to threaten the rights of free dissent."

TYPOS

A story in a local paper, recalls Bob Konikow in the Saturday Review, told about a meeting of "bottle-scarred veterans." After the American Legion protested, the next edition corrected the typo, but the linotypist must have been a pacifist. The story then referred to "battle-scared veterans."

YOU CAN'T PLEASE EVERYBODY

Sometime ago, Noble & Noble Publishers Inc. was criticized because one of its books, a fourth-grade text on the history of New York, contained almost no references to Negroes. Now the publisher is in trouble again with a new volume, The New York Story, which Negro educator James M. Nabrit, Jr., president of Howard University, complains "may give children the impression that the Negroes were virtually alone in shaping the city's greatness." Dr. Nabrit points out that the book's section on famous New Yorkers skips directly from a chapter on U. S. Presidents from New York into successive chapters on "outstanding Negroes," "well-known Negro authors" and "other well-know Negroes," and "Puerto Ricans." "Overcompensation in atonement for past omission," Mr. Nabrit concludes, is no more desirable than were the "thoughtless books of the past."

A guide to useful study materials, Integrated School Books: A Descriptive Bibliography of 399 Pre-School and Elementary School Texts and Story Books, has just been published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. (Available from NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York City, 10018 at $1.00 per copy.)

IQ

For many years, 118 has been the score on IQ (intelligence quotients) tests which determined which British school children would be able to go on to obtain a university education. Now a survey of 148 science instructors at Cambridge University in England revealed that 15 per cent had an IQ below 118. Some dons who were graduated with high honors had IQs as low as 110. In one department, reports the Christian Science Monitor, the man considered by his colleagues to be the best scientist turned out to have the lowest IQ.

How come?

A group of scientists who were asked to rank 28 different mental abilities in the order of their importance in scientific research agreed that IQ tests "discriminate against such central aspects of intelligence as imagination, creativity, insight," tend to emphasize

the trivial at the expense of the important, and present a "grossly oversimplified picture of mental organization." Bright students, who can envision more than one right answer or who would qualify their answer in a way for which the test makes no provision, may be at a disadvantage. Moreover, as the Christian Science Monitor reminds us, because of a built-in middle-class bias, standard IQ tests have long discriminated against slum children, black and white.

What the scientists considered more important than IQ tests (and that should go for all of us) is "the ability to abandon conventional problem-solving methods that have become unworkable and to think of an original solution."

THE FIRST STEP

Did you know that there is a sizeable community of Black Jews in New York City? Estimates range up to 10,000. Although they have been isolated in the past from other Jews, a new group, Hatzaad Harishon, "The First Step," has been set up to bring about unity among all Jews, white and black, according to the scripture: "Kol Yisroel Chaverim" -- all Jews are brothers. Hatzaad aims at integrating black Jews into mainstream Judaism.

The Student Zionist movement has been working with Hatzaad Harishon in planning summer encampments that would include Negro Jewish youth, and a benefit concert was held recently at the Village Gate with Theodore Bikel as master of ceremonies.

The black Jews are mostly working class, and many are poor. Their theological ties to Judaism are strong and most trace their faith back through many generations. "My mother," recalls Mrs. Esther Bibbins, the Negro president of Hatzaad, "keeps a kosher kitchen and lights candles every Friday night and goes to shul. My father was always proud of the fact that he never worked on the Sabbath."

The civil-rights movement has undoubtedly stirred the interest of many Jews in their black brothers. As Conservative Rabbi Wolfe Kelman told Newsweek, "There are some of us who don't want the Jewish community to be the only lily-white community." And Rabbi Irving Greenberg of the Orthodox Jewish Center in Riverdale adds, "A Jew is a Jew automatically if he is born to a Jewish mother or wishes to convert. Color should be irrelevant."

ALONG FREEDOM ROAD

* Twenty Negroes who passed the apprenticeship test of Local 28, Sheet Metal Workers in New York, last November are now working as apprentices. Two others who passed elected to become electrical apprentices instead with Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

* The Chicago Building Trades Council, the Building Construction Employers Association and the Washburne Trade School took 60 white, Negro and Puerto Rican high school students on a tour of several major construction job sites to give a practical demonstration of the work being done by skilled building tradesmen. The students were also

shown the facilities for classroom and shop training and told how to apply for apprenticeship in one of the skilled trades.

* A Mexican American teacher, Dr. Julian Nava, was elected to Los Angeles Board of Education, defeating the eight-year incumbent, Charles Smoot, a right-winger. The AFL-CIO, liberal and minority groups backed Dr. Nava, who is a member of the American Federation of Teachers. He won by a vote of 203,361 to 181,061.

* Chicago's Merit Employment Committee has risen to more than 1,200 firms employing about one million workers, of whom 18 per cent are nonwhite. Employment of nonwhite workers jumped 14,000 last year over the previous year.

* Lockheed-Georgia, in Marietta, Ga., named its first Negro department manager, to run a computer operation employing 63 whites.

* First Pennsylvania Banking & Trust promoted a Negro to head teller in its main Philadelphia office, another to assistant head guard of a force that's mostly white.

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LET'S BE human

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

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THE TEN PER CENT WAR

One million young people are out of work and out of school. With 40,000 in the Job Corps and 60,000 in the out-of-school Neighborhood Youth Corps, only one in ten is helped.

Of the two million needy youngsters who stay in school but need work, 200,000 are enrolled in the Neighborhood Youth Corps during the summer, and only half during the school year. Again, one in ten during the summer, only one in twenty the year round.

About two million adults need training or work experience to enter the labor force. Only 200,000 of those who need it most are getting it. Once more, ten per cent.

When the government decides we need over $70 billion for war and defense, what would happen if only $7 billion were appropriated, on the grounds that, "This is all we can afford"? The nation would be outraged at such an attempt to "starve the war" and "turn our backs on our servicemen." When we're convinced we're in a "real" war, we produce what we need and worry about how to meet the cost later. But the War on Poverty continues to be treated as a "ten per cent" war instead of a battle to eradicate poverty for all -- white and black.

Despite Congressional and Administration inaction, however, there is some hope that this attitude will change. The Urban Coalition which met in Washington in August brought together for the first time not only most elements of the old civil rights coalition -- churches, Negro groups, labor and liberals -- but also many of the nation's mayors (who are on the front line of coping with racial disorders) and a number of leading businessmen, who are beginning to realize their stake in eliminating the causes of riots. It is heartening to see businessmen pledge themselves to promote greater involvement by the private sector in the crisis of the cities through a commitment to investment, job-training and hiring, and back a program which says that "when the private sector is unable to provide employment to those who are both able and willing to work, then, in a free society, the government must of necessity assume the responsibility and act as the employer of last resort." The program also calls for decent housing, including the goal of "at least a million housing units for lower-income families annually." As an initial step, the insurance industry pledged to invest a billion dollars in housing in the central cities.

Congress, many police chiefs and multitudes of whites have reacted to the riots by adopting what Newsweek calls "the widespread superstition that to attempt to understand the roots of rioting is to condone the riots, that to act would be to reward the rioters." One

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of the best answers came from Whitney Young when he noted: "Rap Brown did not cause unemployment or put Negroes in ghettoes or perpetuate an inferior education. If you (whites) cannot eliminate your crackpots, then how do you expect us, with no resources and no power, to eliminate ours? It is criminal to riot and snipe, but it is equally criminal not to hire a man because of his color."

Fortunately, even though a white backlash against riots exists, there is massive support for the Urban Coalition's economic program. Sixty-six per cent of whites (and 91 per cent of Negroes) surveyed by the Louis Harris post-riot poll backed a Federal program of large-scale public works to give jobs to all the unemployed; 63 per cent of whites (and 84 per cent of Negroes) favored a Federal plan to tear down urban ghettos. The challenge is to translate this sentiment into action.

TOGETHERNESS

In the window of the Disc Shop, in Washington, D. C., there is a sign which announces: "We Will Donate The Profits From These Recordings To The Following -- Arab Emergency Fund, NAACP, Israel Emergency Fund."

The records were "Cairo-the Music of Modern Egypt," "The Negro Spiritual" and "Israel Today."

Now that's what I call ecumenical.

SO WE GET NOWHERE

Bill Kemsley reminds us that "the time of day when traffic moves at a snail's pace is called the rush hour."

PORTAL TO AMERICA

"A writer might go on for a week reciting the abominations of these people and still have much to tell. One of their greatest faults is that they have an utter disregard for law. There is a certain hour when they are required to set out their garbage and ash cans, but they pay no attention to that. The ash cart comes along and takes what is in sight, and perhaps five minutes later some of these people will empty pail after pail of household ashes and garbage into the middle of the street. If they are arrested for this or any other offense, hundreds of their compatriots and coreligionists follow them to the courts and stand ready to swear in their favor...

"This neighborhood, peopled almost entirely by the people who claim to have been driven from Poland and Russia, is the eyesore of New York and perhaps the filthiest place on the eastern continent. It is impossible for a Christian to live there because he will be driven out either by blows or the dirt and stench. Cleanliness is an unknown quantity to these people. They cannot be lifted up to a higher plane because they do not want to be."

This quote, which echoes contemporary reportage of the Negro ghettos, appeared in the New York Times on July 30, 1893, describing Jews in New York's Lower East Side. It is reprinted in PORTAL TO AMERICA: THE LOWER EAST SIDE -- 1870-1925, edited by Allon Schoener (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $12.95). This vivid, compelling book, with its

fascinating photographs, recreates last year's Jewish Museum exhibition and reveals how the American melting pot encouraged social mobility. Immigrants who were peddlers became small shopkeepers and went on to become successful businessmen. Sweatshop workers organized strong unions and their children became lawyers, doctors and intellectuals. Far from confirming the gloomy prophecy of the Times, the "open-end ghetto" was a "creative crucible which gave birth to great ideas and great men." May the same fate befall today's ghettos.

AUTOMATION

Kids have traditionally argued that their own fathers were smarter, stronger and braver than anyone else's. But a new twist is noted in a recent Saturday Review cartoon, in which one youngster is taunting the other with, "Oh, yeah? Well I say the computer that replaced my father is much bigger than the computer that replaced your father!"

STEREOTYPE

The other day I spoke at a meeting of the Unity Democratic Club, a Negro group in the heart of Bedford-Stuyvesant. The business meeting reported on available jobs, a program for upgrading the neighborhood and many other items. But when a report was given on the forthcoming annual dance, I was intrigued. The chairman said that the hotel where the dance had been held the year before wanted $400 more this year. "Aha," I thought, "discrimination." But I was wrong, as the chairman's explanation made clear. The hotel wanted more money because club members at the past two dances had spent only $58 at the bar!

BIG STEEL'S SEX APPEAL

Big business in a strip-tease? Well, not quite. But at "Showboat," a cabaret in Fukuoka in Japan, the 200 professional hostesses have professional names taken from major corporations. So, reports Shu Kan Sankei of Tokyo, "you can sit down with Miss Yawata Steel and Iron, for example. And all these big businesses serve you in negligees."

PREFERENCE

Calling for training to learn skills so that ghetto young people could earn a decent income, Robert L. Mitchell, a Negro youth of Wichita, Kansas, explained: "We would rather throw dollar bills across a grocery store counter than bricks and bottles."

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

If we could read the secret history of our enemies, we should find in each man's life sorrow and suffering enough to disarm all hostility. -- Longfellow (Driftwood, 1857)

OOPS

"Show me a nun wearing the new-style garments," says Rose Hoffman in the Saturday Review, "and I'll show you a nun who has kicked the habit."

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file

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NOVEMBER 1967

A SORDID STORY RECALLED

It is good that Arthur D. Morse has written a book entitled, While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy, to remind us all of the sordid story. But it is not news. Back in 1942, when Hitler announced his plan to exterminate all the Jews, Norman Thomas pleaded unavailingly with President Roosevelt to open America's doors.

Instead, at the Anglo-American Bermuda Refugee conference in 1943, the United States refused to relax its immigration laws and Britain refused to permit Jewish children to enter Palestine. All the conference did was to issue a statement of "concern" for the victims of war and Nazism. The result, British historian Malcolm Hay points out in his book, Europe and the Jews, was to "strengthen Hitler's conviction that the world did not really care very much what happened to the Jews, and to fortify his resolution to exterminate them."

Both the British Foreign Office and the American State Department, Hay stressed, " new that the Germans ... were willing to sell Jewish lives for Allied money." But the Allies would not pay the two to ten dollars per head the Germans were ready to accept.

U. S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, in his Memoirs, gave this high minded excuse for American inaction: "The Germans permitted Jews to leave only when they were amply paid to do so. We were reluctant to deposit sums of money to the credit of the Nazis, even though the deposits were to be made in Switzerland, were to be liquidated only after the end of the war, and apparently could not be used by the Nazi leaders. Moreover, the State Department did not have the large amounts of money and the personnel needed to carry out a plan of reaching and bribing the German officials in charge of the extermination programs."

But Norman Thomas said then: "We are willing to fight Hitler, partly because of his anti-Semitic cruelty, but we have not been willing to take any bold and aggressive action to rescue Jewish refugees .... Anti-Semitism is a barometer which measures pretty accurately the climate of democracy and peace."

It is well to remember that the same barometer applies when white and black extremists of right and left try to use anti-Semitism as a weapon to divide Americans. If Mr. Morse's book reminds us of the danger of such a policy, it will be welcomed indeed.

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BIAS IN THE MAFIA

The ghetto, reports the Wall Street Journal, yields huge profits to the Mafia. Law enforcement officials estimate that a big share of the organized underworld's annual take of $2 billion from the numbers racket and $350 million from narcotics is sucked out of the nation's Negro ghettos. But the Mafia is not an Equal Opportunity Employer. "A black man's got a better chance of being elected mayor of Selma, Alabama than of makin' it into the big money with the Syndicate," grumbled one Brooklyn Negro ex-numbers runner.

In Ian Fleming's novel, Live and Let Die, Mr. Big was a hulking Negro who ran an immense criminal network from his Harlem headquarters. "In the real underworld," says the Wall Street Journal, "all the Mr. Bigs are white."

DO PEOPLE ON WELFARE HAVE RIGHTS?

A stated purpose of the Federal Social Security Act's provision for aid to dependent children is "to help [parents] to attain or retain capability for... maximum self-support and independence." A purpose of the provision for aid to the disabled is "to help such individuals attain or retain capability for self-support or self-care."

In New York State, one of our most liberal welfare states, the statutes require recipients to repay benefits if and when they have funds. Sounds fair, doesn't it? Well, here's how it works.

A Brooklyn mother of four attends college on scholarship and works part-time at $32 a week. She has been ordered to sell her assets, which consist of stock in her cooperative apartment, worth approximately $900, to assign the proceeds of sale, and to move from the apartment. After she earns her teaching degree, the mother expects to be self-supporting, whereupon -- under the welfare regulations -- she will have to repay all of the benefits she has received.

The Roger Baldwin Foundation of the American Civil Liberties Union, heeding her plea that "I do not feel that I should be forced to become forever dependent on welfare," is supporting a suit challenging the state's welfare statutes and regulations. Another plaintiff is a father of eight children who earns $86 a week. While he was recovering from injuries and could not work, he temporarily received public assistance. The New York City Welfare Department has billed him $420.29 for the benefits it paid him.

SYMPATHY

I sit on a man's back, choking him and making him carry me, and yet assure myself and others that I am very sorry for him and wish to lighten his load by all possible means - except by getting off his back. - Tolstoi.

ALONG FREEDOM ROAD

* A drive-in restaurant chain with nine branches in Louisiana hired Negroes primarily as bus-boys. When the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission stepped into the picture, change happened fast. The chain

employed two Negro managers, seven Negro curb men and ten counter men, and agreed to advertise in Negro papers as vacancies arise.

* Opposing "lynchings, regardless of the color of the victim or his religion," the Jamaica, New York branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People strongly upheld a white principal and his school after investigating complaints by the Queens Congress of Racial Equality. CORE had charged that black children had been mistreated and that the principal, Harold Baron, was responsible for inefficiency, lack of discipline and derogatory references to pupils. The NAACP applauded the principal and his faculty for a "worthwhile educational journey for our children." The school involved, Public School 40, was the first in Queens to be brought into the citywide More Effective Schools program in September 1964.

* Five Negro families, public-housing tenants, have moved into a 102-unit apartment complex in a previously predominantly white section of Durham, N. C., near Duke University's campus.

* Hawaii's adoption of a state open-housing law brings to 22 the number of states which have adopted anti-bias laws reaching the private sales and rental market. The law covers all sales and rentals except owner-occupied two-family dwellings and owner-occupied rooming houses renting less than six rooms. Open-housing laws were adopted in 1967 in four other states - Washington, Iowa, Vermont and Maryland. At least 18 cities and counties approved fair housing laws during 1967, with major drives for such ordinances still alive in at least seven other jurisdictions.

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

With proper training, it's not difficult to diagnose most of the common diseases of childhood. But there's no laboratory test that can help to diagnose humilation, no surgery that can clear up insecurity, no antibiotic that can cure hatred.

--Dr. Benjamin Spock, world famous pediatrician, on children diseased with prejudice.

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LET'S BE human

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file

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DECEMBER 1967

PREFERENCE

In the capital of a European "People's Democracy," reports, tongue-in-check, Le Nouvel Observateur of Paris, the Central Committee of the Communist Party announced that flour would be distributed free the next day at a local department store. Starting at dawn, a line formed in front of the store which was scheduled to open at 8 a.m. At five minutes to eight, a Party official came foward with a loudspeaker and asked: "Are there any Jews among you?" Fifteen persons stepped out of the line. "I'm sorry," said the official, "you will get a free distribution later but, for the moment, there is not enough flour for you."

At ten o'clock, the store still failed to open, and the official returned, asking, "Are there any among you who are not members of the Party?" Three-fourths of those remaining left the line. "You will get a free distribution later," the Party leader said regretfully, "but there is not now enough flour for you."

At noon, the official returned and asked all those still present to show their Party cards. Then he said: "Comrades, we have no flour to distribute, but you must understand that our announcement had a good psychological effect and has heightened our reputation abroad. I am sure you will not mind having spent a few hours rendering an immense service to your Party and your country."

Everyone left in silence except one young man, who was heard to exclaim: "It's always the Jews who get preference. They were able to leave first!"

FAMILY DISRUPTION BONUS

Did you know that many states pay a cash bonus to break up families? It wasn't planned that way, but that's how it works. The nation's Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) plan is supposed to "help maintain and strengthen family life." Originally, such aid was limited to children whose fathers were dead or had deserted the family, but in 1961, Congress amended the law to cover children with unemployed fathers living at home. But 28 states have continued to limit payments only to families where the father is absent. These states aparently believe that, given a choice, unemployed men would simply lie around the house and live off welfare.

Is the charge true? When the Ford Motor Co. announced that it would hire 6,500 people from the Detroit ghetto, the company was swamped by applicants before the recruiting offices could open. Evidently,

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people would rather work and earn a decent living, than exist on welfare.

Want to learn what you can do to help bring sanity into our welfare world? Drop a note to the Poverty/Rights Action Center, 1713 R Street, NW, Washington, D. C. 20009, and ask for their National Welfare Leaders Newsletter.

HOW'S THAT AGAIN?

Mini-skirts have been banned at Shorewood High School near Milwaukee. To prevent misunderstanding, says the Saturday Review, principal Lloyd Geiken wrote a letter to parents explaining: "When a girl wears attire which is disruptive to the normal routine of school, this is the type of attire we want to look at a second time."

THE UNFINISHED JOURNEY

An exciting anthology of the literature that followed each wave of immigration into the United States has just been edited by Theresa Oakes, The Unfinished Journey (McGraw-Hill, $5.50). This school text tells the story of the have-nots, from the first immigrants who stepped off the Mayflower to confront our native Indians, to the latest wave of Puerto Ricans and the newest black families who came up to Boston from Mississippi.

All through our history, Miss Oakes reveals, there were those who could not accept "foreigners." In 1638, Meynheer Van Ten Hoech said, "It's scandalous! We've got to keep those immoral Swedes out of our Hudson Valley." In 1660, one of those Swedes, Sigurt Johanassen, by then a pillar of Colonial society, was saying, "We Swedes will have to do something about it. Bergen County is crawling with Englishmen!"

The welcome mat may not have been out, but the newcomers stayed and enriched our land. Unfinished Journey records our hopes for the outcome.

MENUHIN AIDS ARAB REFUGEES

Yehudi Menuhin, an ardent supporter of Israel, gave a concert in London recently to raise funds for Arab refugees. Explaining why he put on the concert, the noted violinist said: "I do this as a Jew. I do it also as a member of the human race.

"Never was a war fought that was so essential for the Israelis to win as the war in June. But also I think that never was a war fought with less hatred. All the Israelis want is to live in peace and provide their neighbors with some of the benefits they enjoy."

ALONG FREEDOM ROAD

* Detroit firms, with the backing of the United Auto Workers and other unions, have hired more than 35,000 unskilled workers, over half of them Negroes. Ford, General Motors, Hudson's Department Stores and Michigan Bell Telephone have changed their hiring requirements. "For over 75 years, business tried to screen people out," said Edward Hughes, a Bell employment supervisor. "Now we are trying to find reasons to screen people in."

* Movie publicist Vincent Tubbs has become the first Negro to be president of a Hollywood union. Tubbs, employed at Warner Brothers, was the first editor of the Publicist Guild's publication, Image, and succeeded Charles Moses as president of Local 818 of IATSE.

* The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has rejected any color line. When C. Blythe Andrews, Jr. tried to organize an all-Negro NAACP branch in Tampa because the present branch had "too many whites," the national office wired back its "unalterable opposition to segregation and racial discriminatory practices."

* Tseng Chung, 39-year-old retired National Chinese Air Force major, is one of 133 San Franciscans now studying in the culinary unions and employers joint job training program. The program is designed to spur equal employment opportunity in the restaurant and hotel industries.

* A roundtable of printing industry employers and officials of the Lithographers and Photoengravers International Union met in Quebec recently to work out methods of increasing the employment of Negroes in the industry. One local LPIU leader reported that there were three Negro foremen and one superintendent in his local.

* From a token number a few years ago, today there are some 350 Negro teachers in 35 of Westchester County, N.Y., schools. They include guidance counselors, principals and school administrators.

LOGIC

Arlo Guthrie, 20-year-old son of the late gifted folksinger, Woody Guthrie, wrote a song about his arrest in Stockbridge, Mass., on a charge of littering the streets and his subsequent appearance on Whitehall Street in New York City for his draft induction physical.

When the draft officials asked young Guthrie if he had been rehabilitated after his arrest, he asked: "You want to know if I'm moral enough to kill children and burn down villages after being arrested as a litterbug?"

Somehow his question sounds more real than theirs.

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TESTING FOR JOBS

The Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission last year investigated a complaint by a Negro who charged that a company was discriminating against him by requiring the passing of an I.Q. test for promotion to the job of forklift operator. The test involved is used very widely throughout the country. Here are three questions from the test.

1. Clutter, clatter. Do these words have a similar meaning? Contradictory? Mean neither the same nor opposite?

2. Piteous, pitiable. Do these words have a similar meaning? Contradictory? Mean neither the same nor opposite?

3. Parasite, parasol. Do these words have a similar meaning? Contradictory? Mean neither the same nor opposite?

If the applicant gets these questions right, can he drive a forklift? Some may answer that, even if it does not indicate performance on the forklift, it indicates I.Q. Stephen N. Schulman, then Chairman of EEOC, asks what difference I.Q. makes if the individual cannot drive a forklift. Moreover, he insists, it does not even indicate I.Q. but rather familiarity with the verbal facility required in white society. Indicating how the test may be applying culturally biased values -- biased against the Negro -- Schulman offers another test which is deliberately designed to be culturally biased in favor of the Negro and against the white.

1. If a man is called a "blood," then he is - a) a fighter, b) a Mexican-American, c) a Negro, d) a hungry hemophile, e) a red man or Indian.

2. Cheap chittlings will taste rubbery unless they are cooked long enough. How soon should you quit cooking them to eat and enjoy them? 45 minutes, 2 hours, 24 hours?

3. A "gas head" is a person who has - a) a fast moving car b) stable of "lace," c) "process," d) habit of stealing cars, e) long jail record for arson.

How would you feel if your job depended on the extent to which you could answer this test? You'd probably reply that it has nothing to do with your job. But was the other test more relevant to the forklift operator?

- more -

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The Negro who failed the first test had driven a forklift for five years with the Federal government, and had passed a test there, with a score of 90, about its actual operation.

FAME

A few years ago, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John W. Gardner wrote a book called Excellence, in which he said, "The Society which scorns excellence in plumbing because plumbing is a humble activity and tolerates shoddiness in philosophy because it is an exalted activity will have neither good plumbing nor good philosophy. Neither its pipes nor its theories will hold water."

Soon after the book came out, said Gardner at the recent AFL-CIO convention, a lady told him that she had heard a great quotation of his on the radio. When he asked her what it was, she replied, "I can't remember it exactly, but it was something about a leaky faucet."

FAMILY PLANNING

In November, the population of the United States passed 200,000,000 and the cries for birth control became louder and louder. But some Negro critics in Pittsburgh have charged that Planned Parenthood clinics there are operated as "an instrument of genocide for the Negro people." Mrs. Evelyn Huff, a Negro nurse for Planned Parenthood of Pittsburgh, which has four Negro board members and a staff half of which is Negro, said, "A woman has the right to decide for herself whether she wants to have a baby." Perhaps the most effective rebuttal to critics of planned parenthood was made by Mrs. Viola Dawson, a Negro mother of nine children. "My mother had 21 children and died in childbirth," Mrs. Dawson said, "I don't want to be like her."

SAMMY DAVIS, JR. IN BERLIN

Sammy Davis, Jr. once vowed never to perform for a German audience. He broke that vow to appear at a benefit for a German welfare organization known as Aid To Israel, with the show's proceeds going to that country. Davis, a convert to Judaism, admitted that he was prejudiced against performing for Germans. "But I found out that I was no better a human being than those who practiced prejudice and bigotry against me," said Davis. "I found out that to grow as a human being I would have to get rid of all the prejudice I had."

1984

The trouble with fiction is that it can't keep up with fact. When George Orwell wrote "1984," he was a few years behind the times with his "new speak" and "unhistory." Soviet officials have removed all traces of Svetlana Alliluyeva from the Stalin Museum in Gori, the only memorial left to her father, the Soviet dictator. Officials have also erased, temporarily, reference to her brothers Yakov and Vasily Dzhugashvili.

Six months ago they occupied honored places in the Museum in Gori, Stalin's Georgian birthplace. Photos of the brothers will be returned to the Museum as soon as a composite photo of the three together is redone to eliminate their sister. Officials do not deny that Mrs. Alliluyeva's flight to the United States has been the cause of

the change.

ALONG FREEDOM ROAD

* Twenty teachers in Posen-Robbens, Ill., fired by the school board for observing an NAACP picket line in front of a dilapidated school, were rehired as a result of protests by the American Federation of Teachers. The 20 also received back pay for the time they were out of school.

* An interracial local of the American Federation of Teachers picketed the Mobile, Ala. board of education to demand higher salaries for the county's teachers.

* K.C. Jones, Negro star of the Boston Celtics for nine years, has been made basketball coach at Brandeis University.

* Two thousand women, mostly white, have been campaigning for 12 years against the inhumane laws of racially segregated South Africa. The women wear a black mourning sash and a sign indicating the reason for their silent vigil. Black Sash is one of the few protesting voices left in South Africa.

* Four Negroes were elected last month to the city-county council of Jacksonville, Fla. while another Negro was elected to the Delray Beach, Fla. city council.

* Fair Housing, Inc., a volunteer agency in Boston, has helped move some 700 Negro families into white neighborhoods during the past five years. More than 500 families moved to suburban areas near Boston; 161 families integrated previously all-white neighborhoods in Boston proper; and 234 families moved to better housing within predominantly Negro neighborhoods.

* Louisville, Ky. passed an open housing ordinance with teeth which became effective Dec. 27. The law gives the Louisville and Jefferson County Human Relations Commission power to investigate complaints, conduct hearings, impose fines up to $100 or seek court orders to enforce the law. Efforts to get a law with enforcement powers were voted down by a Republican board last April, leading to the defeat of incumbent alderman last November.

JUSTICE FOR DEFENSE EMPLOYES

When the Philco Corp. sent the Defense Department a confidential report charging two employes with security violations, they lost their security clearances -- and their jobs, for the company could not continue their employment without security clearances. Insisting that the charges against them stemmed from a poison-pen letter written by a "disgruntled, discharged" employe, the two men sued the company for libel. But the Supreme Court has refused to hear their plea.

We share the Wall Street Journal's view that in the Court's decision, "a hole has been torn in the fabric of justice."

What the Court has done is to deny employes of a defense contractor, in essence an agent of the Government, the same rights to hearings and appeals that are available to direct Government employes. The

Civil Service Commission has a Board of Appeals through which a Federal employee, may defend himself against administrative action depriving him of his job. But the former Philco employes have no such avenue. As Chief Justice Earl Warren and Judge William O. Douglas declared in their dissent to the Court's ruling, the case jeopardizes "the rights of millions of workers to vindicate their reputations and to make a living in the military-private industrial complex."

WOULDN'T YOU KNOW?

Oklahoma, reports Negro sociologist Charles R. Lawrence, used to forbid marriages between whites and Negroes or whites and Indians. After oil was discovered on Indian-owned land, the law was modified to lift the prohibition of marriage between whites and Indians. Instead, marriage between Indians and Negroes was then barred. (In May 1967, the U. S. Supreme Court killed all state laws barring interracial marriages.)

BOOKS FOR THE NEW YEAR

"To tell about a drunken muzhik's beating his wife," Turgenev once said, "is incomparably harder than to compose a whole tract about the 'woman question'." In Look At Us... (US? U.S.?) (Cowles, $12.50, 101 photos) William Saroyan has joined with LOOK photographer Arthur Rothstein to create a beautiful and eloquent book showing America at its best and worst. The struggles of a nation at war, the tribulations and aspirations of families faced with poverty and destruction, the joy of people watching a Thanksgiving Day parade, all are caught in the bittersweet prose of Saroyan and the superb photos of a master photographer.

The Burden of Race: A Documentary History of Negro-White Relations in America, by Gilbert Osofsky (Harper, $7.95) brings us a great variety of documents, sermons, speeches, letters, tracts, even a vaudeville show script. Sad and brutal in its delineation of 350 years of exploitation of black people in America, the book is a must for those who want to see history through the eyes of those who lived it.

Abuse of Power, by Theodore Draper (Viking, $4.95) brings us the story of the gradual entrapment of the United States in a deepening involvement in Vietnam from 1950 to now. This well-documented study is a devastating analysis of the "politics of miscalculation" which have led us to our current situation. Whether you're a hawk or dive, you'll benefit by Draper's careful research.

WORKING RULES

All hail to Paul Steiner, who dug up these "working rules" and printed them in the Hotel & Club Voice:

• Women who do housework for their fiances cannot collect for it if the man backs out of the marriage. - New Jersey State Supreme Court.

• A horse may not stay at our hotel, even if it is to be raffled off at an executive luncheon. - Hotel Roosevelt, N.Y.C.

• A 'friendly' kiss from the boss is assault and battery. - A Detroit judge.

IRGP, LPKE, LBH, LPK, NEG A, NEG B

LET'S BE human

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

file

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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165 EAST 56 STREET
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APRIL-MAY 1968

IS AMERICA VIOLENT BY NATURE?

The recent assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, the memories of President Kennedy's killing, the riots in our cities and the war in Vietnam have prompted millions of Americans to ask themselves if America is, by nature, a violent society.

Anyone who looks back at the Memorial Day massacre at Republic Steel in 1937; the Ludlow, Colo. massacre of miners a generation earlier; and the long record of violence in America's labor struggles would find it hard to credit the current state of industrial peace in our country. True, we still have strikes, but rarely is violence employed either by strikers or employers to settle the issues.

What happened? As labor gained power, labor-management conflict moved from violence in the streets and factories into negotiations at the collective bargaining tables and contests at the polls. The eminent Negro sociologist, St. Clair Drake, puts it this way: "An answer to labor's needs, not the use of the Army, ended labor violence in America. What is 'natural' today need not be natural tomorrow."

FOREIGN TRADE

Russian talking to American tourist on Trans-Siberian Express:

"Next time <u>you</u> take the Arabs for allies, and <u>we</u> take the Jews!"

-- Readers Digest

SHOOT TO KILL?

There are those who argue for repression to contain riots. Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, for instance, called for "shoot to kill" orders against arsonists and "shoot to maim" orders against looters. But if the police had operated under such instructions during the most recent turmoil, the toll of dead and wounded would have been infinitely higher -- and so would property losses. Practically every major disturbance before this year was sparked by a confrontation between police and ghetto residents. Rough handling of crowds and indiscriminate shooting inflamed the kind of situations that patience helped cool down this year. As the FBI has cautioned, it is dangerous to over-respond to disturbances. And, Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York noted, "There were incidents last summer when persons thought to be looters were killed, but it turned out upon later investigation that they were not looters."

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FLYING ENGINEERS

Westchester Local 137 of the Operating Engineers is teaching eight union members to fly helicopters to be used on construction projects in upstate New York. The helicopters are used in many types of industrial activity, including power line construction, heavy steel installation and the placement of air conditioners, piping and other heavy units otherwise inaccessible to ground handling equipment. Said John Ilich, international representative of the union, "There's no question about it. If a helicopter, and not a crane, is used to set an air conditioner on a roof, we still feel the work is under our jurisdiction." We hear the Air Line Pilots are threatening to man tractors in revenge.

SEGREGATION

Jerome Beatty, Jr. tells of an old Negro farmer in Mississippi who talked his way out of a traffic ticket. A cop stopped him for going through a red light and he explained, "I saw the white folks going through the green, so I figured the light for us colored folks was the red one."

SEE (SLUM) AMERICA FIRST

Some weeks ago, Mayor Allen C. Thompson of Jackson, Miss. assured Negro leaders at a city council meeting that, "There are no slums in the city of Jackson." Two days later, Jackson's Negro leaders conducted the Mayor through the ghetto of the city he has led for 20 years. Thompson confessed: "I've seen things today I wouldn't have believed existed in the city of Jackson...This is terrible, just terrible." And he ordered city officials to "take whatever action is necessary to get this cleaned up."

Most white Americans, like Mayor Thompson, have managed to remain oblivious to the shocking conditions just around the corner. Whitney Young, Urban League director, has urged a white American march on Washington to show support for Negro equality. Even better, I think, would be for affluent whites, government officials, businessmen, trade unionists, professionals and church and synagogue members to join with Negro friends in a massive Walk for Understanding in the nation's urban and rural slums (as was done in Newark and St. Louis) to see for themselves what the quality of existence is in such miserable conditions.

If we saw Slum America First, we might be more ready to join with Negroes in their quest for economic and political power by helping them build and strengthen their own institutions. When white America is prepared to allocate billions of dollars for jobs, decent housing, education and the rebuilding of our cities, the despair and frustration in the streets of our ghettos and barrios will be replaced by hope and confidence in a free and peaceful America.

MARULA

The fruit of the marula tree is a sort of cross between a lime and a mango. When ripe, it is deliciously refreshing, and elephants in

Kruger National Park in South Africa love it. In one hour an elephant strips a marula tree of its fruit, and then moves on to a water hole to drink up 60 gallons of water. As the fruit is being digested, it ferments and soon the elephant is a walking barrel of alcohol, with all the hangover symptoms of "The Lost Weekend."

Marula fruit is also used by the local Venda tribesmen to make a very potent brew. When it is marula time in Vendaland, reports The New York Times, the tribesmen have a disarmament policy. They stack all their spears and clubs in a corner of their villages, so a night on the marula brew rarely ends in bloodshed.

WISDOM OF DR. KING

Many of the sayings of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. will long be remembered for the deep wisdom they gave us. More than anyone in recent history, he has emphasized the importance of caring for others. Here are a few comments we especially treasure:

* "The quality, not the longevity, of one's life is what is important. If you are cut down in a moment that is designed to save the soul of a nation, then no other death could be more redemptive.

* "We must live together as brothers or perish together as fools.

* "I've decided to stick with love...Hate is too great a burden to bear.

* "The black man needs the white man to free him from his fear, and the white man needs the black man to free him from his guilt.

* "If there had been a broader understanding of the uses of non-violent direct action in Germany when Hitler was rising and consolidating his power, the brutal extermination of six million Jews and millions of other war dead might have been averted and Germany might never have become totalitarian. If Protestants and Catholics had engaged in non-violent direct action and had made the oppression of Jews their very own oppression and had come into the streets beside the Jew to scrub the sidewalks, and had Gentiles worn the stigmatizing yellow arm bands by the millions, a unique form of mass resistance to the Nazis might have developed."

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

"Only consummate statecraft can enable a king to save his throne when after a long spell of oppressive rule he sets to improving the lot of his subjects. Patiently endured so long as it seemed beyond redress, a grievance comes to appear intolerable once the possibility of removing it crosses men's minds. For the mere fact that certain abuses have been remedied draws attention to the others and they now appear more galling; people may suffer less, but their sensibility is exacerbated."

-- Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859)

LPKE, LPK, IRGP, LBH, NEG-A, NEG-B, P-CR

Mississippi Council on Human Relations
302 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

May 16, 1968

file

TO: Human Relations Council Directors

FROM: Kenneth Dean

SUBJECT: Upcoming meeting of Directors' Association

I'm happy to report that plans for the New York meeting are coming along quite well. Jim Wood from the Southern Regional Council is helping with the arrangements for the meeting. Ed Stanfield is already committed to another meeting in Texas and will not be able to be with us.

Southern Regional Council has agreed to pay half of the travel costs to the meeting. I understand this to mean one-half of the round trip air fare for each director. In those cases where there is an acute shortage of funds, the Southern Regional Council will give further assistance. I have already suggested additional help for the Louisiana director, and there may be one or two more who need additional help.

Reservations have been made at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel at the corner of 34th Street and Broadway. The name of each director has been submitted to the hotel. The reservations are for the evening of the 26th through the night of the 28th. We have reserved five double rooms. The reservations clerk indicated that if this is not satisfactory adjustmonts can be made. If for some reason this is not satisfactory, each of you should feel free to make other arrangements. However, if we are all in one hotel, it will facilitate the mechanics of our meeting.

On about Wednesday or Thursday, you will receive another memo which will go into considerable detail as to the agenda for the meeting. At this time, I can report that meetings are being arranged with other inter-group relations organizations, with a number of church leaders, and with representatives of the foundations. These plans are to be finalized on Monday.

I would like to suggest that we all meet at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel on Sunday evening, the 26th, at 7:30. At this session, we can take care of the business of the Association. This would possibly include the recent memo from Raymond Wheeler concerning

the state council evaluation committee, the material which we received from Will Allred having to do with the formal structure of the Association, and any other business that you might want to bring up.

In closing, let me say that I think we're going to have a fruitful meeting that should be helpful to all of us. Final plans for this meeting will be subjected to John McCown and Will Allred on Monday for their approval. Each of you should feel free to make comments or recommendations as to the shape and agenda of the meeting.

file

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

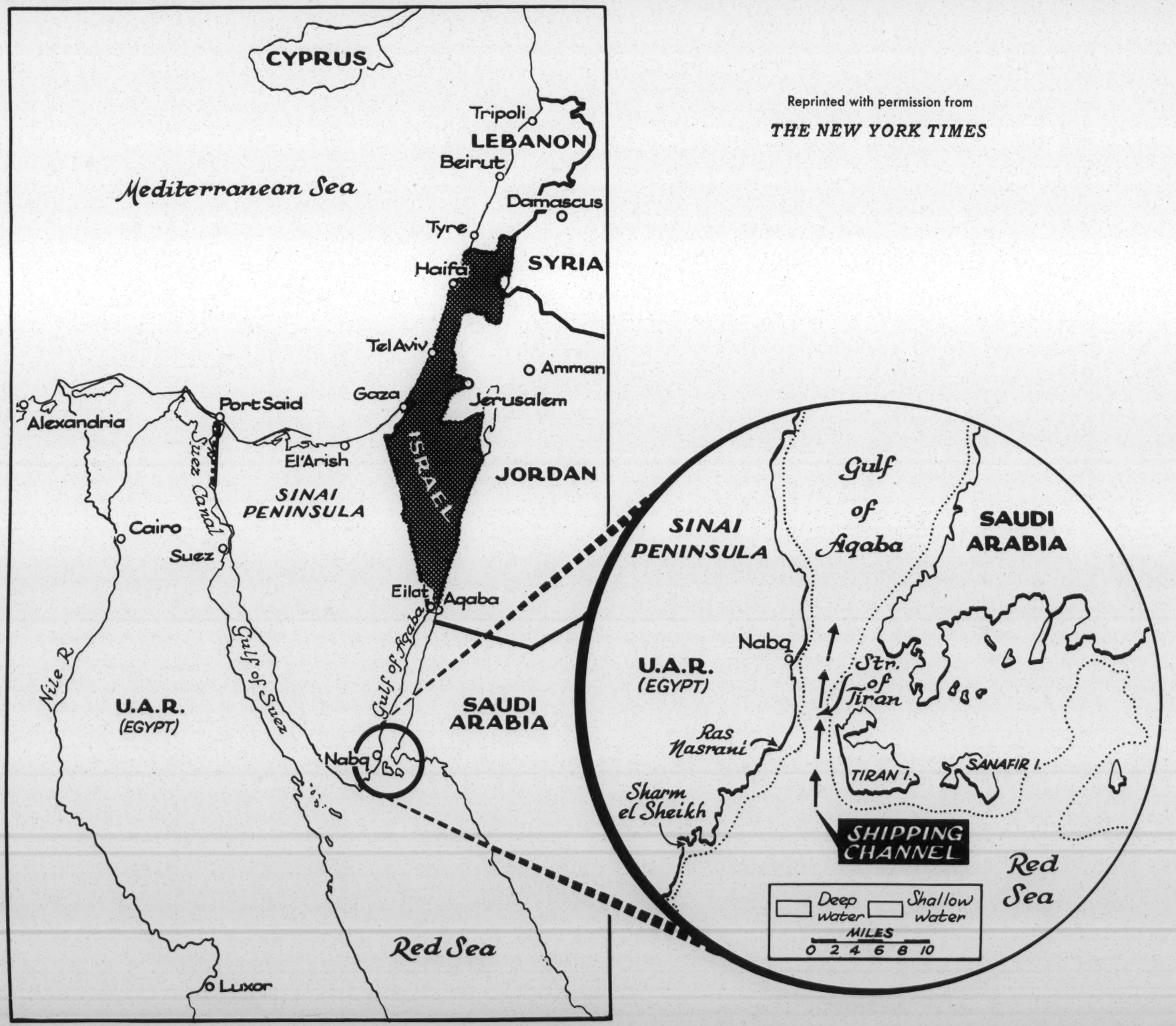
Institute of Human Relations · 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022

CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST
Questions and Answers

The present Middle East crisis was precipitated when President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic (Egypt) compelled the United Nations to withdraw its peace-keeping force from the Gaza Strip and from Sharm el Sheikh on the Gulf of Aqaba. Immediately afterward, he closed the entrance of the Gulf to shipping bound for the Israeli port of Eilat -- an action described by President Lyndon B. Johnson as "illegal and potentially disastrous to the cause of peace."

The situation in the Middle East today is, in the words of UN Secretary-General U Thant, "more disturbing, indeed, more menacing," than at any time in the past decade. In addition to the Aqaba crisis, peace is endangered -- again according to Mr. Thant -- by Syrian-Israeli clashes over farming rights in Israeli border settlements, and by "sabotage and terrorist activities," which "will, unless controlled, almost surely lead to further serious fighting."

The following questions and answers deal with such essential underlying issues as the continuous Arab animosity against Israel; the legal background of the present confrontation; the role of the UN; and the commitments and actions of the major powers -- including the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union.



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THE NEW YORK TIMES

1. What is the significance of the Gulf of Aqaba?

The Gulf of Aqaba lies between the Sinai and Arabian Peninsulas, and leads into the Red Sea and the Gulf of Suez. It is about 100 miles long and from 12 to 18 miles wide. The 230-mile coastline is divided among four states: the United Arab Republic (Egypt), Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

At the north end of the Gulf are two ports: Aqaba, Jordan's only outlet to any sea, and Eilat (or Elath), Israel's only port leading into the Red Sea. Eilat is the direct gateway for Israel's trade with Africa, the Persian Gulf, the Indian subcontinent and the Far East -- in fact, her only gateway to these areas, since Egypt refuses to let Israeli-flag shipping from Israel's Mediterranean ports pass through the Suez Canal. A pipeline from Eilat carries vital oil supplies northward to Israel's cities.

The only entrance to the Gulf is the Strait of Tiran, between Egypt on the west and Saudi Arabia on the east. Although the Strait is some four miles wide, two small uninhabited islands, Tiran and Sanafir, as well as reefs and shoals on the Saudi side, limit the navigable deep-water passage to a channel less than 1,000 yards wide, close to the Egyptian side. This channel is commanded by Egyptian guns at Ras Nasrani, directly facing the Egyptian island of Tiran, and at the larger outpost of Sharm el Sheikh.

2. On what grounds does Egypt deny Israel passage through the Gulf of Aqaba?

Egypt's refusal to allow shipping to and from Eilat is part of a larger pattern of hostility. Although Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon concluded armistice agreements with Israel after the war of 1948, they maintain that they are still at war with her, and that Israel is an "illegal" state. Some Arab leaders, especially those of Egypt and Syria, have often reiterated that war with Israel is inevitable, and that they will "liberate the usurped territory" of Palestine.

The Arab states contend that their alleged belligerent status entitles them to conduct economic boycotts and blockades against Israel; to bar all Israeli-flag vessels; and to stop and search all neutral ships that may be carrying strategic supplies, including foodstuffs, to Israel.

Egypt also contends that since the passage through the Strait of Tiran lies within Egypt's territorial waters, she may bar it to foreign shipping. This contention is contrary to international law (see Questions 7-9). Saudi Arabia and other Arab states have joined Egypt in arguing that the Gulf of Aqaba is "an Arab lake"

and that Israel, as an "illegal" state, may not claim the usual rights of a state bordering on the Gulf.

3. How does the UN view these Egyptian claims?

The United Nations has unequivocally rejected Egypt's position. The contention that Israel is an "illegal" state was explicitly turned down when the UN admitted Israel to membership on May 11, 1949.

As for the claim of belligerency, the UN Security Council on September 1, 1951, resolved without a single dissenting vote that the Egyptian-Israeli Armistice Agreement, concluded in February 1949, was "of a permanent character." Therefore, "neither party can reasonably assert that it is actively a belligerent or requires to exercise the right of visit, search, and seizure for any legitimate purpose of self-defense."

The resolution also noted that the armistice agreements all contained specific pledges "against any further acts of hostility," and reminded Egypt that the senior Egyptian delegate to the armistice negotiations had declared, on January 13, 1949, that his delegation was "inspired with every spirit of cooperation, conciliation and a sincere desire to restore peace in Palestine."

Therefore, the Council called upon Egypt to terminate the restrictions against ships to and from Israel at the Suez Canal, as an "unjustified interference with the rights of nations to navigate the seas and to trade freely with one another, including the Arab States and Israel."

4. Why was a UN force stationed along the Gulf of Aqaba?

When the 1951 Security Council resolution was adopted, Egypt was not yet systematically interfering with shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba. In fact, Egypt had assured the U.S. Embassy in Cairo, on January 28, 1950, that passage through the Strait of Tiran would "remain free [i.e., free from visit, search or seizure] as in the past, in conformity with ... the law of nations."

Soon afterwards, however, Egypt began to stop and search ships entering the Gulf. In December 1953 and January 1954, respectively, an American and an Italian vessel were fired at. A total blockade of Eilat continued into 1956.

On November 3, 1956, in the course of the Sinai Campaign, Israeli forces captured an Egyptian outpost at Sharm el Sheikh and gun emplacements at Ras Nasrani. On November 5, the UN General Assembly approved creation of an international emergency force (UNEF) "to

secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities." On February 2, 1957, the General Assembly stated that UNEF units would have to be stationed on the demarcation line of the 1949 armistice to prevent new clashes once Israel had withdrawn from Sharm el Sheikh and the Gaza Strip, and called upon Egypt and Israel "scrupulously to observe the provisions" of that armistice.

On March 1, 1957, Israel's Foreign Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, told the General Assembly that Israel was ready to withdraw from these positions. In view of arrangements made by the UN and the maritime powers, she said, Israel was "confident that free and innocent passage for international and Israel shipping will continue to be fully maintained after Israel's withdrawal." Later that month, Israeli forces were replaced by UNEF units.

5. <u>What assurances on this issue has Israel received from the U.S. in the past</u>?

On February 11, 1957, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles stated in a memorandum to Israel: "The United States believes that the Gulf comprehends international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the Gulf and through the Straits giving access thereto." The memorandum concluded: "...The United States, on behalf of vessels of United States registry, is prepared to exercise the right of free and innocent passage and to join with others to secure general recognition of this right."

In a broadcast on February 20, 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower stated: "We should not assume that if Israel withdraws from Sharm el Sheikh, Egypt will prevent Israel shipping from using the Suez Canal or the Gulf of Aqaba. If, unhappily, Egypt does hereafter violate the Armistice Agreement or other international obligations, then this should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations."

On March 1, Henry Cabot Lodge, chief U.S. delegate to the UN, declared that once Israel had completed its withdrawal, there would be "no basis for either party ... to assert or exercise any belligerent rights." He stressed, as on two earlier occasions, that it was essential to station UNEF units at the Strait of Tiran to separate Egyptian and Israeli land and sea forces, until it was "clear that the non-exercise of any claimed belligerent rights has established in practice the peaceful conditions which must govern navigation in waters having such an international interest."

6. <u>What has been the UN's and the maritime powers' position on passage through the Gulf</u>?

In a report to the General Assembly on January 15, 1957, UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld stated: "The international

significance of the Gulf of Aqaba may be considered to justify the right of innocent passage through the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf, in accordance with recognized rules of international law." And on January 19, 1957, the Secretary-General explicitly applied the Security Council's findings of 1951 to the case: "None of the parties to the 1949 Armistice Agreement is entitled to claim belligerent rights, including the application of such rights in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Strait of Tiran."

During General Assembly discussion in early 1957, many United Nations members, including major maritime states, supported freedom of navigation through the Gulf and recognized the Strait as an international waterway. Such statements were made by Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Portugal, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

7. What rules of international law govern innocent passage?

Under international law, a state's sovereignty not only covers its land but also extends to its territorial waters, up to a distance traditionally set at three miles from its coastline. However, there are certain exceptions to the rule that a state may arbitrarily restrict access to its territory or territorial waters.

One such long-established exception is the right of innocent passage of foreign ships through a coastal state's territorial waters. Passage is considered "innocent" if it is not prejudicial to the peace, good order or security of the coastal state. Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), one of the fathers of international law, held that this right was a "specific and unimpeachable axiom of the Law of Nations," based on the "self-evident and immutable" principle that "every nation is free to travel to every other nation and to trade with it." (Mare Liberum, Margoffin translation, 1916, p.7.) Professor Philip C. Jessup, now a Justice of the International Court of Justice, has stressed that as "a general principle, the right of innocent passage requires no supporting argument or citation of authority; it is firmly established in international law." (The Law of Territorial Waters and Maritime Jurisdiction, 1927, p. 120.)

8. How does this rule apply to straits?

The law concerning innocent passage applies categorically, without exception, to straits. It has been most authoritatively stated in the 1958 Geneva Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone, adopted at the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The Convention has been in force since September 10, 1964, and has been ratified by 33 states to date.

Article 15 of the Convention declares: "The coastal State must not hamper innocent passage through the territorial sea." And Article 16, Paragraph 4, provides: "There shall be no suspension of the innocent passage of foreign ships through straits which are used for international navigation between one part of the high seas and another part of the high seas or the territorial sea of a foreign State."

9. How do these rules bear on the specific case of the Strait of Tiran?

There can be no question that the Strait of Tiran comes under the rule just cited. It indisputably connects two parts of the high seas. Since the Gulf of Aqaba is 100 miles long and up to 18 miles wide, much of it lies outside the traditional three-mile zone, and thus the Gulf includes international waters.

Moreover, the Strait of Tiran is the only passage from the high seas to the territorial waters of Israel and of Jordan, at the head of the Gulf.

Indeed, the passage concerning access to "the territorial sea of a foreign State," in Article 16 of the Geneva Convention, was prompted in part by the example of the port of Eilat. As one delegate wrote: "What was in everybody's mind, without being officially stated, was the Strait of Tiran. ... A decision on the abstract question ... would therefore also involve an expression of opinion as to the legality of Egyptian measures amounting to a blockade of this port." (Max Sorenson, Law of the Sea, International Conciliation, no. 520, November 1958, p. 236. See also Solomon Slonim, "The Right of Innocent Passage and the 1958 Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea," Columbia Journal of Transnational Law, 1966, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 111-115.)

In the discussion, the Danish delegate stressed that the "principle of freedom of navigation was indivisible, and when vessels crossed a portion of the high seas on their way to a port, it was irrelevant whether or not they had to pass through the territorial sea of another State." Article 16 was adopted by 62 votes to 1 (Saudi Arabia's), with 9 abstentions.

10. Is there a judicial precedent concerning navigation through straits?

In April 1946, during a period of tension, Albanian shore batteries fired at British cruisers passing through the North Corfu Channel, which is in Albanian territorial waters. When the British protested, Albania asserted that no foreign warships could go through this strait without her permission. In October, Britain sent four warships, with guns unloaded and in non-action position, to assert her right to free passage. Two of the ships were severely damaged by mines; there were over 40 casualties.

The International Court of Justice at the Hague ruled on April 9, 1949, that Albania was liable for the harm done. The British warships' right to innocent passage through the Corfu strait could not be restricted, the Court held, by the facts that Albania considered herself at war with Greece, and that her diplomatic relations with Great Britain had been broken off. Nor was this right affected, the Court ruled, by the admittedly political nature of the passage -- a mission "to affirm a right which had been unjustly denied." The Court found that "the Government of the United Kingdom was not bound to abstain from exercising its right of passage, which the Albanian Government had illegally denied." (International Court of Justice, Reports, 1949.)

Under the Corfu Channel precedent, foreign warships have a right to innocent passage through the Strait of Tiran, and so, a fortiori, do unarmed merchant ships of all states, including Israel. Moreover, if a ship of any state should suffer damage or casualties from Egyptian guns or mines while exercising this right, the United Arab Republic would be internationally liable for damages.

11. What position has the United States taken in the present crisis?

On May 23, 1967, President Johnson declared: "The United States considers the Gulf [of Aqaba] to be an international waterway and feels that a blockade of Israeli shipping is illegal and potentially disastrous to the cause of peace. The right of free, innocent passage of the international waterway is a vital interest of the international community."

During the Security Council debate on May 29, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg referred to an appeal by UN Secretary-General U Thant, which called on all parties concerned "to exercise special restraint, to forgo belligerence and to avoid all other actions which could increase tensions." Mr. Goldberg continued: "We believe that, with respect to the particularly sensitive area of Aqaba, 'forgoing belligerence' must mean forgoing any blockade

of the Gulf of Aqaba during the breathing spell requested by the Secretary-General, and permitting free and innocent passage of all nations and all flags through the Strait of Tiran to continue as it has during the last 10 years."

Canada, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Portugal are among the maritime states that have expressed strong support for this position.

12. What has been the attitude of the Soviet Union in the present dispute?

Soviet spokesmen have asserted that the current crisis is, in the words of UN Delegate Nikolai T. Fedorenko, the fault of "Israeli extremists," who are encouraged by "certain imperialist circles." Moscow has publicly urged the U.S. and other Western powers to make Israel "stop its provocations." There have been promises of resolute Soviet resistance in the event of Israeli "aggression" against the United Arab Republic or Syria. President Nasser claims to have received personal assurances of full Soviet support from Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin.

The Soviet Union has supplied massive quantities of modern arms to Egypt and Syria. Also, since 1954, it has consistently vetoed those UN resolutions on the Arab-Israeli dispute which were opposed by the Arabs.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union has repeatedly stated its opposition to any hostilities in the Middle East. On May 24, Mr. Fedorenko told the Security Council: "The maintenance of peace and security in the area directly adjacent to the Soviet borders meets the vital interests of the Soviet peoples. ... The Soviet Union is doing and will do everything in its power to prevent a violation of peace and security in the Near East."

13. Where does the Soviet Union stand with respect to the principle of free passage?

In September 1951, the Soviet Union abstained in the vote on the Security Council resolution calling on Egypt to end its restrictions on Israeli shipping through the Suez Canal (see Question 5). But in 1954, the Soviet Union vetoed a Council resolution reminding Egypt of its obligations under the 1951 resolution.

The Soviet Union has ratified the 1958 Geneva Convention on freedom of navigation. Free passage through straits is a natural concern for the Soviet Union, for its access from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean depends on the right to pass through the

Turkish Straits -- the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. In the past, Moscow's contention has been that the Turkish Straits should be jointly controlled by all Black Sea powers. This would put majority control into Communist hands: those of the Soviet Union, Rumania and Bulgaria.

In recent days, the Soviet Union has reasserted its demand that the United States withdraw its Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean, and has begun to move additional warships of its own from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean.

14. What position has the UN Secretary-General taken since the crisis began?

In a report on May 27, 1967, Secretary-General U Thant noted: "While in Cairo, I called to the attention of the Government of the United Arab Republic the dangerous consequences which could ensue from restricting innocent passage of ships in the Strait of Tiran. I expressed my deep concern in this regard and my hope that no precipitate action would be taken."

Mr. Thant added: "I greatly fear that a clash between the United Arab Republic and Israel over this issue, in the present circumstances, will inevitably set off a general conflict in the Near East."

In the same report, the Secretary-General once again affirmed the UN's position that, in view of the Armistice Agreements, neither Israel nor any of the Arab states had a right to undertake belligerent acts. He also cited UN Security Council resolutions adopted on July 15, 1948 and August 11, 1949, which required the Arab states and Israel "to observe an unconditional cease-fire" and which enjoined them, on penalty of sanctions under the UN Charter, from resuming hostilities.

15. What are some of the other potentially explosive elements in Egyptian-Israeli relations?

The frontier between the Egyptian-ruled Gaza Strip and Israel is once more a focus of tension.

Through 1956, Gaza served as a base for Egyptian-trained marauders (fedayeen), who launched terrorist raids against Israel. During the Sinai Campaign, Israeli forces destroyed the fedayeen bases; and after the UN Emergency Force was stationed along the Gaza Strip frontier in 1957, the area remained relatively free of incidents.

But since 1964, Gaza has once more served as a base for a violent action group: the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). To date, this group has trained an estimated 12,000 Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip for its "Palestine Liberation Army," plus smaller units in Syria and Iraq. It has taken credit for some recent terrorist raids into Israel. The organization has ties to Communist China; a PLO delegation was received by Mao Tse-Tung in 1965, and there is a PLO office in Peking. Ahmed Shukairy, the chief of the group, has stated that some of his men are being trained as guerrillas in North Vietnam and Communist China. The "Liberation Army" is equipped with Chinese, Russian and East German weapons.

In September 1966, Secretary-General Thant reported "differences" between UNEF and Shukairy's men, who were then stepping up their patrolling and training, and warned that if the UN buffer were removed, "serious fighting would, quite likely, soon be resumed." Since the withdrawal of UNEF, several clashes have in fact occurred -- including the shelling of an Israeli kibbutz, Nahal Oz. On May 27, 1967, Mr. Thant again warned of the explosive potential of sabotage and terrorism.

16. <u>What has been Syria's role in recent clashes?</u>

Syrian Army units on the heights overlooking the border have intermittently shelled Israeli settlements near the frontier. Israel's artillery and aircraft have on occasion responded to these provocations by attacking the Syrian outposts. At the beginning of 1967, the UN succeeded in bringing Syrian and Israeli officials together to discuss farming arrangements in the contested demilitarized zones, the chief targets of Syrian shooting; but after much inconclusive procedural wrangling the talks broke off, and Syrian harassment was resumed.

Syria espouses the doctrine of a "people's war" against Israel and has been giving aid and support to Palestinian Arab terrorist bands. The most active of these is <u>El Fatah</u>, directed from Damascus. Since January 1965, <u>El Fatah</u> has been sending bands of armed infiltrators, operating chiefly from bases in Jordan and Lebanon, on raids into Israel to sabotage railroads, water pumps and pipelines, and to blow up homes and public buildings. In attempts to halt these attacks, Israeli army units have on occasion moved against points they believed to harbor the terrorists.

On May 20, 1967, Secretary-General Thant pointed out to the Security Council that "<u>El Fatah</u> activities, consisting of terrorism and sabotage, are a major factor in that they provoke strong reactions in Israel by the Government and population alike." He noted with concern that "some recent incidents of

this type have seemed to indicate a new level of organization and training" among the terrorists.

17. May states disclaim responsibility for terrorist acts by irregular forces?

Syria and Israel's other Arab neighbors have disclaimed responsibility for the acts of PLO and El Fatah marauders. However, under international law, no state may allow its territory to be used as a base for hostile acts against another state.

In addition, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt are mutually bound by their armistice agreements with Israel not to let "military or para-military forces ... including non-regular forces" commit "any warlike or hostile acts against the military or para-military forces of the other Party, or against civilians in territory under the control of that Party." Moreover, all five of these states voted in favor of a UN General Assembly resolution (no. 2131, December 21, 1965), which provides that "no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another State..."

Many of the incidents near the Arab-Israel borders have been small in themselves. But the trend appears to be toward larger and more serious confrontations. With both sides armed to the teeth and mobilized, and with tension at a peak, the danger of a small clash setting off a big war is greater than ever.

GEG
June 2, 1967

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Memo from **PAUL ANTHONY**

Employment

MA:

We have a few of these available if you need them.

Harry Fleischman AJC New York, is the source.

PA

STEPS TOWARD JOB EQUALITY

A Record of Experiences
Reported by Members and Friends of
The American Jewish Committee

The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

The irresistible forces which have been set into motion are such that there is no sound business way to avoid becoming involved. The price of passivity is trouble. Businessmen need to understand that they have to deal with racial troubles realistically because these problems are there and can no longer be hidden under the table. ... What is needed here is real creative thinking about people; and this kind of creativity can be as rewarding to business as creativity in merchandising, finance and scientific invention.

— From a report to the American Jewish Committee by a Detroit business executive.

Fair Employment

Fair employment is a high-priority item on the agenda of American business and industrial leaders -- including many associated with the American Jewish Committee. All over the country, members and friends of AJC -- assisted by AJC's professional staff -- are zealously working to make equal opportunity in hiring and promotion a reality in their own firms, industries and cities. The experiences they report, taken together, form a cross section of the integration issues facing commerce and industry today. Some of the most instructive are summarized here.

Obtaining Qualified Applicants

Finding skilled Negro applicants is the first and one of the biggest hurdles in job integration, AJC's informants agree. "Negroes and other minority group members," says the prospectus of an employers' equal opportunity plan in a Midwestern city, "have been discouraged from preparing for full employment qualification or aspiring to upgraded employment status because of assumed discrimination."

Many of the answers have come from the retailing industry, long a pioneer in job equality. Thus, a Midwestern department store executive advises employers to look for Negro talent in unusual places: "Negroes have not studied in business schools because the opportunities in business have been historically closed to them. One cannot look for Negro college graduates in the traditional places where one would find potential white executives. Rather, one might well begin with the post office; one might seek out the potential ability of a Negro substitute teacher or underpaid social worker."

For the same reason, this spokesman advocates flexible criteria in recruiting Negro employees. "Use a little imagination and judge Negroes

by their basic abilities and general aptitude rather than their specific skills or experience. ... Our Negro executives are motivated by the role they feel they play in the history of their race as well as by personal ambition. This is a very strong and productive motivation." He cites the case of a Negro woman who came to the store from a career in law and social work, without previous knowledge of retailing. Hired as personnel director, with the rank of vice president, she has made an outstanding record for herself.

An Eastern retailing organization has discovered that nothing sells opportunity like a living example of success. Recruiting of Negroes has taken a giant step forward since the company began to send a young Negro executive (who, incidentally, was also known as a volunteer worker for the NAACP) to visit graduating classes of schools in Negro neighborhoods.

Publicizing Opportunities

With so great a heritage of discouragement and distrust to be overcome, new opportunities must be intensively and persuasively publicized. An "Equal Opportunity Employment Plan," worked out by 30 leading firms in Milwaukee as a guide for the entire community, focused largely on this need. Participating companies agree to describe themselves as "equal opportunity employers" in advertising for help; to instruct employment agencies and other recruitment sources that suitable persons of all races are to be referred for interviews; and to reach out to potential Negro applicants through such methods as plant tours, summer employment programs and school "career days."

A woman's-wear manufacturing company with plants in various parts of the country never uses "No Help Wanted" notices, because it has been found that minority group members interpret such wholesale turndowns as

discriminatory. Every potential applicant is received in person, whether there are openings or not.

Increasing Training Facilities

Now that real opportunities are at last offering career incentives to Negroes, it is plain that greatly enlarged provision for training must be made almost overnight. The Milwaukee Plan, mentioned earlier, expressly seeks to link the effort of job preparation to the rewards of job improvement -- to "establish a community knowledge that attaining of essential qualifications leads directly to equal employment opportunity."

A striking start toward providing needed facilities was made in Dallas, where business leaders collaborated with a Negro institution, Bishop College, in setting up a new Department of Business Administration, as a source of Negro secretarial and management talent.

Successful on-the-job training has been reported even from unpromising territory. A new knitting mill in the Deep South reports: "In our initial hiring, colored help was put only into certain job categories, such as pressing and inspecting. However, after the pilot plant had been in operation for one month, and there were some 40 white sewing operators, we commenced training a group of 9 colored sewing operators who, after they completed their training, were moved into the plant."

In several Eastern and Midwestern cities, leading retailers have joined together to set up job preparation programs for disadvantaged youth, under the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act. The Office of Manpower, Automation and Training -- a branch of the U. S. Department of Labor -- has stated that many more such projects are needed. The entire operating cost is paid by the Government through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The Right Person For A Breakthrough

Careful selection and grooming of new Negro employees are indispensable when a previously all-white firm or department is to be integrated. If the first Negro in a given spot fails to measure up, non-discriminatory practices suffer a setback, and the effect on both Negroes' and whites' morale can be shattering — a hazard of which AJC's informants are well aware.

The woman's-wear firm mentioned earlier has a plan for minimizing this danger. Where, for example, clerical jobs are concerned, the company hires the brightest Negro graduates of secretarial courses in the local high schools, and first assigns them temporarily to the Personnel Division. Here "they are coached how to speak, what to wear, how to act. In two or three months they are no longer inexperienced or immature-looking youngsters, but sharp-looking, experienced secretaries ready to be passed on to any department."

Securing Acceptance By Whites

Not surprisingly, many of the experiences recorded had to do with preventing unfavorable reactions by white workers. A quick transition to integrated conditions was generally thought safest, but there was no consensus on whether staff should be informed ahead of time or not.

Several firms did well with advance notification. Thus, a Northern retailing firm obtained good results by taking employees into its confidence and convincing them that equalization of opportunity, not replacement of whites by Negroes, was intended. Similarly, a tobacco company in one of the border states found it best to discuss the planned integration of its head office with all personnel concerned.

Others, however, successfully followed the opposite course. A large manufacturing company with several plants in the South reported

satisfactory results from confronting the staff with a fait accompli: "Whenever the first minority-group applicant is to be employed in a formerly all-white department, it is absolutely essential that there be no advance notice to the other employees. The new employee comes to work the first day as any other employee with no fanfare, and ten times out of ten he is immediately accepted."

In potentially tense situations, additional measures may be indicated. Thus, at the Southern knitting mill mentioned above, strongly biased white persons were screened out in the recruiting process. At the same plant, moral support was provided for Negroes in unfamiliar integrated situations: "The line supervisors helped them overcome their fear and loneliness by talking with them at their machines."

A number of informants reported that the transition had been easier than expected. In some cases, a good general climate in the community was said to have helped; but successes were booked even where the atmosphere was unfavorable. "Some outside agitators and crackpots," wrote the head of a Southern plant, "made threatening phone calls; however, nothing materialized from these threats, and the local power structure, if not actually condoning this move, certainly accepted it."

Negroes In Status Jobs

Employment of Negroes in supervisory, executive and other status positions is reported to be growing more widespread, notably in the retailing field. Thus, a large department store in an Eastern city now has over 50 Negroes in such jobs.

Where Negro staff members give orders to white employees or represent the firm to the white public, special measures are sometimes taken to ensure acceptance. The proprietor of a Midwestern restaurant safeguards

the status of his Negro service manager by periodically holding luncheon conferences with him in sight of patrons and personnel. A Midwestern retailing organization, about to acquire its first Negro officer, went to considerable length to enlist the good will of the banks, insurance companies and other firms with whom it did business.

The Crucial Role Of Top Management

One theme runs through nearly all the experiences reported by AJC's members and friends: The start must be made in the executive suite. Both in the small community of the plant and the larger community of the city or the industry, it is the high-level managers who must frame affirmative integration policies and see that they are understood and carried out. As the head of one of the nation's leading construction companies put it, pace-setting here, as in any policy situation, "must come from the top, so that people right down the line know the feeling of the boss. ... If those at the top do not express their feelings definitely, those in a lower echelon may be reluctant to make decisions that are not in complete accord with past practices."

Management's prime concern, according to AJC's informants, must be to ensure unreserved cooperation at lower levels of authority. "It is absolutely imperative," says a manufacturer apropos of integrating a Southern unit, "to have all members of the Personnel Department in total agreement with management's aspirations," and to leave "no question in anyone's mind as to where the departmental supervisor stands on the matter." At another Southern factory, supervisors are informed that the object is genuine integration in every unit, not a "segregated integrated plant."

Spreading The Risk Through Inter-Company Action

Often, the risks of desegregation can be greatly reduced by concerted

action. Thus, a hotel operator in a Southern city felt he "did not have the right to jeopardize the investment of our stockholders" by opening a new motel to a mixed clientele. Instead, he helped work out a citywide integration program with his competitors -- and, to set the pace, he integrated another hotel, which he owned outright.

The same technique can be made to work where employment integration is at issue. For example, department stores in a city in the Upper South are coordinating their job integration moves, so that the rate of progress is appoximately the same in all. The objective is twofold: to frustrate community resistance by letting no one company occupy a vulnerable position, and to provide reassurance for companies that might otherwise tend to lag.

Collaboration With Intergroup Agencies and Negro Groups

Information and advice available from government agencies, human-relations organizations and civil-rights groups can be an additional help in minimizing the hazards of desegregation measures. For example, a large company in the business-equipment field relies strongly on the American Jewish Committee's field staff for information about racial conditions in cities where it operates plants slated for integration. A number of companies state that they use the Urban League's Skills Banks to recruit qualified Negro help.

Other businesses, North and South, report that they plan desegregation moves in collaboration with their communities' Negro leadership, or periodically review their progress with local branches of national civil rights groups. By thus working with responsible Negro organizations, they are creating a climate of mutual confidence and forestalling unreasonable demands by extremists.

There are additional ways of winning the Negro community's confidence.

One of the most effective is practiced by a retailer in a Negro neighborhood of a large Eastern city: His firm lends active support, through contributions and personal service, to civic and civil-rights organizations in the area, including the Urban League, the local YMCA, CORE and NAACP.

Sparking Community Action

Perhaps the biggest forward steps are made when business leaders take the initiative in mobilizing whole communities. As mentioned earlier, 30 firms pitched in to make fair employment a reality throughout the city of Milwaukee. Comparable efforts are described by AJC members in other cities. In Memphis, for example, business leaders and government officials set up a successful drive for improving Negroes' employment opportunities. The local press was one of the prime movers; local papers vigorously promoted the drive and denied exaggerated publicity to the opposition.

In Dallas, a plan for desegregation in employment and elsewhere was jointly devised by the white and Negro leadership groups, with AJC members playing an essential role. A policy of step-by-step desegregation was agreed upon, including preferential procedures designed to help make up for the longstanding handicaps of the Negro group. Because the plan bore the stamp of the city's most respected individuals, little conflict arose. Impressive results were recorded in job upgrading; simultaneously, integration of schools and recreation facilities made good progress.

In Atlanta, a community movement to promote upgrading of Negro workers concentrated, for a start, on government jobs. A biracial Mayor's Committee was formed to hear complaints of discrimination. AJC members were active throughout, particularly in providing backing for public officials sympathetic to the movement. Within its limited scope, the effort was

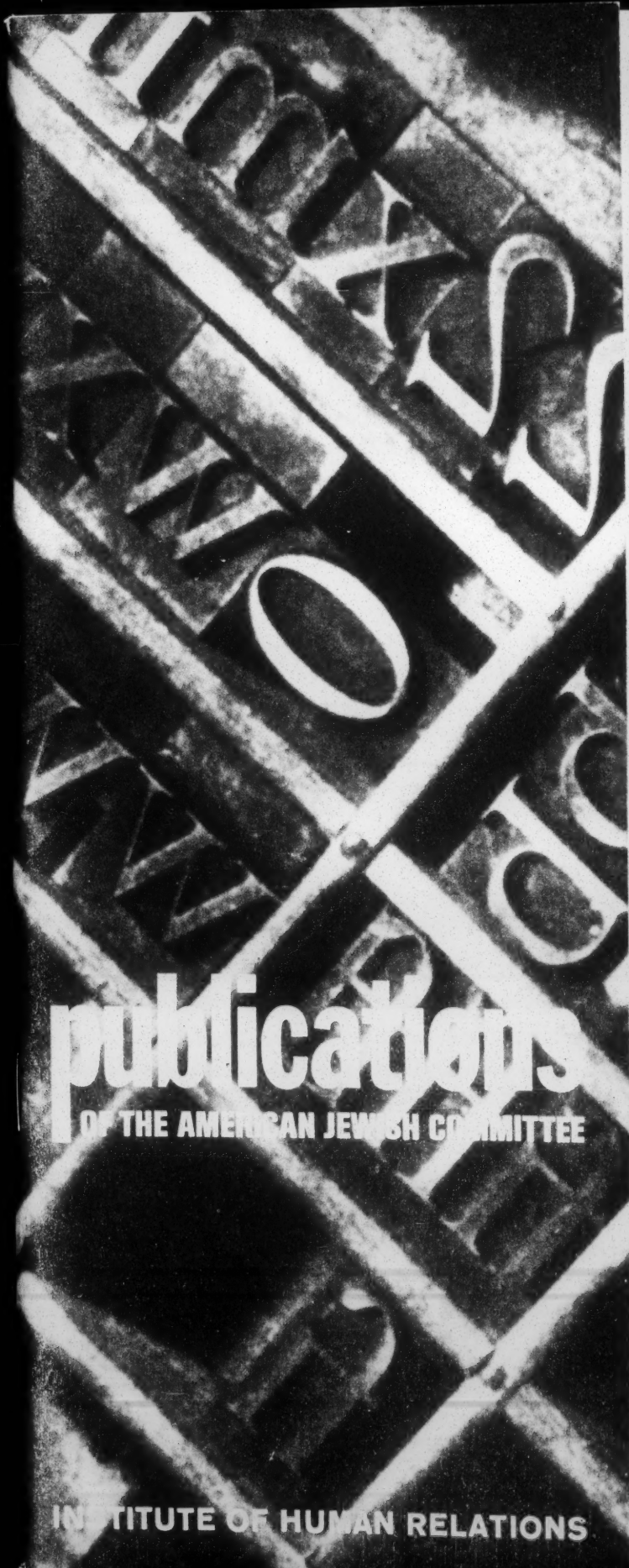
successful. Municipal departments, including fire and police, moved up qualified Negroes on their staffs, as did the local postmasters. Wider drives are foreseen in private employment.

In the East, Middle West and South, chambers of commerce and trade associations have started Equal Employment Opportunity Committees -- in many cases with the aid of AJC members. These committees undertake surveys of job opportunities for minority-group members, and help find people to fill the jobs. They also assist in training programs for insufficiently qualified workers. Finally, they make it their business to help inform employers and employees about the benefits of integration and ways to achieve it.

Imagination and Determination

Equality in employment is no idealistic luxury, AJC's members and friends in the business world agree; it is simply good business, and the time is ripe for it. They are fully aware that the goal will not be achieved by half measures or gestures. Nor are they content to take a passive stance -- removing, at some convenient time, one or two of the many existing discriminatory barriers and leaning back to wait for results. Like other business leaders across the nation, they have a job to do and they are going at it with imagination and determination -- fully aware that there is no longer any alternative to rapid, hard-headed, affirmative action.

February 1964



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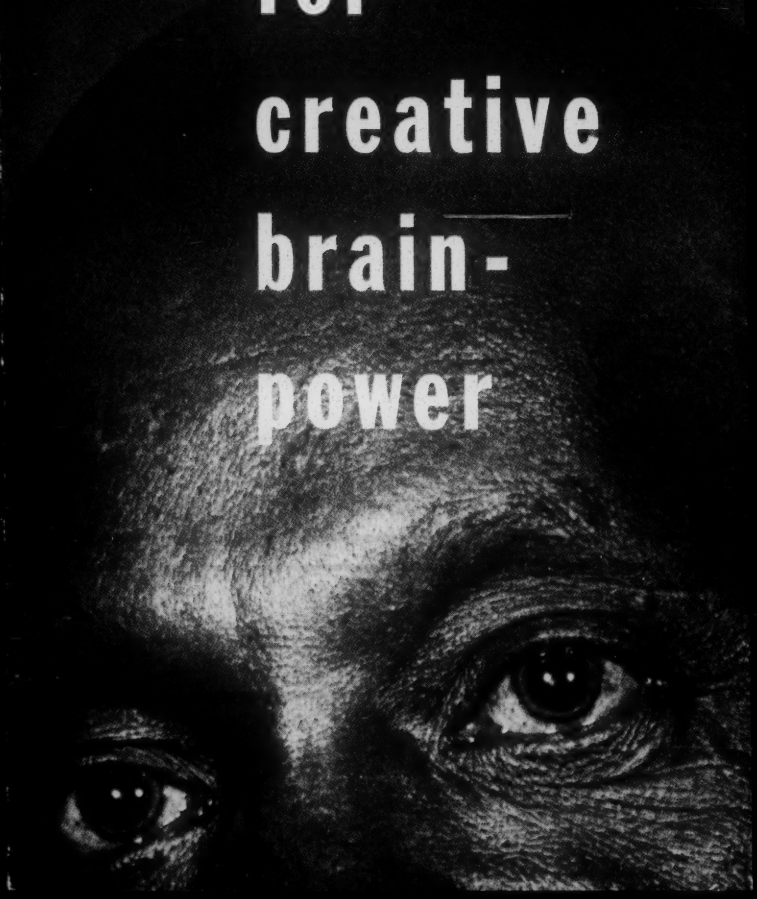

A Reader's Digest

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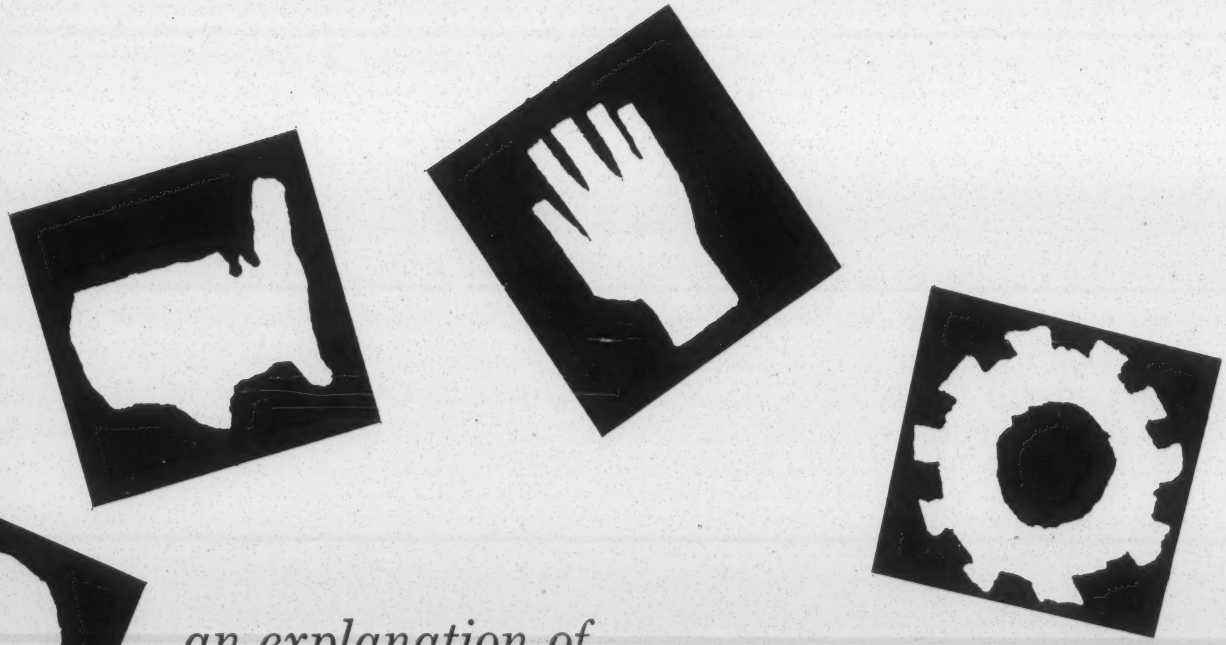
NEGROES ARE MOVING UP THE JOB LADDER

By Irwin Ross

THE READER'S DIGEST • PLEASANTVILLE, NEW YORK



an explanation of

THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. WILLARD WIRTZ, SECRETARY
OFFICE OF MANPOWER, AUTOMATION AND TRAINING
SEYMOUR L. WOLFBEIN, DIRECTOR

MANPOWER PROBLEMS AND LOCAL ACTION

. . . . the role of Local Manpower Advisory Committees

Transportation

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
100 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Frances Levenson and Sol Rabkin

DATE: June 22, 1951

SUBJECT: Segregation by Interstate Railroads

In two recent cases, Solomon v. Pennsylvania Railway Co., 36 Fed. Supp. 709 (1951) and Chance v. Lambeth, 186 F. 2d 879 (1951), federal courts have ruled that racial segregation on interstate railroad trips violates the Federal Constitution. In so ruling, the lower federal courts have gone beyond the United States Supreme Court, which has based its decisions barring racial segregation in interstate railroads on a provision in the Interstate Commerce Act barring discrimination by common carriers, and has not yet ruled that such segregation offends the provisions of the Federal Constitution.

Wilhelmina Solomon, A Negro, was forced by a conductor for the Atlantic Coastline Railroad to give up her reserved seat in Savannah, Ga., even though she had been ticketed for that seat from New York City to Lakeland, Fla. Instead she was required to move to a seat in a car reserved for Negroes. The conductor was acting pursuant to a regulation established by the railroad requiring racial segregation. Miss Solomon sued the Atlantic Coastline for damages and on April 5, 1951, the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York decided that the railroad must reimburse her for the injuries she had suffered by reason of her public humiliation in being forced to give up her seat in the presence of other passengers, walk through four cars and accept accommodations inferior to those she had purchased. She was awarded $500 damages by the Court.

District Judge McGohey wrote the opinion and ruled that the regulation of the Atlantic Coastline Railroad requiring segregation of races in separate cars as applied to interstate passengers constituted an unlawful burden on interstate commerce. The argument was made by the railroad that before the plaintiff could sue, she first had to exhaust available administrative remedies by attacking the regulation before the Interstate Commerce Commission. Judge McGohey held, however, that since the plaintiff's attack on the segregation requirement was based upon the United States Constitution, a prior ruling by the Interstate Commerce Commission was unnecessary and recourse directly to the federal courts in the first instance was proper.

This decision is in line with previous rulings by the United States Supreme Court but goes one step further. One of the earliest cases on this subject decided by the United States Supreme Court was the case of Mitchell v. U.S., 313 U.S.80 (1941).

In that case, the Court unanimously ruled that forcing the holder of a Pullman accommodation to move to a "Jim Crow" coach was a violation of the Interstate Commerce Act. The Act, passed in 1886, provides that "It shall be unlawful for any common carrier to subject any particular person...to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever." Thus, the Court did not decide in this case whether the railroad regulation per se was invalid and since Mitchell was forced to accept inferior coach accommodations when he had purchased a first-class ticket, the question of the validity of "separate but equal" accommodations was not in issue. In 1950, the Supreme Court, again unanimously, ruled that segregation of Negroes in railroad dining cars was a violation of the Interstate Commerce Commission Act (Henderson v. U.S., 339 U.S. 816). Since the basis of the decision was the provisions of the ICC Act, the constitutionality of the segregation practices was still left undecided.

Judge McGohey based his decision in the Solomon case on a decision by the Fourth United States Court of Appeals in Richmond in the case of Chance v. Lambeth, 186 F. 2d 879 (1951). In the Chance case, the plaintiff, a Negro school principal, while travelling as a day coach passenger from Philadelphia to Rocky Mount, N.C., was requested, while the train was in Richmond, Va., to move to an "all colored" coach. This request was made pursuant to the company regulations requiring segregation. He refused to move and was put off the train. The trial court refused to find for the plaintiff but the Circuit Court of Appeals reversed, holding that the regulation requiring segregation was itself invalid as an unconstitutional burden on interstate commerce. The Court of Appeals ruled the segregation regulation unconstitutional despite the fact that it also found that the new seat was equal in all respects to the one in which Chance had been riding.

Thus, the lower federal courts have gone further than the United States Supreme Court by holding that a railroad segregation regulation is in itself a violation of the commerce clause of the Constitution without reference to the Interstate Commerce Commission Act. Under these decisions, a person required to move in accordance with a railroad segregation regulation may sue for damages in the courts without any prior application for redress to the ICC. The Chance decision is a clear determination that segregation by an interstate railroad, regardless of whether the accommodations afforded are equal, is a violation of the Federal Constitution. The railroad regulation which requires separation of the races is on its face invalid and can form the basis of a damage action.

fl-sr/bw

RKK

HCF

Joint Memorandum

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RECEIVED
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Southern Regional Council

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: March 31, 1952

Attached, hereto, for your information, is the text of an anti-mask and anti-cross burning bill recently passed by both houses of the Virginia legislature. The bill is now awaiting signature by Governor Battle of Virginia. We are informed that the Governor will probably approve the bill some time within the next two weeks. Thus, Virginia will become the fifth southern state to adopt legislation of this type.

SR/TL:bfc
attach.

SENATE BILL NO. 310

Offered February 11, 1952

A BILL to prohibit the wearing of masks in certain places except under certain circumstances: (1) to prohibit the placing of certain exhibits on the property of another, except under certain conditions, and to prohibit the placing of certain exhibits for certain purposes, within the State.

Patrons - Senators A. E. S. Stephens and Robert Y. Button

Referred to the Committee on General Laws

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia:

I.

1. It shall be unlawful for any person over sixteen years of age while wearing any mask, hood or other device whereby a substantial portion of the face is hidden or covered so as to conceal the identity of the wearer, to be or appear in any public place, or to be or appear upon any private property in this State without having first obtained from the owner or tenant thereof consent to do so in writing. Provided, however, that the provisions of this section shall not apply to persons wearing traditional holiday costumes, or to persons engaged in professions, trades, employment or other activities and wearing protective masks which are deemed necessary for the physical safety of the wearer of other persons, or to persons engaged in any bona fide theatrical production or masquerade ball.

2. It shall be unlawful for any person or persons to place or cause to be placed on the property of another in the Commonwealth of Virginia a burning or a flaming cross or any manner of exhibit in which a burning or flaming cross, real or simulated, is a whole or a part, without first obtaining written permission of the owner or occupier of the premises so to do.

3. It shall be unlawful for any person or persons while masked or unmasked to place or cause to be placed anywhere in the Commonwealth of Virginia any exhibit of any kind or to commit or cause to be committed any act with the intention of intimidating any person or persons, and thereby preventing them from doing any act which is lawful, or causing them to do any act which is unlawful.

4. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be punished by confinement in the penitentiary for not less than one nor more than five years, or, in the discretion of the jury, by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars and a jail sentence of not more than twelve months.

Joint Memorandum

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212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Frances Levenson

DATE: June 26, 1952

SUBJECT: Illinois Commerce Commission bans segregation by Illinois railroad

On May 14, 1952, the Illinois Commerce Commission ruled that the Illinois Central Railroad must discontinue practices of segregating passengers of the Negro race.

The State's Attorney of Cook County complained to the Illinois Commerce Commission on behalf of a Negro complainant that the Illinois Central was segregating Negro passengers in its trains. The complaint charged that when the complainant, a Negro woman passenger, purchased a coach ticket for travel on July 1, 1950, she was handed a card by a railroad employee which assigned her to a specific car, located at the front end of the train, a long way down the train platform. It was for the exclusive use of Negroes. Although complainant could not find a seat in the car to which she was assigned and there were many empty seats in other coaches, she was prevented from entering these coaches and using one of the empty seats by railroad employees. She was, therefore, compelled to stand for a good part of her trip.

The Illinois Central Railroad did not deny the facts charged, but claimed that the assignment to segregated cars was not compulsory. It maintained, however, that assignments to specific cars were necessary to keep order because the train in question was a non-reserved, heavily loaded train. Furthermore, the railroad claimed it segregated passengers on a racial basis in order to "follow the desires of passengers as expressed to the Illinois Central."

The General Manager of the Northern Lines of the Illinois Central admitted that an orderly loading procedure does not require a system based on color lines. Furthermore, evidence was introduced that every effort was made by the railroad's employees to limit Negroes to the few cars set aside for them, resulting in many instances in Negroes having to stand even though there were empty seats in "white" cars.

In its decision, the Illinois Commerce Commission disposed of the railroad's claim that the car assignments were "merely a suggestion" by pointing out that there was nothing in the cards to indicate that they could be disregarded. This, the Commission found, misled both the passengers and the crew and since train conductors are vested with police power, it is reasonable for passengers to assume that directions given to them by the conductor must be obeyed.

The Commission found that the application of the car card system by the Illinois Central Railroad "subjects Negro passengers to prejudice and disadvantage and discrimination with respect to service because of their race and color" and was, therefore, contrary to the provisions of the Illinois Public Utilities Act and the Illinois Civil Rights Act.

The Illinois Public Utilities Act requires that no public utility shall grant any preference or advantage to any person and that every public utility shall furnish to all persons who shall apply therefor suitable facilities and service without discrimination. The Illinois Civil Rights Act provides that all persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the facilities of "railroads, omnibuses", etc.

The Commission ordered the Illinois Central Railroad to cease and desist from assigning passengers to specific cars in the State of Illinois on the basis of race or color. It also retained jurisdiction of the subject matter and of the parties so that it could enter any further orders it might deem appropriate. This action of the Illinois Commerce Commission is a step forward in the campaign to strike down segregation in transportation facilities. The United States Supreme Court has ruled that segregation in interstate railroad dining cars resulting in discrimination violates the Interstate Commerce Act. Lower federal courts have gone further and held that segregation itself in interstate transportation violates the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. (See joint memorandum dated June 22, 1951). The Federal Interstate Commerce Commission has recently ruled, however, that an instruction by a railroad to its dining car personnel to seat men with women, women with women, whites with whites, and Negroes with Negroes, is valid. This ruling is being appealed to the courts.

In Illinois, as a result of the Illinois Commerce Commission decision, it is clear that segregation is banned. In addition, individual passengers who are segregated in Illinois need no longer initiate legal action, but may complain to the Illinois Commerce Commission. This administrative body is better able to expeditiously adjust cases of discrimination or segregation than is a court.

Pub Accom

Joint Memorandum

HCF

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Frances Levenson and Sol Rabkin

DATE: September 30, 1952

SUBJECT: Harris v. City of Daytona Beach, 105 Fed. Supp. 572

Digest:

Federal District Court for the Southern District of Florida holds that Negroes cannot be refused admission to an auditorium constructed with municipal funds where the jim crow auditorium has inferior physical facilities and artistic, cultural and entertainment performances.

* * * * * * * * *

On June 23, 1952, a declaratory judgment and permanent injunction was issued by the Federal District Court for the Southern District of Florida in a suit brought by a group of Negro citizens and residents of Daytona Beach because they were refused admission to a municipally owned and operated auditorium solely because of their race and color. From the agreed statement of facts it appeared that the city had built and was operating two auditoriums--the Peabody Auditorium in the white section of the city was erected at a cost of $808,182.28, has permanent seats for 2,560 people and customarily features entertainments, recitals, stage plays, musical and vocal concerts and the like. The second auditorium is called the Negro Recreational Center, is located in the Negro section of the city, cost the municipality $72,734.55, has a seating capacity of 1,400 by use of temporary seats, and is used as a gymnasium, for basketball games, etc. A few unsuccessful attempts have been made to feature Negro artists and cultural performances.

The plaintiffs asserted their right to be admitted to the Peabody Auditorium under the "equal protection of the laws" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution and the defendants argued that the Negro Recreational Center provided a "substantially equal" facility.

The Court said:

> Actually, under existing conditions, if one of these Negro plaintiffs wants to see and hear Nelson Eddy, or Lauritz Melchior sing, or the United States Marine Band play, or the Virginia Barter Theatre Players perform, they must go to another state to do so. Yet, right in their own city--a governmental arm of the State of which they are citizens--that City, of which they are also citizens, sponsors public performances by these and similar artists. From these performances they are excluded solely by reason of their color. It seems to me that the clear answer is that they do not enjoy <u>equality in fact</u> in this particular with white citizens.

The Court pointed out that the right of each plaintiff to equal protection of the laws is a personal right and cannot be made "contingent on other Negroes seeking the same right and opportunity." Conceivably it may never be practical or financially possible to offer "similar or substantially equal performances in the Negro Recreational Center." And even if it were, the plaintiffs who demand these opportunities now, "cannot be required to await the acquisition of culture and the price of a ticket by sufficient numbers of their race to make such performances a reality."

The Court thereupon enjoined the city from discriminating against Negroes in admission to the Peabody Auditorium but allowed the defendants a reasonable time to prepare suitable administrative regulations and make necessary structural changes to provide "equal and separate accommodations and equal privileges and opportunities in the use of" the auditorium.

It is interesting to note that whereas the Court held that the plaintiffs cannot be required to await the "acquisition of culture and the price of a ticket" by other Negroes, the injunction as finally issued did defer the plaintiffs' right to be admitted to the auditorium until the city made the necessary alterations to safeguard segregation.

fl-sr/bwl

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

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OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 4, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Ted Leskes

DATE: December 18, 1952

SUBJECT: Second Public Hearing by New Jersey Division Against Discrimination on Charge of Discrimination in a Place of Public Accommodation

Digest: New Jersey Division Against Discrimination, after public hearing, dismisses complaint charging tavern with refusal to serve Negro because of race.

On December 3, 1952, the Division Against Discrimination which enforces the New Jersey Law Against Discrimination handed down its opinion in the case of George Merrit vs. Green Room, Hawaiian Palms.

The case arose from a charge by the complainant that the Green Room of the Hawaiian Palms Tavern in Elizabeth, N. J., had violated the state law by refusing to serve him at the bar because he was a Negro.

The facts established at the hearing were substantially as follows: An employee of the respondent tavern had refused to serve the complainant. In his testimony at the hearing, the employee's explanations of his refusal to serve the complainant were found to be untrue. There was some evidence, however, that the respondent had on occasion served Negro patrons. The proprietor of the respondent tavern testified, in answer to questions, that it was his policy to serve all persons regardless of race. Furthermore, in response to questions, he specifically directed all of his employees in the tavern to follow such a policy in the future.

In his decision, the Commissioner of Education found that there was doubt as to whether or not it was the intent of the respondent to violate the law against discrimination "wilfully and consistently". In his opinion he said: "The Commissioner does not feel that full justice would be done in this case if he rendered a finding in favor of the complainant and against the respondent." The opinion then emphasized the fact that the respondent had directed his employees, including his bartenders, in the presence of the Commissioner "to serve all orderly persons at any time that his establishment was open, regardless of their race, creed or color". Hence, the Commissioner concluded that the complaint should be dismissed though he emphasized in his final decision that "the respondent has stated under oath that he is and in the future will continue to be in accord with the provisions of the Law Against Discrimination insofar as it affects his own place of public accommodation".

One of the defenses argued by the respondent's attorney was that the State Commission Against Discrimination had no jurisdiction since the tavern was licensed under the New Jersey Alcoholic Beverage Control law, which completely regulates the conduct of the bar but is silent with respect to requiring non-

discriminatory service. The Commissioner ruled that the law against discrimination expressly includes bars and taverns within the definition of "place of public accommodation" and, therefore, does not permit the interpretation sought by the respondent. The Commissioner emphasized that the law against discrimination is supported by Article I, Section 5, of the Constitution of the State of New Jersey, and that the contention of the respondent's attorney would result in the denial under the Alcoholic Beverage Control law of rights guaranteed citizens under the New Jersey Constitution. This result is, on its face, improper.

In the press release accompanying the decision, the Assistant Commissioner of Education in charge of the Division Against Discrimination, Joseph L. Bustard, pointed out that more than 200 public accommodations cases had been processed by the DAD since 1949 when its jurisdiction was expanded to include jurisdiction over charges of discrimination in such places. Of this total, 33 were dismissed and 158 were found to be based on probable cause. All but 2 of the 158 were adjusted amicably through conference and conciliation and without recourse to public hearing. The other 2 were processed to the public hearing stage; one is the case described above involving the Hawaiian Palms and the other is the case described in an earlier joint memorandum involving the Hightstown, N. J., swimming pool.

NOT A NEWS STORY

Public Accommodations

Anti-Defamation League
330 Seybold Bldg., Miami, Fla.

Arnold Forster

Joyce S. Zimmerman

December 23, 1952

At Mr. Balkin's request, I am writing to tell you of a recent event in which he thought you would be interested.

On December 14, 1952, the Mt. Sinai Hospital of Miami Beach held their annual Staff Dinner at the Clover Club, which is a popular night spot in the city of Miami.

This was a large meeting with some 100 physicians and their wives, guests, etc. present. I happened to be there since both my father and my escort for the evening are on the Hospital staff.

Included in the group were two Negro doctors who are on the staff of the Hospital which has a Negro out-patient department.

The general atmosphere was very cordial for all and there was no particular attention paid the two Negroes because they were Negro. They were seated at a table in the center of the happenings of the evening along with other hospital staff members and seemed to be enjoying themselves along with the rest of the group.

They were absolutely accepted as professional men and nothing was thought of their color or were they in any way made to feel as if it was an unusual thing for them to be there.

JSZ/s
CC: Oscar Cohen
Alex Miller

Joint Memorandum

Pub Decision

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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327 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 4, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Ted Leskes

DATE: February 12, 1953

SUBJECT: Action for Damages for Violation of New York State Civil Rights Law

Digest: Jury awards substantial money damages under New York Civil Rights Law to Negroes refused resort hotel accommodations after having received confirmation of their reservations.

Four Negro school teachers from Philadelphia, Pa., recently won a judgment totaling $1,000 in a suit they brought in Kingston, N. Y., for damages based upon their having been discriminated against because of their race by a small resort not far from Kingston. Each of the plaintiffs won a jury verdict of $250.00. In addition, those of the plaintiffs who had made special preparations for their vacation, such as the purchase of clothes, etc., won special damages to reimburse them for those expenses.

The four teachers wrote from Philadelphia to Dreamland Farms, a small boarding house resort not far from Kingston, for accommodations. Their reservations were confirmed and a deposit accepted. When they arrived to claim their reservations, they were refused accommodation.

Thereafter, the four Negroes instituted a civil action for damages under the New York State Civil Rights Law in the Supreme Court of New York State sitting in Kingston. They based their suit upon the claim that they were denied accommodation because they were Negroes. The attorney for Dreamland Farms did not enter an affirmative defense, but relied primarily on the belief that a lawsuit by out-of-town Negroes would prejudice the local jury against them. However, the plaintiffs, who were personable and intelligent, and their attorney, who conducted himself with decorum, made an excellent impression on the jury. The defense did not put the defendant resort owner on the stand, and in his summation to the jury, the attorney for the defendant charged that the application for reservations had not been made in good faith but solely for the purpose of bringing a test case. He made this charge without any evidence in the record to support it.

The jury, which consisted almost entirely of Ulster County farmers and their wives, found for the plaintiffs as described above. The fact that a jury, selected from local resort area residents, returned such a verdict in favor of out-of-town plaintiffs, may well be a reflection of the success of the campaign of education that has long been carried on in New York State as to the need for doing away with racial and religious discrimination in places of public accommodation.

Transportation

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
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212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Theodore Leskes and Sol Rabkin

DATE: May 12, 1953

SUBJECT: Whitmore, et al. v. Southern Pacific Co., et al., in the Municipal Court of Los Angeles, Cal. #1,073,629

Digest:

California court refuses to dismiss an action for damages and penalties against interstate railroad based on racial segregation which violates state civil rights law.

* * * * * * * *

On April 7, 1953, Judge Lucius P. Green of the Municipal Court of Los Angeles handed down a decision and opinion in a case involving racial segregation in interstate railroads. Four Negro plaintiffs sued the Southern Pacific for damages and penalties under the California Civil Rights Law on the ground that they were forced by the railroad to occupy space in the jim crow car of the Sunset Limited, while traveling to points in Texas and Louisiana, although they had purchased tickets which could be used by white passengers to occupy space in other cars.

The defendant moved to dismiss the complaint arguing (1) that the railroad is an interstate carrier which travels through states with mandatory racial segregation laws, and that enforcement of the California Civil Rights Law would therefore impose a burden on interstate commerce; (2) that the state court did not have jurisdiction because the railroad is regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the federal courts; and (3) that since there is no federal law prohibiting racial segregation, the railroad has the legal right to impose segregation by rule, regulation or practices, provided equal facilities are afforded. An amici brief was filed on behalf of a group of local civil rights organizations.

Judge Green overruled the motion to dismiss and upheld the validity of the complaint. He quoted sections 51 and 52 of the Civil Code of California which provide:

> All citizens within the jurisdiction of this State are entitled to the full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns...public conveyances... subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all citizens.

and said that the violation charged is "a denial of equal treatment" which "comprehends, in the broader sense, every factor, physical, psychological, or otherwise,

that such denial may conceivably produce." The court held that the railroad could not escape the requirements of the state law by reason of the interstate character of the defendant's operations, pointing out that no burden is imposed on interstate commerce by the California requirement that all passengers be treated equally. The burden imposed results from compliance with the racial segregation laws of Texas and Louisiana and from the rules and regulations voluntarily adopted and enforced by the railroad "in support of the assumed general and public sentiment of the community in which its lines operated."

The opinion then dismissed the argument that federal administrative agencies and federal courts have exclusive jurisdiction over the railroad, stating that this law suit did not involve "the determination of matters calling for the exercise of the regulatory authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission, or relate to subjects over which the Federal Courts possess exclusive jurisdiction."

The court turned finally to the "separate but equal" argument and said:

> In our mind and to our way of thinking upon existing law in this State, the full and equal provisions of the said civil rights sections are not at all satisfied by separate and otherwise equal accommodations. From cases already discussed herein, anything short of a full measure of equality, upon exactly the same conditions and restrictions applicable alike to all other passengers, regardless of race, creed, and color, is an illegal denial of equality.
>
> We clearly observe that judicial decisions in recent years dealing with this subject have progressively developed a different and, we think, a truer concept of the meaning of the Constitution and of the language of civil rights enactments, and have discarded the circumvention that they can be satisfied by an involuntary and coercive denial of equality, evidenced by segregation or in any other discriminatory manner.

The motion to dismiss the complaint was denied and the railroad given ten days to file an answer, after which the case can proceed to trial.

tl-sr/bwl
1

Pub Accom

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE June 22, 1953

SUBJECT Manning, et al. v. Crowl, et al., No. 10,946, decided by the U. S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, June 11, 1953.

Digest:

A Federal District Court enjoins the owner of a motion picture theatre and two local police officials, under the federal civil rights statutes, from enforcing racially segregated seating in the theatre. The Court also assesses damages of $500 against the theatre owner and $50 each against two police officers.

****

On January 11th, 1950, some Negro students from Lincoln University, located near Oxford, Pennsylvania, entered the Oxford movie house in two groups. One group attempted to find seats in a section customarily reserved by the theatre owner for whites, but were prevented by the defendant, H. L. Johnson, a local police officer who was also in the private employment of the theatre owner. The second group of students actually found seats and seated themselves in the section prohibited to them. After about fifteen minutes, during which period no disturbance was created either by the Negro students or the white patrons seated around them, an usher asked them to move to the section reserved for Negroes. They refused. Thereupon, the police officer, Johnson, threatened to secure a warrant of arrest. When the Negroes were not intimidated, Johnson left the theatre and shortly thereafter returned with another police officer, a co-defendant in the action, and arrested the Negro plaintiffs on the basis of a warrant exhibited to them. The students submitted peacefully to the arrest and accompanied the police officers to the station house where they were released without bail to appear two days later at a hearing. The Negro students were discharged by the police court at that subsequent hearing and they commenced this action in the Federal District Court under the federal civil rights statutes against the theatre owner and police officers for depriving them of their rights and privileges under the United States Constitution and the laws of Pennsylvania.

Federal District Court Judge Welsh found for the Negro plaintiffs. He ruled that the practice of racially segregated seating instituted and maintained by the theatre owner, with the help and assistance of the police officers, violated the Pennsylvania Civil Rights Law. The Court also ruled that all three defendants in arresting the plaintiffs because they refused to abide by the segregation policy of the theatre, violated the Federal Civil Rights Law in that the defendants acted "under color of

law" in depriving the Negro plaintiffs of their rights under the Pennsylvania statute. Recognizing that the law suit was a test case, the Judge assessed nominal damages of $500 against the theatre owner and $50 each against the two police officers. More important, however, was the injunction entered by the Court, restraining the theatre owner and the police officers from enforcing the custom and practice of segregating Negroes in the Oxford motion picture theatre.

The Court concluded with the statement:

> Let us hope that a larger measure of toleration all around, permitting the working out of the law of affinity which generally associates persons together as individuals and groups will produce a better understanding and greater good will than compulsion based merely on the pigment under the skin or on creed or nationality.

SR-TL
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Joint Memorandum

Pub Affairs

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386 FOURTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
212 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

nL

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: October 27, 1953

SUBJECT: Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination conciliates complaint of racial discrimination by a Boston restaurant

On October 15, 1953, it was reported that the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination had successfully conciliated a complaint which alleged that a cafe in Boston's theatrical district had illegally refused to serve a Negro because of his color.

Under the terms of the conciliation agreement, the cafe agreed to pay $50.00 damages to the Negro complainant and, in addition, pledged that there would be no discrimination in service in the future because of race, color or religious creed.

The complaint was handled before the state agency enforcing the Massachusetts law against discrimination in employment and in places of public accommodation by Herbert E. Tucker, Jr., counsel for the Boston branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

SR-TL
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ADL SOUTHERN OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W., ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

12-11

Dr. George Mitchell

Alex Miller

Joint Memorandum

Transportation

AM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
212 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: December 4, 1953

SUBJECT: SEGREGATION IN RAILWAY DINING CARS.

DIGEST:

Southern Railway's new rules governing seating of passengers in dining cars providing that they shall be seated in the order of their entrance into the diner.

On Friday, November 13, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. announced that the Department of Justice had been notified by the Southern Railway System that it has adopted new rules governing the service of patrons in dining cars operated by the railroad. The new rules directed conductors and dining car stewards to seat passengers seeking dining car service in vacant seats in the diner in the order of their entrance into the car.

By this new rule, the Southern Railway abandons its long fight to retain some sort of racial segregation in railway diners. Its practice of racial segregation was first attacked by a Negro passenger, Elmer W. Henderson, who brought suit when he was denied service in one of the Southern Railway's dining cars in May of 1942. In his suit, he attacked the practice of the Southern Railway of reserving tables partially or exclusively for Negro dining car patrons, and setting off those tables from the rest of the dining car by curtains or partitions. He had to carry his action to the United States Supreme Court in order to obtain a ruling that this practice denied him the equal treatment guaranteed to all passengers by the Interstate Commerce Act. [Henderson v. U.S., 339 U.S. 816. (1950)]

It is noteworthy that the Department of Justice filed a brief amicus with the United States Supreme Court in support of Henderson's contention. Thereafter, the Southern Railway filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission new rules governing seating of patrons in its dining cars. The new rules, approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission, required that patrons be seated in groups, women with women, men with men, whites with whites, and Negroes with Negroes. The new rule also required that white passengers were to be seated from one end of the dining car, while Negroes were to be seated from the opposite end.

On March 25, 1952, Elmer Henderson again brought an action in the federal courts, attacking the revised rules as still being discriminatory. On May 31,

1952, the United States, a co-defendant with the Southern Railway in Henderson's new suit, filed a confession of error and joined with the plaintiff, Henderson, in seeking to restrain the carrying out of the Southern Railway rule requiring dining car stewards to seat Negroes differently from whites. Thereafter, the attorneys for the Southern Railway indicated that their client was considering a further revision of its rules. When the Southern Railway advised the Department of Justice that it had adopted a new rule, requiring that passengers be seated in the order of their entrance into the diner, the plaintiff, having won his point, indicated his willingness to withdraw the suit. On November 12, the United States District Court for the District of Columbia approved the withdrawal of the suit.

SR:ad

No. 39

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41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. – 523-3391 – ATLANTA, GA. 30303

July 28, 1967

Dear Board Member:

As you know, Ted Freedman has made his official move to Houston. We are sorry, indeed, to lose his dedicated leadership.

We are pleased there will be no gap in responsibility in the Southeastern ADL Office. Irwin Schulman, whom many of you know, is ready to serve you as director. He has the knowledge and background for the job. Our relationship with him, since his assuming the directorship, has been a most positive one. We are sure you will share our confidence in his ability.

This news release will be of interest to you.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Bill Breman Abe Goldstein

M. William Breman Abe Goldstein
National Commission

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Irwin Schulman, former director of the Alabama Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has assumed the directorship of the League's Southeastern office, based in Atlanta. This ADL office serves Georgia, South Carolina and Tennessee. Announcement of Mr. Schulman's appointment was made here today by M. William Breman and Abe Goldstein, National Commissioners of the League.

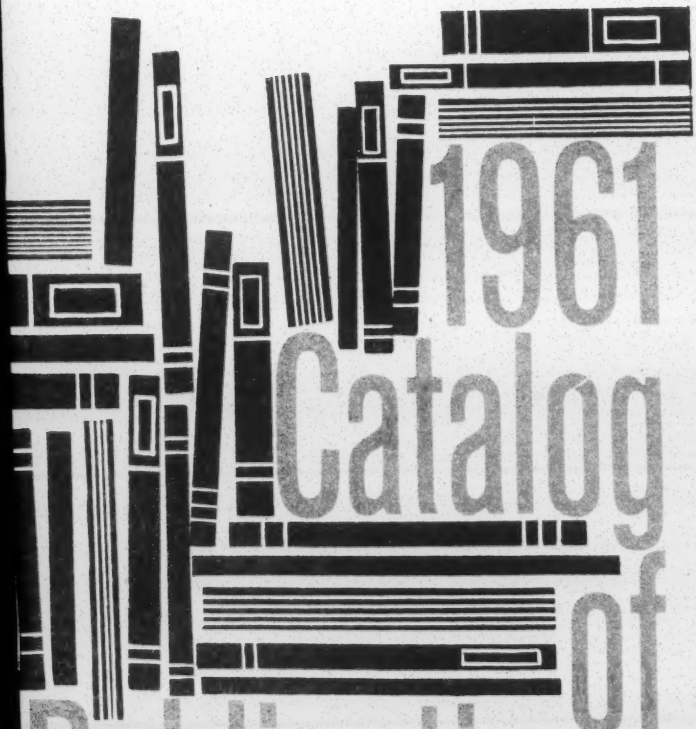
Mr. Breman and Mr. Goldstein expressed pleasure that the new director has a "deep sensitivity to the problems of the South and thorough-going knowledge of the area." The League officials added, "This is a return to Atlanta for Mr. Schulman as in 1956 he served as Assistant Director of the Atlanta office. Many of the distinguished laymen who serve on the Regional Board feel his appointment is a definite asset; long standing relationships will be renewed as well as new ones made in our positive community programs."

Mr. Schulman's responsibilities in the South have ranged over the area. From 1957 to 1964 he was the ADL Director in New Orleans where he worked in the field of intergroup relations in the states of Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi. From 1964 to 1965, he was located in Miami where he directed the ADL Florida Regional Office. In 1966 he was chosen to open a new ADL office in Birmingham.

In addition to having done graduate work and taught at the Universities of North Carolina and Hawaii, Mr. Schulman has traveled extensively, including several trips to Europe and one six month trip around the world. A native of New York City, he earned his BA degree at the University of Delaware.

# # #

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH



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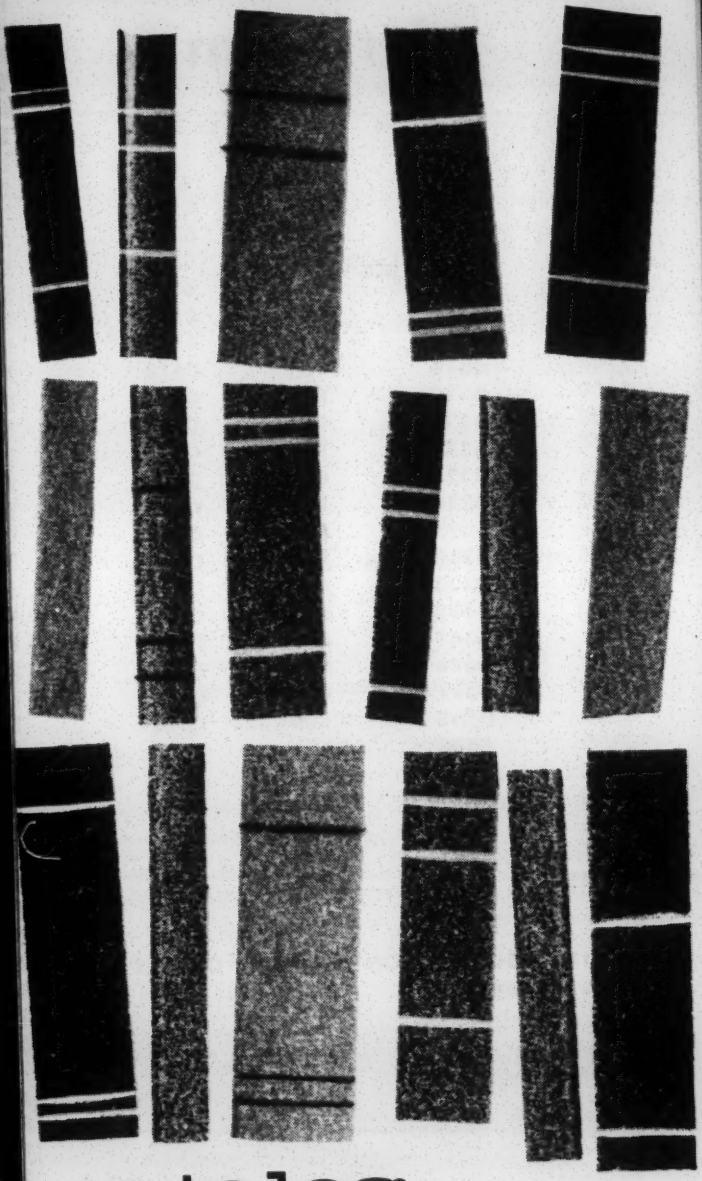

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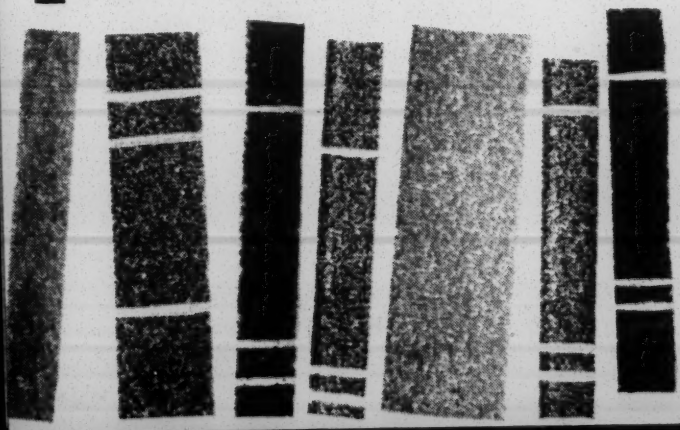


APPALACHIA

Journal-Const 3-1-64

An In-Person View of Poverty In the Mountain Mining Towns

By ROBERT McKEE

THEY CALL IT Appalachia, that 160,000 square miles of eastern United States, where the ugly spectre of poverty has touched the lives of so many of the 15 million people who dwell there. Appalachia certainly needs help. Its inhabitants have seen little of the goods and services that have brought prosperity to so much of the nation.

Robert McKee's column appears regularly in the daily Atlanta Journal.

As a newspaperman I often visited the remote sections in the mountains where wretched living conditions were almost beyond belief. It was hard to understand how human beings existed from one generation to another. And those were the "good old days" when long coal trains thundered through the hollows, and a man could usually find a job, even if it paid no more than $25 or $30 a week.

Eastern Kentucky and southwest West Virginia offered little to the man willing to work 10 hours a day — and they offer even less today. There aren't jobs for the unskilled.

I remember talking to a sheriff in West Virginia who took the position there was nothing wrong in a man making a "little licker" if he was hard pressed to support a family.

LAY-OFFS

"I wouldn't cut a man off his living," said the sheriff. "They've started lay-offs in the coal mines, so how else can a man provide for his family?"

For a shocking look at hard times one had only to visit a mountain cabin. The front yard was usually littered with broken glass and worn-out automobile tires. Wooden steps to the front porch needed repair and the living room fireplace provided heat for cooking.

In one of these cabins I saw a child in shoes made from remnants of carpet. Nowadays hundreds of these children have no shoes for school wear — so the children don't go to school. These families receive no mail — except perhaps letters from kinsmen who through good fortune have found jobs in Pittsburgh, Knoxville, Birmingham, Cincinnati or Norfolk.

UNUSUAL

In many of these homes it is unusual for the children to possess pencils, writing pads, crayons or even toys. Somehow they reach adulthood without a steady diet of milk, and disease is rampant.

In Ieager, W.Va., I talked with a high school student who said his greatest ambition was "to get out of this place" and find a good job on "the outside." The banker told me there were only three bathtubs in the town that had more than 500 inhabitants.

This was a "coal town" tucked between two tall mountains, and almost every man wore a miners' lamp on his cap.

President Johnson's war on poverty could find an excellent beginning place in the mountain coves where more than half the people are on the rolls for government surplus food.

On a television program the other night was a man of 76, who said there was no point in suggesting that he move to another community. "At my age, how could I get a job?" he asked. "My wife and two sons are buried here and I plan to spend the remainder of my days right here."

It's a big problem, and President Johnson is aware that words alone won't solve it. He needs the help of all in making plans to banish poverty.

Journal-Const. (Ga + Appalachian - Ga.)
3-1-64

PEOPLE IN W

Prosperity? Tell It

By BILL SHIPP
Constitution State News Editor

"Georgians last year made more money and bought more new cars than ever before, eclipsing previous highs by wide margins . . . Total income increased by $584 million . . . Per capita income jumped . . ."

—News Item.

That's wonderful news, but—

Tell it to 167,751 Georgians who in January depended upon public welfare checks for survival.

Tell it to an additional 32,860 able-bodied Georgians depending on short-term unemployment benefits for help.

Tell it to the added thousands whose unemployment insurance expires every week, and to the untabulated unknown numbers who are out of work and don't qualify for aid.

Tell it to one of every four farm families in 131 Georgia counties who have a total income of less than $2,000 every year.

Tell it to north Georgia's 35-county Appalachian Region where the largest monthly payroll is "Public Assistance."

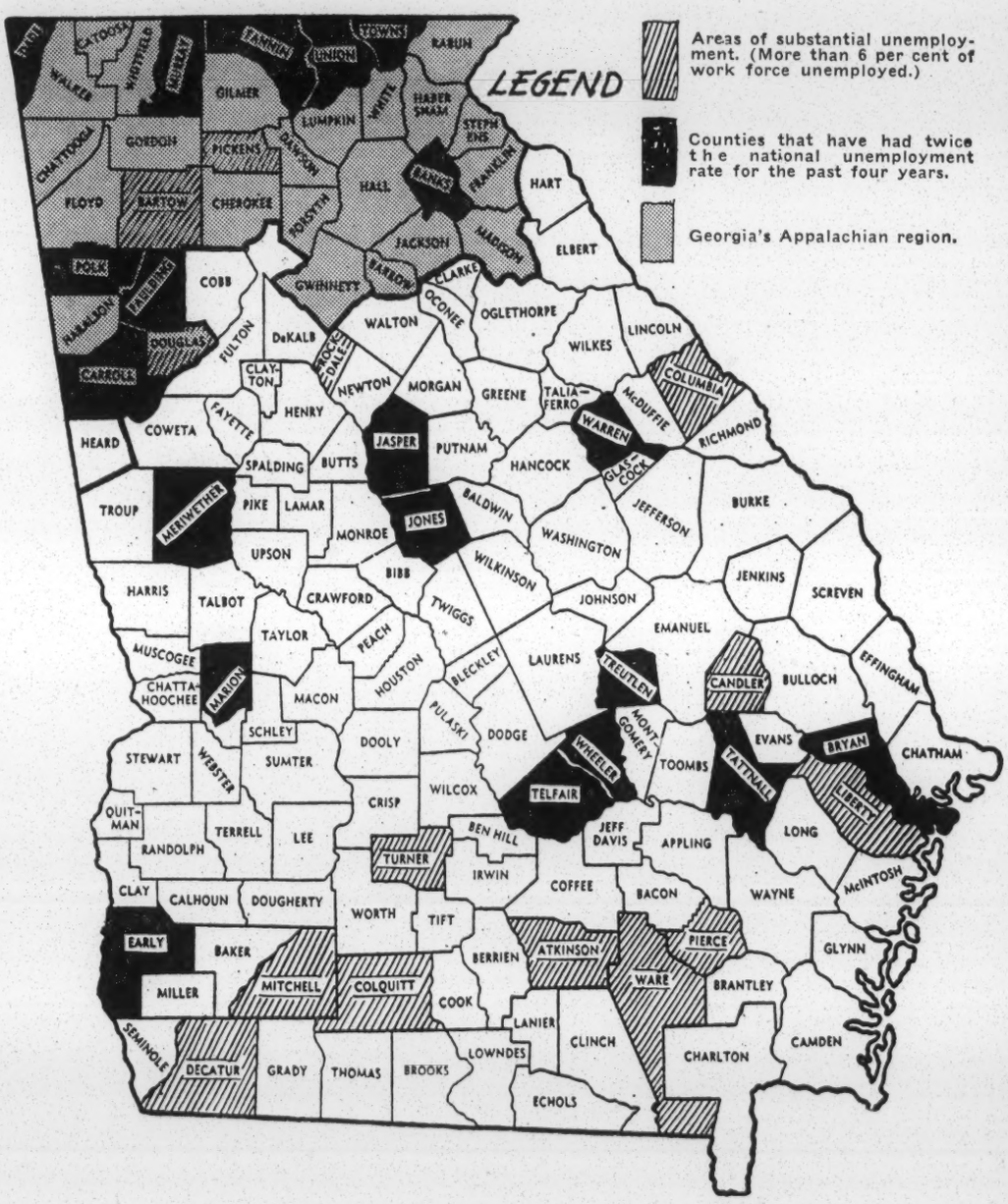
Tell it to the 23,031 residents of prospering Fulton County who look to the Department of Family and Children Services to keep them alive.

Tell it to the unskilled, the illiterate, the man over 45 — many of whom have been written off by welfare and labor agencies as "disemployed" — hopeless cases.

Tell it to the Negro college graduate who has to work as a common laborer because there is no other work for him.

Prosperity to these people is only something to be read about in the newspapers, gawked at in the department store window or seen flashing down the highway.

Nowhere is the state's paradox of poverty and prosperity more striking than in the abundant hills of Georgia.



MAP SHOWS AREA OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN GEORGIA
Stark Figures Reflect Desperation of Thousands

Thirty counties in north Georgia, sandwiched around and between thriving urban areas, are included in an extensive study of poverty being carried out by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission.

Other states included in the study are Alabama, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia.

While poverty in Appalachia, Georgia, may not be as extensive as, say, in the coal fields of Kentucky, the region still is a dark spot on the face of shimmering prosperity.

In Appalachia, Georgia (a region rich in natural resources and scenic grandeur):

Taxpayers spent $1,471,678 during January for welfare assistance. A total of 32,492 persons (out of a population of 675,000) drew an average of about $45 each from their department of Family and Children Services in January.

Fourteen Appalachia counties are listed by the U.S. Labor Department as areas of substantial unemployment — at least 6 per cent of the

all toolroom equipment.
FORFMAN
Freeman Finance & Finance Co., Lee St., SW, Atlanta, Ga.
MANAGER (restaurant) and man.
area, with pay range of $480-$500. Contact Florida State Board of Health,

VANT---NO. 1

to These Georgians

work force is out of work. Eleven of these are listed as areas of "substantial and persistent unemployment."

One county, Banks, has an unemployment rate of 20 per cent. Eleven of these counties have experienced more than double the average national unemployment rate for four years or more.

"Mercy, mister, Bob ain't worked since 1960 when the snow ruined the chicken house. Prices was so low you couldn't make anything anyway. . . . No, we don't get no help from anybody. His wife works down at the mill, he tries to get odd jobs, and I keep the children."

The figures stand for people and each person faces a special problem.

This Lumpkin County grandmother was explaining how her son and his wife had "come up against it" since plummeting prices and the winter blizzard of 1960 put many small poultry farmers out of business.

"What we need around here is some work for the men to do," said the storekeeper's wife in Auraria — site of the nation's first gold rush.

Statistics in the Lumpkin County welfare office show that more than three-fourths of the families in Auraria are on the welfare rolls.

Most of the able-bodied men specialize in "odd jobs" and pulpwood cutting. There is little else for them to do.

The new industries that have moved into this northeast Georgia has been garment plants and the like. Women are employed in these.

"We're thankful for that," said the storekeeper's wife. "But we still need something for the men to do."

Auraria, in the middle of a once thriving gold field and among hills still rich in pulpwood, symbolizes much of Appalachia's poverty.

Staff Photo—Charles Pugh

AURARIA ONCE WAS BOOMING TOWN, DURING GOLD RUSH DAYS
If Men Were Trained for Skilled Work, It Could Boom Again

If the community's menfolk could be trained for skilled work to carry on — and if the people would stop moving away, Auraria, or Knucklesville as it was known in its days of prosperity, might again be a center of wealth in the hills.

Various state and federal agencies are working to retrain and re-develop Appalachia and other poverty-hit portions of Georgia.

Nearly every county in the area is eligible for federal aid under the Area Redevelopment Program, the Accelerated Public Works Program and-or the Manpower Development and Training Act.

All these programs are designed to stimulate the economy and give the umemployed worker a new lease on life.

But welfare and labor experts privately admit that even if all the recovery programs were 100 per cent successful, there would remain a large hard core of unemployment and total poverty.

"Any man over 45 who is unemployed will have a hard time getting retrained and getting back to work again," said one rehabilitation worker. "It's a hard fact — but we have to write a lot of those off the list as unreachable."

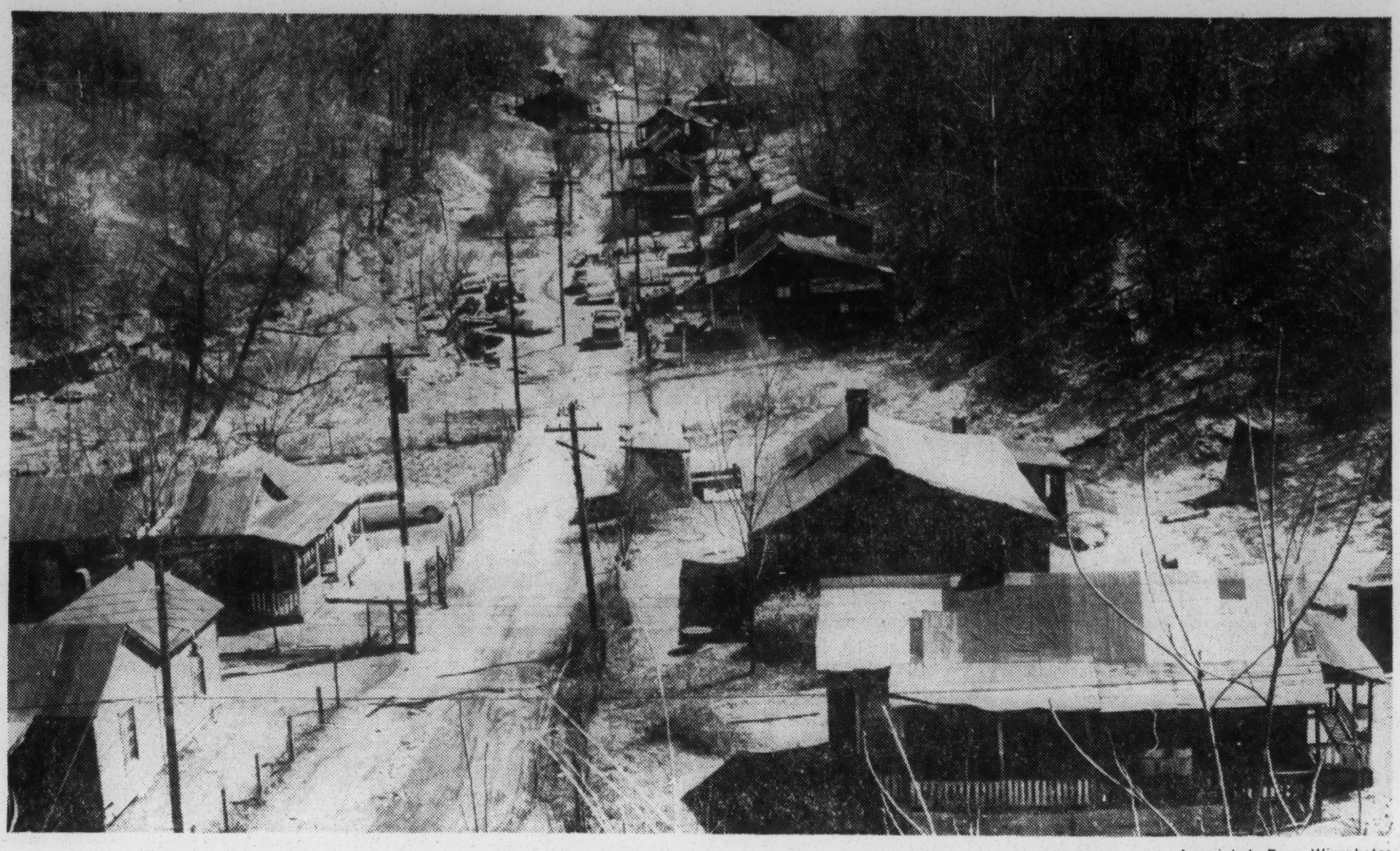
Most training programs require that the recipient be abel to read and write. Many cannot.

And there is little that can be done for the mentally retarded. "What we really need to do is put the emphasis on the children and get them trained and started right," says one case worker.

Appalachia's problems may be among Georgia's most striking. But poverty is not limited to the mountains by any means.

Almost incredible conditions of poorness exist within the shadow of the state Capitol. Urban areas, such as Atlanta, are overburdened with rural families displaced by farm machines who have come to town only to find that the city has no place for them either.

Monday in The Constitution: "You could give this man a million dollars and he wouldn't be any better off."



Associated Press Wirephotos

ONCE A BIG MINE CAMP, THIS COMMUNITY NOW JUST GROUP OF ROTTING SHACKS AND RUSTING AUTOMOBILES
Blue Grass Hollow Typical of Many Once-Thriving Areas Hit by Automation and Decreased Coal Production

HAZARD, KY. 3-8-64 Journal-Const.

The Heart of Appalachia

EDITOR'S NOTE — President Johnson says he's going to attack povery, with special emphasis on that mountainous stretch of land known as Appalachia. This report, by a reporter who took a first-hand look at some of the area, shows how difficult the battle will be.

By ARTHUR EDSON

HAZARD, Ky., March 7 (AP) — Rain fell steadily, drearily on those waiting in line for their government food stamps in this mountain coal mining town.

Arvin Bishop, 29, father of two, was first in line. He wore a jaunty sweat shirt bearing the words, "Alpha Epsilon Phi." This is a college sorority, with chapters on 52 campuses.

Bishop, an odd jobs man who picked up the shirt in a gift of surplus clothing, never got past the seventh grade.

"Haven't had a job of any kind in four months," he said.

Not one in the stamp line this dismal day had gone beyond grammar school.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON has declared war on poverty.

"We shall not rest until that war is won," Johnson told Congress.

"The richest nation on earth can afford to win it. We cannot afford to lose it."

So he outlined a program that will cost billions. And he picked one of the brightest young stars in the Democratic party, Sargent Shriver of the Peace Corps, to head the drive. To emphasize the importance of the position, Shriver will sit in on cabinet meetings.

POVERTY'S CHILD
Darrel Gibson, 5

agrees this cycle must be broken.

But how?

Will a stepped-up federal program really make much headway in helping the fifth of the nation that, in Johnson's words, "is ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed"?

Or is this, as Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., believes, the worst approach to the problem, being nothing but "the Santa Claus of the free lunch, the government handout"?

the hollow. Some of his food he got by hunting or trapping, some from a cleared-out patch along the creek. He got cash wherever he could, by selling skins, by working in the sawmills that dot these hills, or, if tradition is reliable, by moonshining.

If he didn't have much, well he didn't need much.

BUT EVEN in these tired old hills times have changed. He or his wife expect a few modern conveniences. His shack may be wired for electricity, which means his wife needs a washing machine.

Of course they need a car.

If you wonder where old cars go to die, look at eastern Kentucky.

Nearly every house, no matter how tumbledown, not only has a jalopy or two parked in front, but also has the bodies of deceased automobiles scattered untidily about.

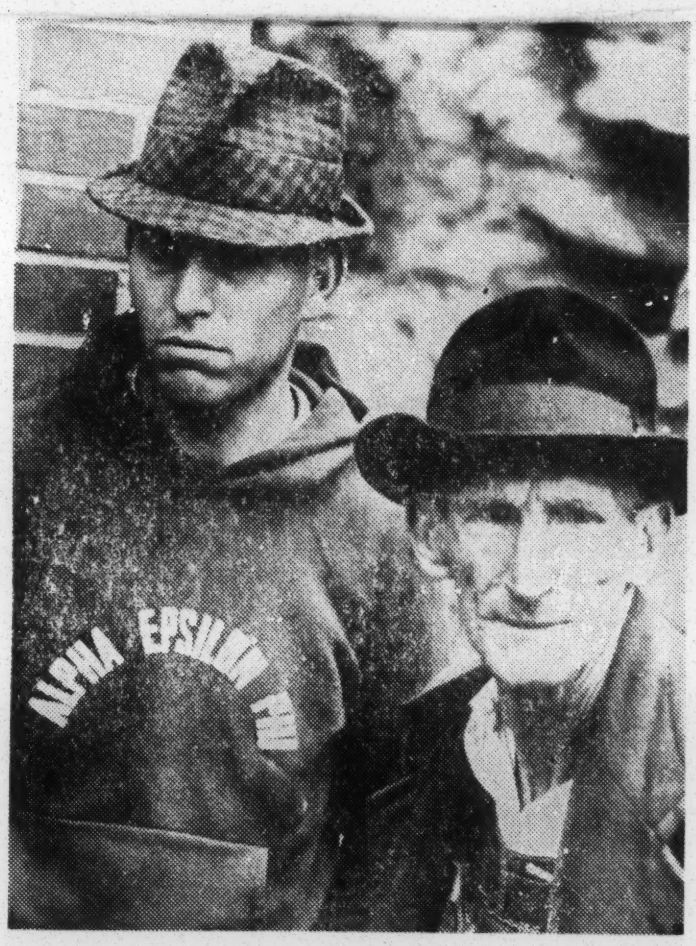
Coal is the hero and the villain of this area. From Appalachia comes all the nation's anthracite and two-thirds of its soft coal.

BUT COAL has come upon hard times.

Within 10 years production dropped 32 per cent. Because of mechanization what happened to human beings is even more startling. Two out of every three coal miners lost their jobs, and the mines employ 240,000 fewer men than they did a decade ago.

R. H. Kelly — sometimes known as "Auger" Kelly—can best explain these changes.

His company runs a giant, seven-feet auger, the largest single production unit in the industry, that bores into a vein and extracts 15 tons of coal a minute. That's as much



TWO FACES IN FOOD STAMP LINE AT HAZARD, KY.
Arvin Bishop (L) Wears Surplus Sorority Sweater

and although it takes an additional crew to get everything cleared for the monster, the savings in manpower are impressive if you like efficiency, depressive if you're a miner out of work.

"SEVENTY-FIVE per cent of those who are unemployed will never work again," Kelly said. "Why? Because they have found an easy way of life without working. They'd rather take relief money than take a job. They have worked so hard to get on that list they aren't

and welfare checks into a $405 monthly income.

Even if the mines weren't mechanized, Kelly insists, it would still be difficult to find workers.

"These young bucks won't go into the mines with a shovel any more," he said. "They won't do anything where you can't pull a lever or turn a steering wheel."

FOR A DIFFERENT view, let's move on to the government employment office. Its manager, W. A. Ritchie, fig-

the words, "Alpha Epsilon Phi." This is a college sorority, with chapters on 52 campuses.

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All this sounds dramatic, yet Johnson himself warned that it will be no short or easy struggle.

NO MATTER where you go, whether through city slums or up the hollows of eastern Kentucky, these facts are inescapable:

—Ignorance breeds poverty, poverty breeds ignorance, and they are so tightly bound one can't be separated from the other.

—Within 10 years automation has made such giant strides that there is practically no market for the man with a strong back but little education or skills.

—At a time when high technical competence is demanded, around a million youngsters drop out of school each year, unaware of, or indifferent to, the stark truth that this means they may never hold anything higher than the most menial jobs — and will be lucky to get these.

—To many Americans relief is no temporary thing, but a way of life.

Their parents got it.

They get it.

Their children will get it.

EVERYONE, from welfare workers to business men to politicians of every hue, agrees this cycle must be broken.

But how?

Will a stepped-up federal program really make much headway in helping the fifth of the nation that, in Johnson's words, "is ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed"?

Or is this, as Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., believes, the worst approach to the problem, being nothing but "the Santa Claus of the free lunch, the government handout"?

This is an election year, and controversy will swirl around poverty, its cause and its cure. Politicians will speak loudly and confidently even though no other issue will be more complex or more difficult.

SINCE in a democracy it is essential to understand what the shouting is all about, and since some of the shouting is designed to confuse rather than to enlighten, let's take a close look at a major battleground of the war on poverty.

"We will launch a special effort in the chronically distressed areas of Appalachia," Johnson said.

Appalachia is a vast, mountainous area angling 800 miles southwest from upper Pennsylvania down into Georgia and Alabama.

Hazard (population 5,958) is in the heart of it, with most of the problems, doubts and aspirations of the entire region.

ARVIN BISHOP, waiting in the rain for his food stamps, represents a long standing problem, the so-called hillbilly.

Unlike the city slums, unlike the deep South, race is not a primary problem here.

For generations the hillbilly —he often is of the purest Anglo-Saxon stock—has lived up

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Four men run the machine,

TWO FACES IN FOOD STAMP LINE AT HAZARD, KY.
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and although it takes an additional crew to get everything cleared for the monster, the savings in manpower are impressive if you like efficiency, depressive if you're a miner out of work.

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Kelly says he knows of one man, with a wife, five children and a mother-in-law living in a nearby shack, who parlayed various government pensions and welfare checks into a $405 monthly income.

Even if the mines weren't mechanized, Kelly insists, it would still be difficult to find workers.

"These young bucks won't go into the mines with a shovel any more," he said. "They won't do anything where you can't pull a lever or turn a steering wheel."

FOR A DIFFERENT view, let's move on to the government employment office. Its manager, W. A. Ritchie, figures around one of every four workers are unemployed. Oddly, some jobs go begging, chiefly because they require more skills than any applicant has.

Both the state and federal governments try to train men and women, as everything from short order cooks to TV repairmen to beauty operators to forestry aides.

You'll get some ideas of the enormity of the problem from this:

Five new training programs were started recently.

"In two weeks we screened at least 1,000," Ritchie said.

"We accepted 100, which filled the courses."

Ritchie sees no immediate solutions for the unemployed.

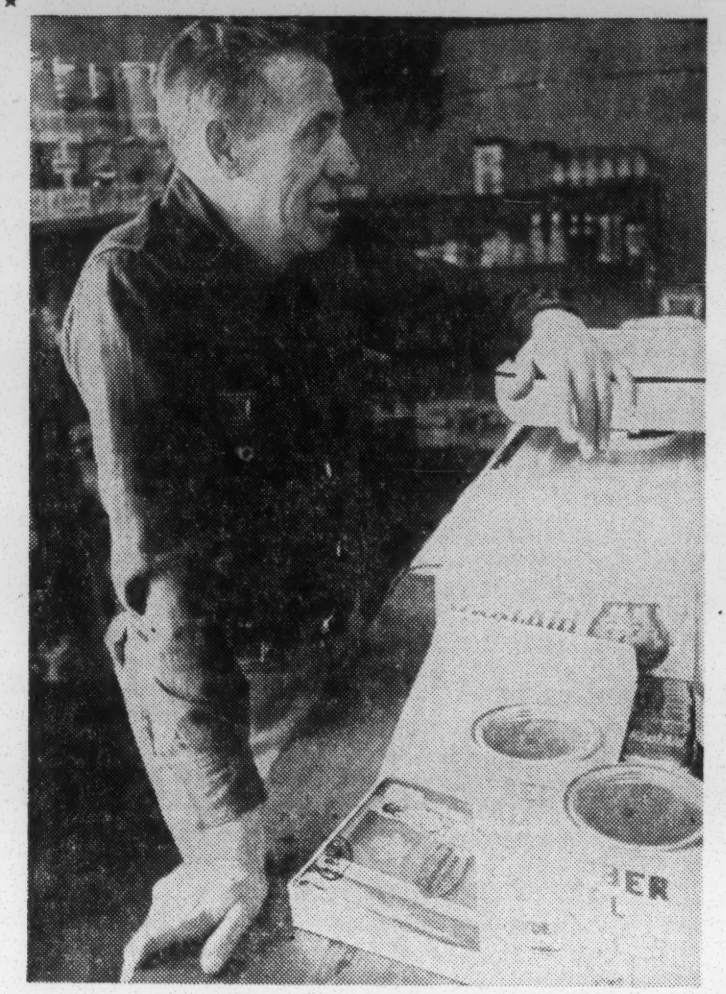
"I know they need jobs," he said. "And I know they're not going to get them for awhile. What grieves me is all this wasted labor when there's so many things to be done."

BUT THE PICTURE can be overdrawn. This isn't like the great depression when the whole economy was threatened. Poverty and prosperity coexist so cozily that few know or care how the other group lives.

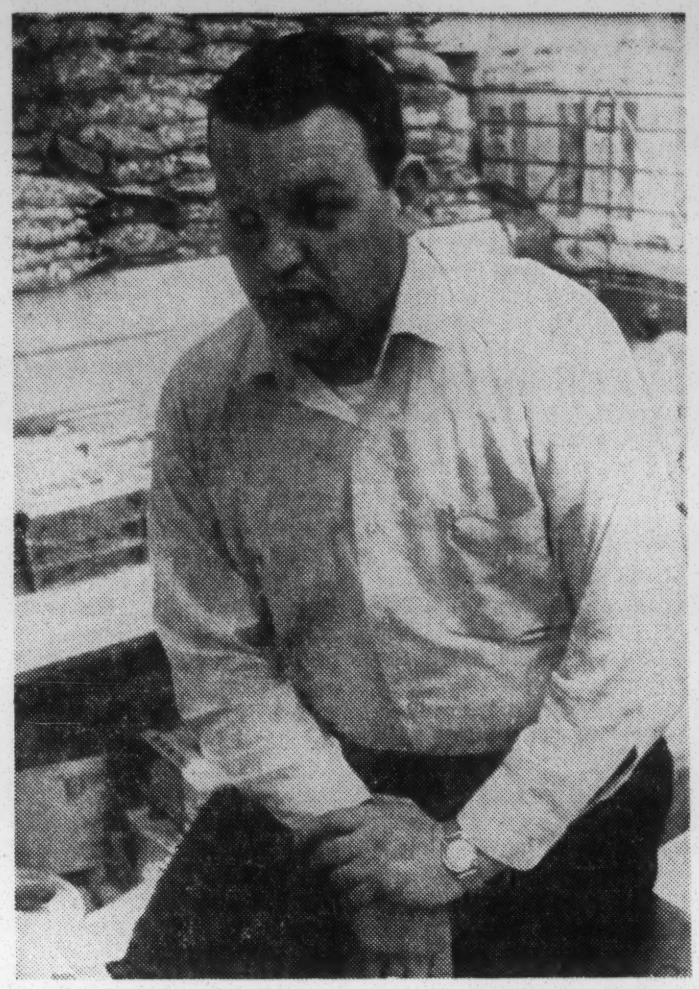
Hazard is on the north fork

HIS AUGER THREW MANY MINERS OUT OF WORK
R. H. 'Auger' Kelly Says Most Don't Want Work

Turn to Page 4B.



CLARENCE E. BAKER OWNS STORE IN THE MOUNTAINS
'They Go and Stay Awhile. Then They Come Back'



Associated Press Photos

FOOD STAMPS KEEPING THIS MERCHANT GOING
He's Bill Perry, Descendant of Naval Hero

The Best Left and Stayed

Continued from Page 1B.

of the Kentucky River, and its downtown follows the river as it makes an S (through the valley. This creates a special problem, for, when the river rises, merchants may find themselves up to their waists in floodwater.

A large sign at the rear of Don Fouts' restaurant reads: "We need flood control." Huge pctures show the business district peering forlornly out of the water.

Despite floods, despite unemployment, Fouts has steadily enlarged his restaurant. Last year, he did the biggest business ever. His meals, by the way, match the better big city restaurants, both in quality and in what he charges for them.

Fouts does well despite one point that must always be remembered: This area exports not only coal but people.

EVERY COUNTY on the eastern Kentucky border lost population between 1950 and 1960. Perry County, of which Hazard is the county seat, dropped from 46,566 to 34,961, a staggering 24.9 per cent loss. Hazard itself dwindled by more than a thousand.

Some were starved out, but, more significantly, its best young people left to get good educations — and never came back.

"We have professional people in Louisville, Lexington and Cincinnati," Fouts said. "I guess we've turned out 100 engineers and doctors. One of the interns at the Dallas hospital where President Kennedy was taken after he was shot is from here."

With his business prosperous, Fouts faces his future, and Hazard's, confidently.

"We take floods with a grain of salt," he said. "Didn't anybody ask us to be on a river bank. In 1948, I bought a plot in the cemetery and put me a marker up. In other words, I don't intend to live anywhere other than here.

"We're not the least bit pessimistic about the future—but the present is pretty rough."

POOR PEOPLE don't patronize good restaurants, but they do buy groceries, so let's move along to the H&P Supermarket, handily across the street from the office where food stamps are passed out.

It is owned and managed by Bill Perry, great-great-grandson of Oliver Hazard Perry, the naval officer who defeated the British in the 1813 Battle of Lake Erie.

The nation, poverty-stricken at the time, gave Perry and his men land in this area. Both the town (Hazard) and the county (Perry) are named for him.

Perry says that since food stamps were introduced in this county last April his business has increased by a third.

"I tell you that if it weren't for food stamps," he said, "very few merchants would be doing anything."

AND NOW the time has come to visit one of Kentucky's famed hollows.

Seldon Davidson, an H&P customer, has come with three of his neighbors in a pickup truck from the country community of Saul, Ky.

All are issued food stamps once a month, but they must come to town to get them. Because mountains and a lake block any short path, this is a 52-mile drive each way. Davidson pays a token $2 and gets $72 in stamps. They are as good as money and he can spend them anywhere.

Davidson, 35, with seven children, never got farther than the sixth grade. "My father was sick, so I had to work to support the family."

He works in stave mills, lumber mills — wherever he can. "I get a day every now and then," he said.

Several years ago, he started preaching, but he still has his amateur standing. The Mount Paran Baptist Church, organized in 1895, is too poor to pay its pastor, but it does give Davidson $5 a month to light the stove and warm the church on Sundays.

To reach Davidson's cabin you park on the gravel road, go down a muddy path to a plank bridge across Leatherwood Creek and then climb the slippery bank on the other side.

Here you are enthusiastically greeted by Drum, a frisky, reddish coonhound.

The cabin, picturesque from the outside, has a low ceiling, and on this rainy day it is dark and oppressive inside. Nine people live in three small rooms, so cluttered with broken furniture you wonder how they move about.

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MRS. DAVIDSON looks old and discouraged.

Following the usual pattern, Ollie Jean, 16, left school in the eighth grade. She looks embarrassed and ashamed at the arrival of a reporter and photographer.

Despite some nasty coughs, the younger children are gay and bright eyed.

One can't help wondering: Is there no way for them to escape this endless chain of poverty?

The answer is yes, but the odds are against it. Bobby, 15, is going by bus to high school. Davidson agrees with eminent welfare scholars that in the long run education is the only solution.

He hopes to keep Bobby in school, but it's hard to scrape up enough money for such things as shoes and books. There also is a tuition charge of $5 a month. He hasn't been able to pay this, but no one has pressed him for it.

DAVIDSON RAN his hand through his dark hair and said thoughtfully:

"I'm down and out, but some is even lower than I am."

Statistics are hard to pin down.

Go to the unemployment office and talk with Rita Dixon.

Her husband, Ray, teaches seventh grade in one of the poorer sections in the town of Harlan. She had him ask his pupils what they planned to do. Three - fourths of them looked forward to the great day when they were 16 and they could legally drop out of school.

MRS. DIXON comes from a coal mining family. When the mines closed, her three brothers scattered, to Indiana, to Arizona, to Florida.

Her comment is a lament for much of rural America:

"Those who have 'get up and go' have gone."

Clarence E. Baker, who runs a small grocery store near Big Stone Gap, Va., puts it this way:

"Yes, they go up to Ohio and stay awhile, and then they come back. They come back. It's hard to get the mountains out of these people."

RALPH

4-13-64

McGILL

A Thing Blind And Ruthless

WASHINGTON, D.C.: President Johnson's demand for war against poverty and the emphasis given the misery and hopelessness of the Southern Appalachians was greeted by some with cynicism. "Why," they asked, "all this sudden need for relief of the mountain people?"

It is not a new need. It is an old need, long documented with grief and suffering.

In 1912 Horace Kephart, after a decade of life and research in the Appalachians, concluded his book, "Our Southern Highlanders," with a plea:

"Here is where the nation at large is summoned by a solemn duty. And it should act quickly, because commercialism (of natural resources) exploits and debauches quickly. . . ."

It has been 52 years since Kephart urged quick action.

Thomas Wolfe came out of the Great Smokies to become one of the best known novelists of the 1920s. There was in him the mountain man's passionate feeling for the land and its people. In "The Hills Beyond," he wrote:

Tragic Changes

"Some changes had occurred . . . but for the most part they were the tragic ones. The great mountain slopes and forests had been ruinously detimbered; the farm-soil on hillsides had eroded and washed down; high up, upon the hills, one saw the raw scars of old mica pits, the dump heaps of deserted mines. Some vast destructive "Suck" had been at work here; it was evident that a huge compulsive greed had been at work; the whole region had been sucked and gutted, milked dry, denuded of its primeval treasures, something blind and ruthless had been here, grasped and gone."

The real rape of the Southern Appalachians did not actually

RALPH

McGILL

5-6-64

The President And Poverty

President Johnson's briefings had prepared him for the spectacle of poverty in the Appalachian region. But what he saw shocked him. It is not possible to describe the abject conditions created by long years of want and deprivation. Nor is one able to catch it with a camera.

To be sure, the picture of gaunt children in filthy rags, their stomachs swollen from the diseases of malnutrition, hammers at one's conscience and emotions.

But to comprehend the meaning of poverty requires the witnessing of the eye. To be poor is one thing. But to be imprisoned in all that is meant by the semantics of the word poverty is quite another thing.

As some millions of American soldiers learned in the second World War, the poverty of Asia and Africa had to be seen, smelled, and viewed as a daily experience by those involved to be believed. We do not like to admit it, but there is in the vast American slums of our cities a condition of human poverty which almost — but not quite — matches that of the nations where famine and neglect have been the lot of persons across the span of hundreds of years. No person who has not smelled the stink of this condition and seen those involved from day to day can believe that it exists. In the United States we have somewhat dulled the edge of it by the use of surplus commodity foods and relief. But it is a major problem for this country.

Petulant Critics

The petulant critics say that poverty is being made a political issue. It is. But let us be honest enough to admit that political, or governmental, neglect

Tragic Changes

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The real rape of the Southern Appalachians did not actually begin until the 1950s, almost 30 years after Wolfe was appalled by the ruin already inflicted. In this latter period coal was ripped out by bulldozers and huge steel scoops. In addition the auger method undercut hills. Gigantic, night-marish borers, more than six feet in diameter, cut into coal seams. Many of these operations went on night and day until the coal was exhausted. Mud filled the valleys. This mud will not be stopped until it reaches the Mississippi Delta. Taxpayers pay the cost of dredging navigable rivers and removing vast mud flats. The fish are gone from the streams.

Between 1950 and 1960 more than half the remaining farms were abandoned. Livestock has all but vanished.

Lewis' Union

Today men and women curse coal. John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers, unable to pay the pensions and maintain wage scales in the many "dog hole" mines, is hated where once it was loved. Lewis himself, once a hero, is in many places a part of the curse on coal. In the autumn of 1962 the United Mine Workers abandoned the Cumberland Plateau. The heavy rains of the last two years have wrought new havoc. Today, perhaps 70 per cent of the inhabitants are on relief.

It was inevitable, of course, that human erosion would equal that of the earth itself. Thousands have left the mountains. Neighboring states are used to the sight of jalopy cars loaded with the shabby, defeated men and women who roam about seeking work.

The high school graduates annually leave the region. It is rare that a third of the class will remain. Most of these are girls who cannot leave home situations, or who fear to try for a place in the outside world.

Nowhere in America is there more desperate poverty—more hopelessness. It is matched in some of the city and rural slums. But the Southern Appalachians are a sub region—larger than New England in area. Five million Americans live there in dire need.

(This is the last of a series of three articles on the background of the Southern Appalachians.)

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Petulant Critics

The petulant critics say that poverty is being made a political issue. It is. But let us be honest enough to admit that political, or governmental, neglect of poverty across a long span of years now makes it a necessary objective of government.

It — poverty — is there. It will not go away. It is, and has been, increasing at a glacier-like speed. Most of those contained in it are functionally illiterate. They lack skills, or their skills (like those of coal mining) have become obsolete. Many have become functionally inoperative as contributive human beings. Many are too old to be retrained for other jobs. (Industry today rarely is able to hire men at ages of 50 and over.)

This deteriorating human condition has been known for at least 30 years. The people of Erskine Caldwell's "Tobacco Road" were real persons as was their condition of life. This is not an emotional analysis. The people are there — and so are the children. Most, but not all, of the able have left. What we have is a residue. Do we continue to ignore it? Or do we attempt to do something about it? Is it emotionalism to ask that a civilized nation do this? Shall we cry "politics" and refuse to accept the facts and the obligation involved?

A Failure

Here we see starkly highlighted the failure of the American conservative of the Goldwater and right-wing variety. In 1932 a frightened and understandably bewildered Herbert Hoover proposed "rugged individualism" as a solution to the vast depression which had come so swiftly and was, as he saw, worsening. Senator Goldwater, if one understands him, seems to have suggested that the problem of poverty and unemployment would be solved if the people would but go to work.

The conservative of this school cannot bring himself to admit that federal programs, conceived and administered by the government, are necessary.

The senator knows full well that local government cannot begin to do what must be done. It is not a good idea to have conservatism equated with neglect of human misery on a vast scale. Yet, this is what is happening in the opposition to the plan to do something about poverty in America.

SUNDAY, MAY 10, 1964 J-C

Place of Contrasts

APPALACHIA POOR AMID GREAT RICHES

By RICHARD F. NEWCOMB
Associated Press Staff Writer

Appalachia is a strange place —a huge pocket of poverty in the heart of the world's richest area.

It is the East's principal mountain chain, and contains breath-taking vistas at every hand. It has plenty of water—most of it foul—and it supplies two-thirds of the nation's coal.

It is a vast area—165,000 square miles, ten times the size of Switzerland—running from Erie, Pa., to Birmingham, Ala.

And it contains 15.3 million people—by and large the poorest people in the nation.

Geographically, Appalachia encompasses all of one state—West Virginia — and parts of nine others — Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. The eyes of the nation are on it.

President John F. Kennedy first focused attention on Appalachia. He discovered the depth of poverty there when he was campaigning for the presidency, and later appointed the President's Appalachian Regional Commission (PARC). After the assassination, President Johnson ordered the commission to continue its work. The report of the commission, headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. and including representatives of the states in the region, presented a stark picture of life in Appalachia. It also recommended a long-range federal-states program to cost billions of dollars.

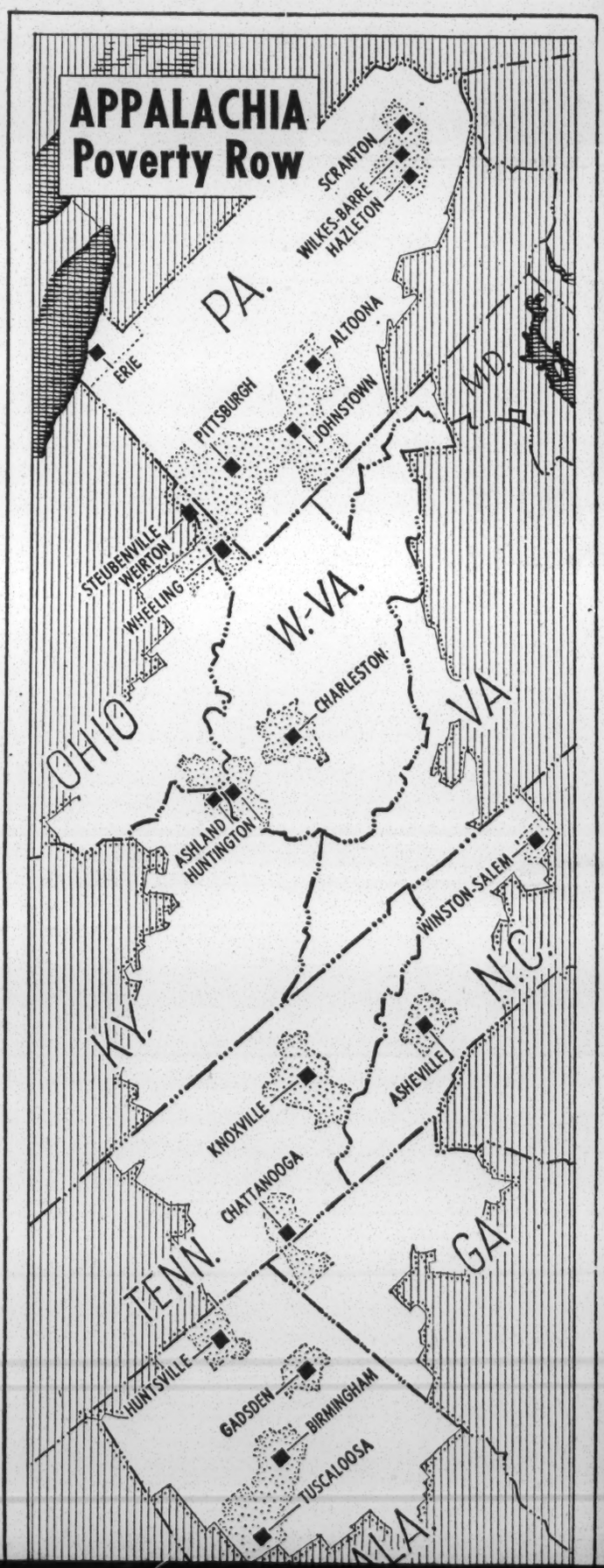
President Johnson wasted no time. He visited parts of Appalachia, talked with some of the people there, and said these things:

He has declared "unconditional war on poverty" and the goal is "total victory."

"We are not going to rest until unemployment is out of date . . . in every American city."

"For the first time in our history an America without hunger is a practical prospect, and it must — it just simply must — be done."

For every man there must be



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"For the first time in our history an America without hunger is a practical prospect, and it must — it just simply must — be done."

For every man there must be "a little house with a picture on the wall and a rug on the floor and music in the home."

Then he returned to Washington and four days later sent to Congress a proposal to get the Appalachia program under way with "the urgency and the need that is so plainly written on the faces of Appalachian citizens."

For the first year, starting July 1, he asked $280 million.

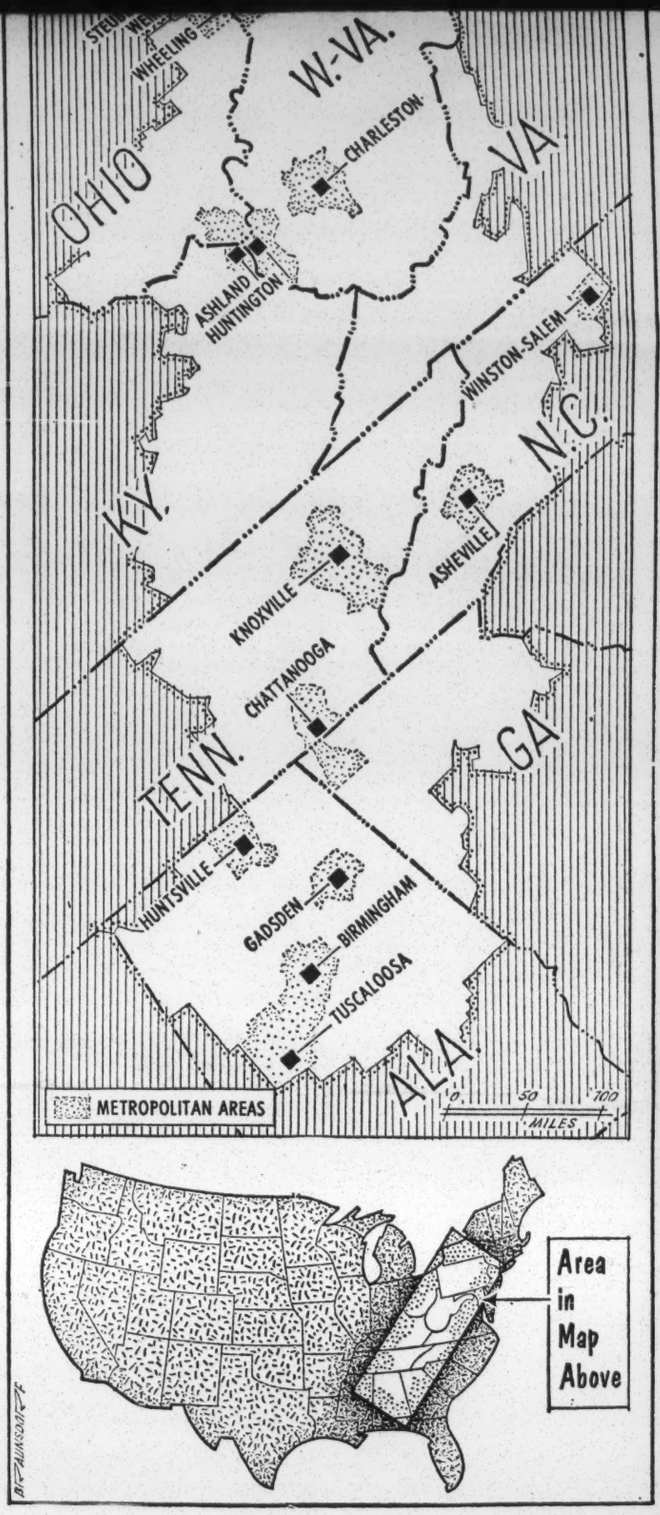
Main features of the program are:

1. Highways—To open up the blind valleys and passless ridges of the mountain country.

2. Flood and Water Projects —In flood times the rivers devastate the towns in the narrow mountain valleys. At all times the streams are polluted by acid leakage from the mines and lack of sewage facilities.

3. Timber and Mine Improvement—The two great resources of the area have been steadily exported, without sufficient benefit to the area. The long-range plan is to develop uses of these materials within Appalachia—timber processing and manufacture, and the use of coal for power and chemical products.

4. Agriculture—Farming has declined sharply in the area. The plan is to switch to pasturage development for cattle and dairy farming where feasible.



Associated Press Map

POVERTY POCKETS LOCATED IN STATES

Nine States Touched in Large Map of Appalachia Area

The magnitude of the problem is told in a few statistics:

Tuberculosis is 50 per cent higher in Appalachia than in the rest of the country.

In some rural counties, 60 per cent of the children do not finish the eighth grade.

Employment in Appalachia declined 1.5 per cent in the 1950-60 decade, while it was increasing 15 per cent in the rest of the country.

Population went up 1.1 per cent, while in the rest of the country it was growing 20.4 per cent.

All economic indicators—retail sales, automobile sales, spending on services — are far below the national averages.

To put it concretely: President Johnson sat on the porch of a ramshackle home near Inez, Ky., and talked with Tom Fletcher. He's a sawmill operator with eight children. Last year he made $400.

That's Appalachia.

RALPH

McGILL

5-12-64

The Southern Mountaineers

Washington, D.C.: Until the Civil War not much was heard of the people of the Southern Appalachia. The poorer among them were referred to as "mountain whites." This was not to differentiate them from colored persons — there were none, or almost none, in the Cumberlands, the Great Smokies, and the Blue Ridges. The phrase identified them with the whites of the lowlands who occupied the same social and economic status.

John Fox, whose novels of the Appalachians were widely read in the early years of the century, wrote: "The (Southern) mountaineer was discovered . . . at the beginning of the Civil War, when the Confederate leaders were counting on the presumption that the Mason - Dixon Line divided the North and South. . . . The plan seemed so feasible that it is said materially to have aided the sale of Confederate bonds in England. . . . but the (loyal) Southern mountaineer helped hold Kentucky in the Union; kept the east Tennesseans loyal, made West Virginia secede from secession, produced more than 100,000 volunteers. . . . Jackson County, Kentucky, for example, depleted itself of every male under 60 years of age and over 15. . . ."

No Slaves

The mountain people owned land — but no slaves. The national feeling from the Revolutionary War had not died out. Mountain men remembered King's Mountain. Over many a fireplace, on deer-horn racks, were long rifles that had been fired in defense of the flag.

Some of that loyalty persists into our time. But once the Civil War was done the mountains fell back into a Rip Van Winkle slumber, broken only by feuds.

It was not until after the turn of the century that timber, min-

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Some of that loyalty persists into our time. But once the Civil War was done the mountains fell back into a Rip Van Winkle slumber, broken only by feuds.

It was not until after the turn of the century that timber, minerals, coal, and water power caused roads to be pushed into the mountains. Change came too fast. The mountains, men said, started to die.

By 1930, the U.S. Census Bureau noted the Appalachians held the highest concentration of low income farms in the nation. The density of farm population was roughly 50 per cent greater than in the better farming areas of the Midwest. The people on the rugged Cumberland Plateau were the lowest income group in the United States.

Wry Humor

The mountaineer had a wry humor about his farms. The fields were as steep, sometimes steeper, than their cabin roofs. Many fields were 45-degree slopes. "Many the hill of corn I've propped up with a rock to keep it from falling downhill," a mountain farmer would say.

It was the depression of the 1930s that changed the practices of 200 years in one brief decade. Public works, the Civilian Conservation Corps, relief, all served to substitute a money economy for subsistence status. Dams, roads, schools worked to reduce isolation. The rugged individual was glad to have a better standard of living and some cash in hand. But his small farm was not large enough to fit into the pattern of agricultural benefits.

Industrialization came. But losses in mining, forestry, and farming followed swiftly on the heels of the Second World War and its demands for fuel, timber, and minerals. Since 1938 when the South was named the nation's Number One economic problem, the region as a whole has made real recovery. Yet, the one big sub-region—Appalachia—lags far behind.

The coming of the 20th Century has all but ended the parochialism and isolation of the people of the mountains. But no way yet has been found to bring them into a share of the 20th Century's opportunities. The war on poverty is at least 50 years overdue.

(Second of a background series on the Southern Appalachians, one of the objectives of the nation's proposed "war on poverty.")

6-28-64

PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS

Here's What War on Pov

EDITOR'S NOTE—Preparing the jobless for jobs is hard work, as proved by a Norfolk, Va., project for 100 of the hard-core unemployed. It can be done, but "only missionary zeal" carried off this effort, which disclosed the problems facing President Johnson's anti-poverty campaign.

WASHINGTON, June 27 (AP)—President Johnson's anti-poverty planners are getting their first sobering look at just how tough a job is cut out for them.

The job: Trying to teach the nation's poorest of the poor how to earn their own living.

Top-level policy makers are studying the first actual communique in the war on poverty — a 34-page Labor Department report on a training program for 100 hard-core unemployed Negroes.

"We scarcely knew how hard that hard core is," said one of the leaders of the project in the report now being circulated in high government circles.

The year-long training project, at the Norfolk division of Virginia State College, was completed recently, but the final outcome of the first real skirmish in the anti-poverty war is still uncertain.

JOB TRAINING is central to Johnson's anti-poverty program.

The report on the Norfolk project tells of some dramatic successes in the trail-blazing attempt to help 100 low-skilled, low-morale Negroes lift themselves out of their lifetime cycle of poverty and despair.

One man, after graduation, got an auto assembly line job and with overtime earned $200 the first week — four times as much as he had ever made in a week before in his life.

NORFOLK PROJECT BEGAN WITH TEACHING OF BASIC SKILLS LIKE READING
Training of Hard-Core Unemployed Presented Almost Insurmountable Problems to

But the report also cites some heartbreaking failures. One trainee turned out to be a dope addict and there was no way to help him. He finally disappeared from the project. Some others who completed courses had trouble holding jobs when past jail records and dishonorable military discharges came to light.

The main lesson of the experiment seems to be that the government will have to commit itself far more deeply in the fight against poverty if it expects to make any lasting widespread dent among people at the bottom of the economic barrel.

Staff members in the Norfolk project reported almost insuperable problems —first in finding men willing to take the training, later in trying to keep them in clssses, finally in getting them jobs they could hold.

THE 100 TRAINEES, with a total of 379 children at home, had endless personal problems which project leaders had to help them solve so they wouldn't drop the course.

Staff members worked virtually around the clock to hold the project together and "only missionary zeal" kept it going, one said later.

Although the comments of the project team have some of the ring of weary disenchantment, the report points out that they did succeed in shepherding 90 of the original trainees through the course and that "early (job) placements have been encouraging."

The project was extraordinarily difficult, they said, but proved that a total attack on the problems of the hard-core unemployed can succeed.

"It can be done," the report says. "They did it."

The task, the report said, was nothing less than trying to teach a whole new set of values to men "living in poverty and despair on the fringes and in the ghettoes of a prosperous society."

MEN LONG USED to a hand-to-mouth existence had to be convinced that the sacrifice of a year's hard study and training was worth it in terms of the future.

The men had to be "coaxed and prodded and shamed" into sticking it out, the report said.

Their wives, resenting their husband's new status and struggling with skimpy budgets and other problems at

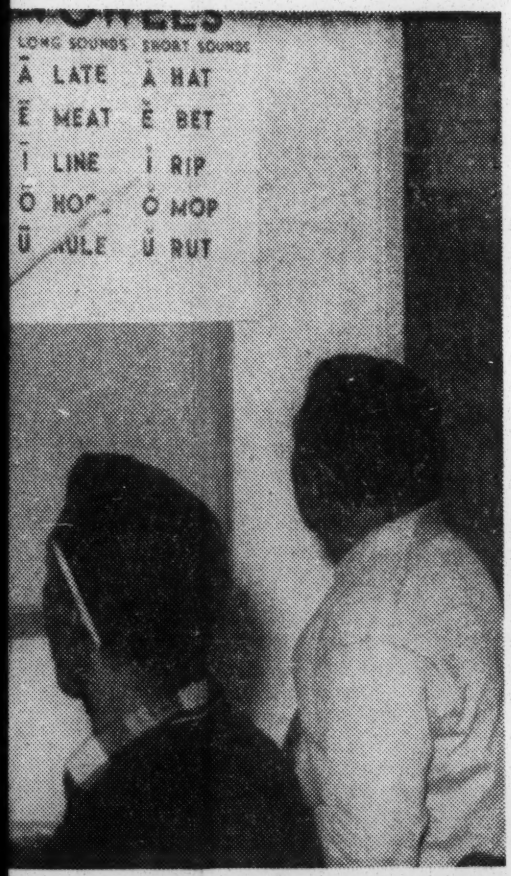
EMPHASIS

SUNDAY, JUNE 28, 1964

The Atlanta Journal and CONSTITUTION 3-B

OBLEMS

Poverty Is Like



Associated Press Photo

LIKE READING AND WRITING
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home, were often equally as hard to convince.

The government is passing no verdict at this point on the Norfolk project, but policy planners will keep a close watch on the progress of the 90 graduates.

A foreword to the report said "no attempt is made to evaluate training components of the program." Rather, it added, the study "reflects the belief . . . in the importance of prompt statements of lessons as they are learned."

Here, in the words of the Norfolk project staffers, coupled with President Johnson's anti-poverty aims, are some of the hard lessons learned:

JOHNSON: "There are programs to help those without training find a place in today's complex society."

THE NORFOLK REPORT: "The project proves little in the long run because there are too few institutions with the plant, the faculty, the experience and the self-confidence to undertake something like it — the temptation being to slide into taking 'sure thing' students certain to be placed in jobs . . . the college contribution, in use of plant, unpaid demands upon staff time, diversion of energy from its regular tasks, was excessive."

JOHNSON: "This program will show the way to new opportunities for millions of our fellow citizens."

THE NORFOLK REPORT: "The project was entirely too difficult to sell. Too many agencies had to be consulted too often. Contracts with these were not coordinated. Only missionary zeal kept the college at it, absorbing all the considerable costs of development."

JOHNSON: "Through programs of work and retraining for unemployed fathers and mothers we can help them support their families in dignity while preparing themselves for new work."

THE NORFOLK REPORT: "For the very poor, 52 weeks was too cruelly long for the period of trying to maintain families on allowances at $27 per week."

JOHNSON: "It is a struggle to give people a chance."

THE NORFOLK REPORT: "Too little attention was paid in recruiting to 'adverse information' — prison records, bad debts (which bar from federal jobs), bad service discharges. This criticism does not blink the need to serve men handicapped by such records, but reflects the view that too little planning was done to prepare to meet the issue . . . The genuine hard-core man is likely to have a major police record . . . the discovery that nothing counts with some employers except the old paper record has come as a shock. It has come as a jolt to the trainees too, who for the first time have become worried and anxious about what can be done about past personal histories, almost irrelevant to them now in their new stance as hopeful, trained workers."

The Norfolk project was undertaken while Johnson's poverty proposal was still before Congress.

But it has given government policy planners an idea of what they will be up against in undertaking a large-scale assault on the causes of poverty.

Analysis in Depth

THE "WAR ON POVERTY"

A discussion of the issues involved in the proposed Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and constructive alternatives to minimize the problem of poverty.

Chamber of Commerce of the United States
Washington, D. C.

The President has called for a national war on poverty.

His special message on poverty was filled with martial terms. He referred to the appointment of a "chief of staff," to the "test of weapons," the many "battles" yet to come, "the need to be prepared to change our strategy."

As always in our history, the call to arms has struck a responsive chord in the American people.

They recognize that poverty is an enemy.

They would like to be the first Nation in history to wipe it out.

They are ready to enlist in a war to do so.

If there has been some noticeable hesitancy in rushing to the ramparts, it is not only because the first calls of the trumpet have changed tone and direction, but because the American people, with many years of experience in wars of all kinds—hot, cold, and political—have developed a fair amount of sophistication.

In 1787, when by today's standards, virtually everyone in the United States was living in poverty, Thomas Paine observed:

> War involves in its progress such a train of unforeseen and unsupposed circumstances that no human wisdom can calculate the end. It has but one thing certain, and that is to increase taxes.

It would be a serious mistake, however, to ascribe opposition to any one specific battle-plan against poverty as stemming from this "certain end."

It is true that the taxes necessary to support a new $1 billion dollar program must be considered. But to a people which is now contributing through taxes $40-$44 billion a year to support a wide variety of programs designed to alleviate distress and attack poverty, the addition of another $1 billion in taxes should not be the deciding factor in the decision.

It is not, therefore, what Paine called "the certain end," but the "unforeseen and unsupposed circumstances" that may arise from enactment of a bill with the announced purpose "to mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation" that causes questions.

No decision "to mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation" can be taken lightly.

In conventional war, battle-plans have to be kept secret. But, if the American people are to be asked to mobilize against poverty, there is no room for secrecy—only frank and full discussion.

The war against poverty has been waged for decades in the United States. A national consensus on the need for additional effort is being reached. We need, now, a national consensus on the character of the enemy, the type of battle that should be waged, the over-all strategy that should guide the effort.

We must ask questions, such as: Are we to attack all along the front at once? To seek a substantial breakthrough and then exploit it? To scatter our shots along the front-lines—or to attack the enemy heartland?

If the war on poverty is to be successful, the American people—business, labor, government—must participate in the decisions. "War," Premier Georges Clemenceau of France once said, "is much too important a matter to be left to the Generals."

The Character of the Problem

In his January State-of-The-Union message, President Johnson called for a war on poverty, and his intention of making an attack on poverty a major part of his 1964 election-year program was indicated by frequent references to anti-poverty proposals at other times.

After several weeks of reported in-fighting over the respective roles that various Government departments and agencies should play in the program, the President sent a special message and the draft of proposed legislation to Congress on March 16.

On March 17, Sargent Shriver, who had been named by the President as his "chief of staff," outlined the Administration's concept of the poverty problem and the measures that it proposed to wipe it out.

Mr. Shriver compared the American economy to a "20-story luxury apartment house where even the ground floor tenants share the comforts" but where "one-fifth of the population live in a subbasement, out of sight and almost out of mind."

Today's poor, he said, are a mixed group. They include:

1. *The children of poverty*. There are 11 million children among the 35 million poor of the Nation. Some 5½ million are in the 16-21 age bracket. Roughly 1 out of 7—750,000—are unemployed. By 1970, the number of young people in this age group will reach 7 million, and unless the trend is reversed, about 1 million will be unemployed.

2. *The bypassed*. "Millions of workers" are bypassed by modern technological advances. They are either unable to secure regular employment, because of their meager skills and education, or are displaced as the plant relocates or the machine takes over. They may not be able to find another job, or may take a lower-paying job.

3. *Rural families*. One and one-half million rural farm families live on less than $250 a month; 2.8 million other rural families in non-farm occupations have about the same income level. Nearly 500,000 rural youths between the ages of 14 and 25 have completed no more than the sixth grade.

4. *The Minority poor*. Eight million *Negroes*—nearly one-half the total Negro population—are poor.

Nearly 1 million *Puerto Ricans* live in the U.S., primarily in New York City. Fifty-three percent of those in New York earned less than $4,000 in 1959.

Nearly 3¼ million *Spanish-speaking Americans* live in the Southwest.

Of the 550,000 American *Indians,* 380,000 live in or near reservations. Their average family income is only one-quarter to one-third as high as the national average.

5. *The Fatherless families.* There are 2.3 million fatherless families in America—due to death, divorce, and disability. Only half the fatherless families in the U.S. are above the poverty line.

6. *The Aged.* Some 6.8 million heads of families are over 65. Half of them have incomes of less than $3,000 a year.

"There are some," said Mr. Shriver, "who fit none of these descriptions, and certainly many who do fit them are not poor. But it is safe to say that most of the poor share one or more of these characteristics. . . ."

The Program

The Administration's proposal for dealing with the poverty problem (H.R. 10440) was introduced in the House by Rep. Phil Landrum (D-Ga.). Landrum's sponsorship was considered important because of the conservative Southern support that he might be able to gain for the program. The draft bill (S. 2642) was introduced in the Senate by Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.).

The bill contains six Titles outlining the program, plus an authorization for the appropriation of $962,500,000 through the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965 and "thereafter such sums as are necessary to carry out this Act."

These funds are to be spent on

- Three types of Youth Programs
- Three types of Community Action Programs
- Three types of Rural Areas Programs
- Two types of Employment and Investment Incentives
- Experimental, pilot or demonstration projects to promote "Family Unity Through Jobs."
- The establishment and Operation of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) which would coordinate all the programs and be directly responsible for recruiting and training a group to be known as "Volunteers for America."

The bill itself is broadly drawn, leaving to the OEO Director considerable authority for filling in details. For example, he has the authority to allocate funds among the various programs. A general outline of each proposal can be obtained, however, from the bill itself, and from speeches by the President and Mr. Shriver.

Youth Programs—Title I.

The proposed legislation includes three different programs under the general heading of Youth Programs. They are (1) a Job Corps, (2) Work-Training; (3) Work-Study.

JOB CORPS. This proposal has been compared to the Youth Conservation Corps, previously requested. Two types of camps—conservation camps and training centers—would be set up for men, 16-21.

At conservation camps, the youth would work under the direction of members of Federal Conservation Bureaus, on conservation projects and recreational development, and would receive basic education.

It is expected that following up to two years in the conservation camps, many youth would go on to the considerably larger training centers, where emphasis would be placed on vocational training.

"Although high skill levels in particular vocations will not be achieved in most cases," says Mr. Shriver, "the program will develop work habits and an attitude toward learning which will enable the young men involved to profit from more advanced education or work experience outside the centers."

Members of the Job Corps will receive a living allowance, ranging from $30 to $50 a month, depending upon the location of the camp and the services which are provided directly. An additional sum will be paid for assigned leadership duties, and upon termination of his enrollment in the Corps, each member will receive a separation payment of $50 for each month of service. He may allot up to $25 of this money to a dependent—and if he does so the Government will match it with another $25, so that a dependent could receive up to $50 a month.

President Johnson has said the Corps would build toward 100,000 participants in 100 or more camps and centers. Mr. Shriver has said the first-year goal would be about 40,000 persons.

WORK-TRAINING PROGRAM. Unlike the Job Corps, the Work-Training program will be open to women. The Federal Government would pay up to 90 percent of the cost of hiring young people to work on approved projects in hospitals, settlement houses, schools, etc.

Among the requirements necessary for approval of any project would be that it did not replace employer workers or impair existing contracts. The rates of pay must be appropriate to the type of work performed, the level of skill required, and the locality.

It is estimated that the work-training program will provide employment for 200,000 young men and women, of whom 30,000 would be working full-time, 60,000 half-time, and 110,000 either quarter time throughout the year or full time during the summer months.

The Federal Government's cost for a full year would be about $219 million, and the program would be administered by the Department of Labor.

WORK-STUDY PROGRAM. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare would administer a program, under which the OEO Director would make arrangements with institutions of higher learning to pay part (up to 90 per-

cent during the first two years and 75% thereafter) of the wages of students who worked up to 15 hours a week on projects ranging from dormitory maintenance to computer programming.

Mr. Shriver says the criteria to be established will "provide for concentration of work-study funds in institutions which serve poverty-stricken areas or which enroll student populations drawn from extremely low-income families."

Community Action Programs—Title II.

The provisions dealing with Urban and Rural Community Action programs are exceptionally broad—even in a bill that is broad throughout.

They authorize the Director to make grants to, or to contract with, community action organizations, public agencies, or private non-profit organizations to pay part or all of the costs of developing and carrying out programs which expand and improve services in the fields of "education, employment, job training and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, welfare and other fields. . . ."

The Director is also authorized to provide, either directly or through grants, technical assistance and training for specialized personnel as well as to enter into contracts with colleges and other organizations for the conduct of research, training and demonstration projects.

Rural Areas—Title III

Grants: The Director can make grants of up to $1,500 to rural families where "in the judgment of the Director, such grants have a reasonable possibility of effecting a permanent increase in the income of such families" by permitting them to (1) acquire or improve real estate; (2) operate or improve the operation of their farms; (3) participate in cooperative associations, or (4) finance non agricultural enterprises.

Loans: The Director can make loans of up to 15 years and of $2,500 to any one family.

He can make loans of unspecified amounts for up to 30 years to cooperative associations servicing low-income families.

He is authorized to assist nonprofit corporations in acquiring land and redeveloping it into family farms, including provision for necessary fences, buildings, water and other facilities, and selling the farms to low income families.

He would provide this assistance not only through loans but by making up "the deficiency between the cost of the farms developed . . . and the net proceeds received from the sale of such farms. . . ."

Employment and Investment Incentives—Title IV

Under Part A of Title IV, the Director could make or guarantee 25-year loans to private firms that would result in increased employment. A majority of the new workers would have to be drawn from the long-term unemployed and members of low-income families. The loan would be equal to $10,000 multiplied by the number of jobs to be created.

Loans could not be used to relocate a plant and the proposed understaking would have to be part of a community action program.

The program would be administered by the Area Redevelopment Administration.

Under Part B, the Director could make or guarantee loans of up to 15 years for $15,000 to Small Business firms. He could defer payment of principal or use such other methods as he deems necessary or appropriate to assure the successful operation of a concern.

He could require that the borrower participate in an approved management training program.

Family Unity Through Jobs—Title V

The OEO Director could transfer to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, funds to pay the costs of experimental, pilot or demonstration projects that would "stimulate the adoption by States of programs designed to help unemployed fathers and other members of needy families with children to secure and retain employment or to attain or retain capability for self-support or personal independence."

Administration and Coordination—Title VI

The bill would set up the Office of Economic Opportunity in the Executive Office of the President.

An Economic Opportunity Council, which would include the Director and other appropriate Cabinet agencies would be set up to consult with the Director, and a National Advisory Council, to consist of the Director and not more than 14 other public members appointed by the President, would review the program at the Director's request.

VOLUNTEERS FOR AMERICA. A program, very similar to the so-called Domestic Peace Corps, would be set up within the office. The Director would recruit and train individuals in a group to be called "Volunteers for America." He would refer or assign them to programs, at the state or local level—working with migratory workers, Indians, residents of certain Federally controlled areas, in nonprofit mental health facilities which are assisted by Federal funds, or in Federal youth programs or Community action programs set up under the Act.

An individual could not work in a state without the Governor's approval, and he would be provided with a stipend of $50 a month, plus living expenses.

Calm Appraisal Needed

This is a brief outline of the Poverty Package—the way in which the human and financial resources of the Nation

are to be committed, according to the bill, after they are "mobilized."

Before committing sizeable resources, however, we should at least appraise what in the Armed Services would be called "intelligence reports."

We should know what weapons are now available and how well they are being used in the war against poverty?

We should know what weapons have been most effective in the past.

And, we should try to decide what the so-called new weapons promise.

How Do You Measure Poverty?

It has been said that when one can define a problem one is half-way to the solution. Although Mr. Shriver and others have cited numerous statistics on poverty, the hard fact is that meaningful definitions of poverty are hard to come by.

Because we are concerned with poverty in the United States, the fact that by the standards used in some other countries there is virtually no poverty here is largely irrelevant to this discussion—*although not without great over-all significance.*

How do you measure poverty in the United States?

The various agencies of the Federal Government have no common yardstick.

The Council of Economic Advisers uses a figure of $3,000 or less for families and $1,500 or less for unrelated individuals.

These are the figures most frequently used by Administration spokesmen in support of the Poverty Package.

In support of the program they cite figures collected in the annual population surveys of the Census Bureau. And yet it is generally recognized that this survey may understate family incomes by as much as 15 percent—because part-time and non-money income are not recorded.

The Office of Business Economics is more realistic when it attempts to measure the Gross National Product, because it seeks to include *all* family income. Using these figures, the 1961 proportion of recipients under $3,000 would be 13.5 percent—or about one-third less than the 20 percent cited by Mr. Shriver as the poverty-stricken.

But even these figures are not completely revealing, because they make no provision for family-size variation, nor, for that matter, do they allow for variations in living costs that might exist, for example, between Alaska and Alabama.

Poverty, in fact, depends upon many characteristics of a family, including employment, income both monetary and non-monetary, size of family, education of members, health, location by region, and whether in a urban or rural area.

Writing in the March, 1964, *Fortune,* Edmund K. Faltermayer points out: "As late as 1929, two-third of Americans would have been called poor by definitions now in use. And even in 1929, it should be remembered, America's living standard was higher than Western Germany's is today."

We do not know enough about the process by which families move in and out of poverty.

Poverty is a complex of different conditions with different causes, each of which may call for a different public policy approach. The school dropout, the unproductive small farmer, the newly arrived city immigrant from rural areas, the older family or person living as a unit, the Indian on a reservation, the family headed by a woman, the alcoholic city drifter—all these may be poor, but their problems are not the same.

Mr. Shriver makes much of unemployment. And yet, surprisingly enough, there is no necessary connection between our statistics on unemployment and our statistics on poverty. If the poverty line is set as high as $3,000, fewer than half of the unemployed are poor. If tenant farming is counted as employment, only about one-quarter of the poor are unemployed.

Part of the explanation of these surprising statements lies in the fact that the typical jobless worker is out of work less than a year—averaging 14 to 15 weeks—and about half of the unemployed are eligible for some sort of supplementary payments.

There also are many cases where other workers in the families of the unemployed continue to work. Because of this, about half of the workers unemployed at any given time are members of families with total incomes of $4,400 or more.

Any questioning of the present rough estimates of the nature and extent of poverty in the United States does not mean, of course, that poverty does not exist.

It does. We can do more than we are now doing to minimize it.

But rough estimates are inadequate tools for framing public policy.

Pressures to push through some sort of a legislative program before a National election in November are evident. But before launching a hurried and massive multi-billion dollar attack, we need better tools—better intelligence.

The National Chamber believes we should get these tools.

The Weapons We Now Have

Despite abundant publicity to the contrary, poverty is not just now being discovered in the United States.

Nor has it been ignored by either the American people or their Government.

In recent testimony, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Celebrezze noted 42 Federal programs having "a direct application to poverty."

According to the *Social Security Bulletin* for November 1963, we already are spending in excess of $44 billion a year on welfare and welfare-type programs.

This figure, of course, does not include substantial expansions of many of these programs—not to mention several new ones—authorized by Congress since that time.

The list is long and varied:

Free food, school lunches, medical care, veteran's benefits and health care; unemployment benefits, all manner of Federal loans, Federally-guaranteed loans and Federal grants designed to create jobs, housing subsidies, Social Security pensions, training for disabled people, student aid programs, vocational training, and help to Indians on reservations.

All of these social welfare expenditures have been approved on the grounds that they would alleviate or minimize poverty. Today, we have a vast array of Federal programs, or weapons, to attack poverty.

They have been enacted piece-meal over the years. They sometimes duplicate—or even work at cross purposes—to one another.

A realistic, serious war on poverty should include some effort to determine which of them are truly effective—and to what extent.

The Most Successful Weapon

By many measures of welfare, the United states has excelled in reducing poverty among its citizens.

In the final analysis, this is traceable not to programs to redistribute wealth through social programs, but to the *creation* of wealth.

We are the only Nation in the world's history that could even *consider* wiping out poverty because with only six percent of the world's population, living on seven percent of the world's land area, *our citizens produce one-third of the world's goods and services.*

Even accepting the figure of 20 percent as poor, it means that 80 percent are not poor. The fact that over a third of the citizens has been lifted above the poverty line since 1929 is traceable largely to economic growth.

Attention to specific programs for alleviating the poverty of selected groups should never be allowed to obscure the basic problem which faces anyone mapping the basic strategy in a war against poverty—how to speed this economic growth.

Theories of Poverty

Even as we achieve greater economic growth, however, it is recognized that some people will not share proportionately in the benefits of that growth.

Further study of why they do not so share would seem to be mandatory.

Levels of living depend, partly, on (1) economic potentials, and (2) the extent to which individuals achieve their potentials.

At present, no theory of the causes and cures of poverty is generally accepted.

Currently, two theories of poverty in modern industrialized societies exist—ignoring the Marxist dogma that the working class is ground into poverty inevitably by a small group of capitalists.

The "vicious circle" theory holds that poverty feeds on poverty, so that one generation follows the next in the same condition. The "pockets of poverty" theory traces poverty to social-economic barriers at work both within urban or rural areas.

The Administration advances both of these theories as justification for its program, although both are probably much more relevant to underdeveloped countries of the world than to the United States.

There are, for example, millions of middle-class or well-to-do families today, whose parents lived in poverty; Eli Ginsberg has pointed out that 30 percent of Negroes in Chicago receive higher incomes than 50 percent of whites.

Economist John Kenneth Galbraith uses a different breakdown than Mr. Shriver in classifying the poor.

"The people who are falling behind," he says, "fall into four classes. Those with poor education, those with physical or mental deficiency, those who live in the wrong geographical area, or those who have restricted job opportunities because of race."

One major criticism of the Administration's Poverty package is that—however dramatic it may appear—it doesn't attack any of these problem areas very effectively.

The "New Weapons"

"The poverty assault," says the usually-liberal *Northern Virginia Sun,* "was conceived in confusion, developed in politics, and timed for an election year."

Consider what is proposed.

A *Job Corps,* reminiscent of the CCC, in which some 100,000 youth, at a cost, estimated at up to $9,000 each per year, would do conservation work and be exposed to some academic and vocational training.

Despite glowing adjectives used to describe this as yet undeveloped program, a clear-cut explanation of how four years of living in a camp is going to promote the adjustment and future career of a young man when he returns to an industrialized society is yet to be made.

A *Work-Training* program, in which some hundreds of thousands of youth would presumably be given jobs in "hospitals, settlement houses, schools, libraries, courts, parks, playgrounds," and similar places—as long as they did not replace other workers or interfere with union contracts.

How effective such a program would be in helping the poorly-educated and ill-trained youth who are pictured as the true beneficiaries of the program is questionable. To the extent that it would merely put higher calibre and

better-educated youth to work, it is reminiscent of the "make-work" projects of the Depression-era WPA.

A *work-study program,* which, it is claimed, will help 140,000-150,000 young people who are in college or taking graduate work. It would seem that any program designed to aid graduate or college students should be examined on its merits as an educational measure and in light of other existing private State, and Federal education programs—rather than as an attack on poverty.

The real hard-core of poverty, of course, is not found among those who are of college calibre. In contrast, presumably, the job corps and the work training programs are designed to help the truly underprivileged. But how these programs would mesh with—or conflict with—existing programs has not been explained.

Many Vocational Programs

In addition to the hundreds of thousands of youth and adults already receiving training through apprenticeship programs, on-the-job training and vocational education under the George-Barden Act, new vocational education opportunities have been provided by Congress

—Under the vocational educational schools established by the National Defense Education Act

—Under the Area Redevelopment Act, which provided training for the unemployed in depressed areas

—Under the Juvenile Delinquency Act

—Under the Trade Expansion Act, which authorized training for workers of industries weakened by trade agreements.

Two programs—the Manpower Development and Training Act, and the Vocational Education Act of 1963—deserve special mention.

The Manpower Development and Training Act has been recently expanded to provide for training, with subsistence, for youths 17 and over. The Act does not even require state matching funds until 1966. It adds 20 weeks of allowances to trainees lacking "basic education" and allows such education to be provided before determining occupational objectives. Trainees are able to work at other jobs for up to 20 hours a week without loss of training allowances, and up to $4 million can be used to "increase the mobility of unemployed workers" as relocation expenses.

A second major law, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, has provided a—as yet little-implemented—major expansion in vocational training.

It is obvious that youth living within *any definition* of poverty are intended to be recipients of this training. The opening section emphasized this purpose:

> "to develop new programs of vocational education, and to provide part-time employment for youths who need the earnings from such employment to continue their vocational training on a full-time basis, so that persons of all ages in all communities of the State—those in high school, those who have completed or discontinued their formal education and are preparing to enter the labor market, those who have already entered the labor market but need to upgrade their skills or learn new ones, and those with special educational handicaps—will have ready access to vocational training or retraining which is of high quality, which is realistic in the light of actual or anticipated opportunities for gainful employment, and which is suited to their needs, interests, and ability to benefit from such training."

In addition, the Act provides for new work-study programs, with Federal compensation for such work, and "residential vocational schools" for youths age 15 to 21 with all expenses paid. These programs are specifically directed toward "needy" youth, especially "youth who have dropped out of school or are unemployed."

Should a youth who might volunteer for a "job corps" be better advised to take either the MDTA or Vocational Education opportunities? How would the "residential centers" of the "job corps" differ from the residential vocational schools of the Vocational Act once established? Why should the work-study courses of the Vocational Act be duplicated by work-training programs under the proposed Act?

Great expansion of present programs—and others at the state and local levels—is envisioned. A case can certainly be made for concentrating our efforts on making these programs effective, rather than on compounding potential confusion by proposing still other training programs to be administered by the same agencies—and for the same youth and adults.

The apparent emphasis on *community action* programs found in Title II is useful—although the operation of such a program, as outlined, could remove the substance, leaving only the name. How the Federal Government could assume 90 percent of the cost of a program, require conformity with Federal standards, and introduce a bureaucracy to over-see activities, without at the same time assuming control is not made clear. Nor is it made clear how this program would be coordinated with a host of others, such as housing, public works, urban renewal, depressed areas grants, manpower training, etc.

The grants of $1,500 or of a $2,500 loan under Title III at the discretion of the Director to maintain the *family farm* is questionable from the standpoint of effectiveness—and questionable from a policy standpoint, especially, when most economists agree that the farm problem will never be solved by encouraging the operation of marginal and submarginal farms.

When the Secretary of Commerce testified on H.R. 10440, it became clear that a primary objective of Title IV, is to provide a new mechanism for the continuation and expansion of the Area Redevelopment Administration and

Accelerated Public Works subsidy programs—despite their failures to achieve their job-creating objectives.

Guaranteeing an investment of $10,000 per job to business, or offering $15,000 to small business concerns, primarily on the basis that they are not considered satisfactory risks by anyone else could have far-reaching and, quite likely, unfortunate results.

Such proposals run directly counter to the entire thrust of our market system, which in its successful war on poverty has made resources available to the efficient, not the inefficient producer.

The proposal to encourage *pilot programs* and experimental projects at the state and local level has considerable merit. It should be divorced from the poverty package and considered separately on those merits.

Establishment of a *Domestic Peace Corps* would undoubtedly serve as an effective showpiece. The Overseas Peace Corps, however, is composed of an elite group. It is quite unlikely that the Domestic Corps, if it were to be of any value, could employ the underprivileged and uneducated to any appreciable extent.

In other words, the Corps would not offer opportunity to the poverty-stricken, but merely add a comparatively small number of social workers to the millions of professional and volunteer workers now engaged in social welfare and charitable works.

In many respects, the Volunteer Corps proposal raises a question that underlies much of the Poverty Package. Do we need more social workers—or more jobs and qualified people to fill them?

A Positive Program

The problem of poverty is serious and long-term.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, for most of its 51 years, and through a variety of programs, has been deeply involved in what amounts to efforts to minimize poverty.

These efforts range from its programs to promote a good economic climate in the interest of economic growth to a campaign to discourage dropouts from school; from development of constructive guides for mobilizing community resources in community development to a campaign to encourage employers to train or retrain underemployed or undertrained workers.

If we, as a Nation, are to minimize poverty, we require public and private policies that will (1) foster balanced national economic development; and (2) more nearly equalize education, training and economic opportunities for individuals.

An adequate strategy to accomplish these purposes must be considerably broader and quite different from the programs recommended by the Administration.

Sound public and private policy measures to deal with the broad problem of poverty require careful and thorough analysis of a host of choices.

Certainly, there should be no precipitous enactment of legislation hastily thrown together to form a political showpiece.

The ramifications of such measures will be felt throughout the economic and social system and deserve in the public interest, to be investigated and weighed, independently of partisan political considerations.

Economic growth occurs unevenly. Along with self-reliant private enterprise, governments, too—local, state and Federal—have stimulated our economic growth. The canals were government-built; land grants aided railroad expansion; government has paved the roads.

Government will continue to play this role. For example, the interstate highway program may contribute importantly to reductions of poverty by increasing mobility and facilitating commerce.

Regionally, too, we are seeing what can be done for economic growth—and the lessening of poverty—by studies such as that of Appalachia by the Pittsburgh Center for Regional Economic Studies, or by the privately-organized economic development study of North Carolina's Appalachian region.

The real issue is not whether such economic analysis should occur—as a preliminary to policy formulation and positive action—but who should do the planning, and how should it be carried through to fruition.

The President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has announced plans for the formation of a Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity.

This Task Force will bring to bear in a systematic manner on the broad problem of poverty the independent, nonpartisan, and constructive analysis, evaluation and planning of the best minds in the United States business and educational community.

It will:

—Attempt to devise adequate ways of measuring the incidence and scope of poverty.

—Collect comprehensive information on practical plans and measures being carried on by private groups, communities and states throughout the United States to deal effectively with poor people.

—Review and evaluate the effectiveness of measures, programs, and policies at state and local levels to promote economic development and assure more equal economic opportunity for individuals.

—Cooperate with other groups concerned about the problem of poverty in the United States and with constructive effective measures to minimize it.

On the basis of its analysis, the Task Force will report its recommendations to the public and to the Congress on public and private policies which will help promote more balanced economic development and assure more equal economic opportunity.

The Task Force, in short, will be addressing itself to the basic issue, not whether poverty can be minimized, but how best to do so.

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WASHINGTON REPORT

PUBLISHED BY THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

● Included with Washington Report this week is a Special Supplement exploring in depth President Johnson's WAR ON POVERTY. Mention is also made below about the Chamber's testimony on H.R. 10440, the legislation which embodies Mr. Johnson's proposals.

This poverty issue is going to be with us for months. It behooves every businessman to learn as much about it as possible so that he can keep the problem in its proper perspective.

● Introducing: WALTER F. CAREY of Birmingham, Mich., a veteran trucking executive who will take over as the Chamber's 37th President on April 29 at the conclusion of the Annual Meeting. He was elected by the Board of Directors to a one-year term.

Mr. Carey, a Chamber Vice President since 1961 and a Director since 1955, brings a wealth of business know-how to the Chamber Presidency. He started with two heavily mortgaged tractor-trailers in the 1920's, and now commands a $20 million-a-year trucking complex.

He is currently President of Automobile Carriers-Dealers Transit, Inc., Flint, Mich., and Vice President of C. & J. Commercial Driveaway, Inc., Lansing, Mich. He is also an executive or director of a number of other trucking and insurance firms.

Although he chooses his words carefully, Mr. Carey has served notice that he will not be reluctant to speak out strongly for American business and the profit system. He has indicated he will be a man of action as well as words.

At his first news conference this week, he disclosed that he has been authorized by the Chamber's Executive Committee to set up a business task force to tackle the problems of poverty and unemployment and the challenge of automation. He also said he intended to work for a more productive business-government partnership.

Here are some of Mr. Carey's vital statistics:

Age--58. Place of Birth--Detroit, Mich. Education--Wayne State University, B.A. Family--Married, four children, 11 grandchildren.

He is a past President of the American Trucking Associations.

As Chamber President, Mr. Carey will succeed Edwin P. Neilan, the Chairman of the Board of the Bank of Delaware, Wilmington. Mr. Neilan has been elected for a one-year term as Chairman of the Board, succeeding Ladd Plumley, Board Chairman and President of the State Mutual Life Assurance Company of America, Worchester, Mass.

Mr. Plumley, also a former Chamber President, will serve during the coming year as Chairman of the Chamber's Executive Committee.

● The CHAMBER'S 52ND ANNUAL MEETING, April 26-29, will involve more business and professional men, more industries, and more sections of the country than any other business gathering this year. All in all, it is shaping up as one of the best meetings ever.

● Some so-called Congressional experts are writing off the chances for passage this year of legislation increasing penalty pay for OVERTIME. Other legislative proposals (like Medicare, for example) have been proclaimed dead prematurely, too, but they have popped up again with even more determined support.

So it is a good idea for the business community to keep hammering away at this overtime proposal, pointing out that it would increase costs, weaken our competitive position in world markets, and fail in its objective of creating jobs.

These considerations prompted the Chamber last week to sponsor a National Conference on Overtime, in which various aspects of the issue were explored. Almost 300 businessmen attended. One of the principal speakers was Virgil B. Day, Vice President of the General Electric Co.

Mr. Day made the point that the overtime legislation would hamper economic growth which is the real key to increased job opportunities. He challenged his business audience to get to work on their own to solve the problem by training the unskilled and creating job-promoting new markets. He posed this alternative:

"So long as any significant number of unemployed exist, these proposals will come in one way or another. They may face us at the bargaining table--or in legislative halls--but they will come. And one of these days, one of these proposals will go into effect, somewhere, sometime, unless we ourselves can come up with sound solutions."

● The Chamber's position on President Johnson's ANTI-POVERTY BILL (H.R. 10440) was presented to a House Labor subcommittee this week by Dr. Carl H. Madden, its Director of Economic Research, and Dr. John R. Miles, Manager of the Chamber's Education Department.

They cautioned the lawmakers against launching any questionable new programs, particularly in view of the many anti-poverty programs already in effect. They recommended instead a many-sided plan which stressed education and worker-training primarily through State, local, and private action.

You may obtain a copy of their prepared testimony by writing to the Chamber. No charge.

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DEPARTMENTAL REPORT

Trade Regulation

Business firms troubled by mounting government paperwork requests will soon have a good opportunity to register their complaints to Congress.

Rep. Arnold Olsen (D-Mont.), Chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee's Subcommittee on Census and Governmental Statistics, plans several public hearings to explore whether "new legislation is needed to keep federal agencies in check."

He says, "We cannot go on the way we are now. Government paperwork costs now far exceed the $4 billion annual figure estimated by the Hoover Commission almost 10 years ago. Today, one of every four federal workers is engaged in the collection, compiling, analyzing, or storing of reports and records of all kinds."

The burden on business of complying with government questionnaires is recognized by Rep. Olsen, who has cited the case of a manufacturing firm which, in one year, handled 173 different federal forms, involving the filing of 37,683 reports and a workload of 48,285 hours. A current example is the House Small Business Committee's survey, among manufacturing firms, of mergers, acquisitions and consolidations.

Rep. Olsen's subcommittee is scheduled to hold hearings on these problems in Albany, N. Y., on May 1 and in Chicago on May 8—and then begin hearings in Washington about May 18, probably to run into June. Interested business firms can request an opportunity to testify—or submit written statements.

Foreign Affairs

The Treasury will soon impose an increased "penalty" duty on steel reinforcing bars imported from Canada. The duty is based on a finding that these bars are being "dumped" at less than "fair value" on the U.S. market by a Canadian producer, and that this dumping is causing injury to U. S. producers. The duty will be equal to the difference between the U. S. purchase price and the "fair value" price.

The recent dumping finding points up a growing international trade problem. More U. S. industries are entering dumping claims with the Treasury, and over 50 bills are pending in Congress to stiffen the Anti-dumping Act of 1921.

Foreign traders fear that a stronger Anti-dumping Act would lead to increased interference with international trade, resulting in retaliatory action against U. S. exports by foreigners, and impairing the objectives of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

Dumping will be an item of negotiation at the forthcoming Kennedy Round, where an effort will be made to arrive at uniform anti-dumping procedures among trading nations.

The Chamber has responded to this growing problem by a proposed policy statement which urges uniform anti-dumping laws and regulations among major trading nations. The proposed policy also calls for clarification of definitions of the terms "dumping," "fair value," and "injury" in U. S. anti-dumping legislation.

Education

Whether or not a teen-ager stays in school and keeps pace with his age group is closely related to the schooling of his parents.

A new publication by the Census Bureau, "School Enrollment," shows that among 16- and 17-year-olds where both parents had less than 8 years of school, a third had dropped out, and slightly more than a third of those in school had fallen behind their age group. When both parents had attended college, only about 3 per cent of the children had dropped out and 5 per cent were behind their age group.

There was less difference in the parents' schooling among children who had advanced to school grades above their age group. Two per cent of the children whose parents had less than 8 years of school were in the advanced group, compared with 4 per cent of those whose parents had been to college. The figures were tabulated from the 1960 Census of Population.

Finance

Should the government assume liability for failure to prevent individual crimes of violence? And should it compensate victims of crimes of violence?

Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg recently stated that serious consideration of some sort of compensation to victims of crime is long overdue. New Zealand adopted such a plan this year and the British Government announced it would seek the approval of Parliament to set up a plan to permit such victims to

(Continued on Page 4)

ORDER FORM: *(Cut out and return)*

4/17

_____ Madden and Miles testimony on poverty

Finance *(Continued)*

collect compensation for damages from the government. In New Zealand, victims can collect for losses as a result of incapacity for work, and even payment for "pain and suffering." Dependents can collect if the victim is killed.

Adoption of such a plan in the United States would undoubtedly be costly. Nearly 300,000 crimes of violence were reported to the police in 1963. How many more would be reported if the victims knew they could claim damages from the government?

Labor

An English rock-and-roll group such as the "Beatles" may never again return to America. Under new procedures established by the Labor Department, a U. S. employer of certain types of temporary foreign entertainers will be required to secure government certification that there are no qualified, unemployed domestic performers capable of performing in the same capacity. If certification is denied, then the foreign entertainer cannot enter the country.

The program will be administered by the United States Employment Service—requiring the creation of three new "Offices Specializing in Entertainers" located in three major cities of the United States. Additional personnel and funds are contemplated, and the time required to secure the certification may take at least 30 days.

Unemployment is certainly a serious problem. However, the Labor Department appears to be concentrating its solutions in nebulous areas and only assisting the employment statistics by the amount of new civil servants that are hired to administer the project.

Public Affairs

Aerojet-General Corporation is preparing to launch its fourth Good Citizenship Campaign to stimulate its employees to participate actively and financially in the support of their favorite political parties or candidates.

The nonpartisan program was started in 1958 as an experiment to see whether men and women are willing to freely contribute to keep politics from the influence of the big givers. Success of the program in the 1958, 1960 and 1962 campaign years won national attention from other industrial firms.

Total employee contributions increased from $25,000 in 1958 to $97,000 in 1962. Employee participation was 70 per cent in 1958, 81 per cent in 1960 (presidential campaign), and 74 per cent in 1962. Aerojet's total working force is approximately 15,000.

Again this year all groups of Aerojet employees will be represented on volunteer Republican and Democratic committees in charge of the campaign—management, technical personnel, clerical personnel and union members. The campaign pattern includes three phases: registration, contribution solicitation and voter education in the form of after-hours rallies.

Economic Intelligence

A generation ago our nation's basic economic concern was unemployment. We desperately needed to put millions of unemployed breadwinners back to work.

Today, the nation is still concerned with unemployment. But the goal is not merely to put people back to work. Society no longer feels that it is sufficient merely to provide enough jobs—the goal is to provide enough *well-paying* jobs so that no one will have to live in poverty. Congress has even made it illegal for some employers to offer jobs at less than a legal minimum wage.

A generation from now the odds are that the nation's economic horizons will have expanded even further. The emphasis is likely to shift from dollar income to what could be called psychic income. In addition to paying a high wage, jobs will also be expected to provide a large measure of satisfaction.

It is quite possible that automation will be the path both to higher dollar incomes and to higher psychic incomes. If we are going to achieve higher dollar incomes we must find ways to increase our productivity. And if we are going to have higher psychic incomes, we must find ways to free people from having to perform dull, repetitive tasks. Automation can solve both of these problems.

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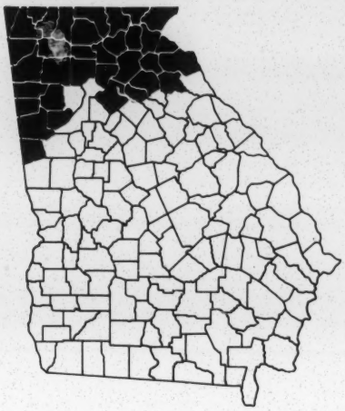
NEWSPAPER

ATLANTA ■ VOLUME 4, NUMBER 2

Georgian Appalachia

A land of silent wilderness, rocky pastures and plowed fields



Although erosion and fire have taken their toll, the ancient rythyms of agriculture dominate time and landscape...

Appalachia is that mountainous region stretching southward from the upper reaches of Pennsylvania, down through the Virginias and the Carolinas, through misty Blue Ridge country and the whiskey lands of Kentucky, ending finally in the foothills of North Georgia and Alabama. Its 165,000 square miles of incredible beauty and vast mineral wealth shield the nation's most paradoxical problem – poverty amidst plenty.

To most people, Appalachia once meant unspoiled playgrounds, a land of camp sites and lake front cottages, of rolling, rocky pastures and plowed quilts of land weaving through lush pine forests. It was a silent wilderness of endless, running mountain ranges, a place of thin and sparkling waterfalls dropping from sheer heights, of wild flowers and birds and hushed darting animals and cool-shaded isolation and peace.

It still is that, but since President Johnson's poverty program it has suddenly become more. Today, Appalachia conjures visions of trouble and heartache, of signs reading "no jobs" and hard men, weary with worry.

Until Johnson came to Atlanta, few people realized that Appalachia includes a triangle of thirty-six counties stretching across the top of Georgia and down to the south and west of its state capital. But now, this triangle has suddenly become gray in columns of grim and dreary statistics: 675,024 people, 72.2 per cent of whom are rural, though only 12.1 per cent are farmers. Urban and rural, their annual income is below that of the rest of Appalachia, and Appalachia is below that of the rest of the country. The employment rate of north Georgia is lower than Appalachia as a whole, which means there are more jobs but lower pay. Among adults, 17.7 per cent have less than five years of schooling and nearly half, 44.2 per cent, did not finish high school.

If this seems a sad story, it needs for perspective to be compared with other areas of Georgia in worse shape. Of Appalachia's 170,598 families, 37.3 per cent are technically classified as impoverished, their income less than $3,000 a year. But in the flat lands of South Georgia, the picture is worse. Coffee County has 55.6 per cent of its families in this shape and Baker County numbers 74.1 per cent as impoverished. Furthermore Appalachia has thus far escaped debilitating man-made disasters like strip-mining, which have left whole towns in Pennsylvania and Virginia hopeless and obsolete.

The north Georgians have, through the years, managed to keep land and pride intact, as though knowing that without land there is no hope and without pride there is only defeat. Although disasters like erosion and fire have taken their toll, the ancient rhythms of agriculture dominate time and landscape and the deep lines in the faces of its people have been put there as much by wind and work as by worry. Its people speak in an Elizabethan-touched language, proud folk, obedient to old codes and old cultures reflected in twanging, wild-fiddling music as old as England. An ancient and stern religion speaks out in roadside signs – "Jesus is coming" and "Sinners repent", and a congregation in solemn dignity performs the rite of foot-washing in a broad, shingled, white wooden church. Nearby a graveyard's tombstones are carved with last names that go back through time and across all the history of America.

continued

Proud people speaking an Elizabethan-touched language...

It is hard to look on these folks as statistics. They are old couples on cool, shaded porches; men, shirtless in overalls, gaunt and angular and hard as railroad spikes, arguing in the shade of a filling station; groups of town men in Saturday starch, standing around a silver, hopped-up Ford; a woman who says her daughter looked all over for a job near home but finally had to go down to Atlanta to find one; a boy who tells you his granny is in her seventies and lives alone in the mountains rather than follow her family to Atlanta "where the water tastes funny"; a youth, as thin as a corn stalk, who looks on for work in the mountains he loves but is finding "there are more people than jobs."

This is not to say adversity does not exist. It does, sometimes almost overpowering in the totality of its poverty. In a shambled four-room rural house near Dallas, without running water and with only fireplaces for heat, a woman keeps five of her children together. Her husband lies on an iron bed, the victim of three strokes which have left "a clog on his brain" that "just blanked him out." He looks twenty years older than he is, is skeleton thin, lies virtually immobile except for an occasional brush of a large, bone-frail hand at the flies about his face.

The woman, who is sixty-nine, suffers from skin cancer. She was born near Cedartown and her father was a farmer who owned his land, raised nine young-uns and paid his debts. "He was," she says, "a good old man." Between crops, she tells you, he burned timber to make charcoal and sold it to colored folks who used it back then to heat flat irons for laundry.

continued

Her welfare money, the old woman says, goes mostly for medicine for her "old man." That and the wages her oldest son, who quit school in the seventh grade, brings home from the saw mill are all the family has to subsist on. In 1960, a tree fell on her sixteen-year-old boy and the "old romantic fever settled in his knees" after that. Her eleven-year-old, she says, likes arithmetic and is bright and she hopes he will get an education so "he won't have to make it so hard."

They go on, day after day, struggling out an existence. But this is their land and their home. The thought of moving on never seems to enter their minds.

Sixty miles away, another of the mountain's people says "Aw heck," expressing pain and sympathy when he hears about this family. Statistically, he is also a borderline problem, although he would never admit it and would probably throw his hat in the dust and spit in his hands if someone said so. He and his family live in a rented new house near Blairsville. His wife, painfully frail and surprisingly agile, has raised eleven children, five of whom still live at home. In the eight months the family has lived in their house, the husband has cleared six of its 160 acres with his power saw, is growing a vegetable crop on the cleared land with which he feeds his family.

The entire family helps in the fields. They have never failed to make a crop or kill hogs or make a living, even during the twenty years he saw-milled as well as farmed. Only once did he leave the land, and then to go to work for Dodge in Detroit. He quit after two weeks.

I'd as soon go to jail," he says. The noise bothered him. "I couldn't eat nor sleep. The presses slammed

continued

A people married to the land, too impoverished, or proud, to move on.

and bammed in my ear all day and transfer trucks roared and shook the house all night."

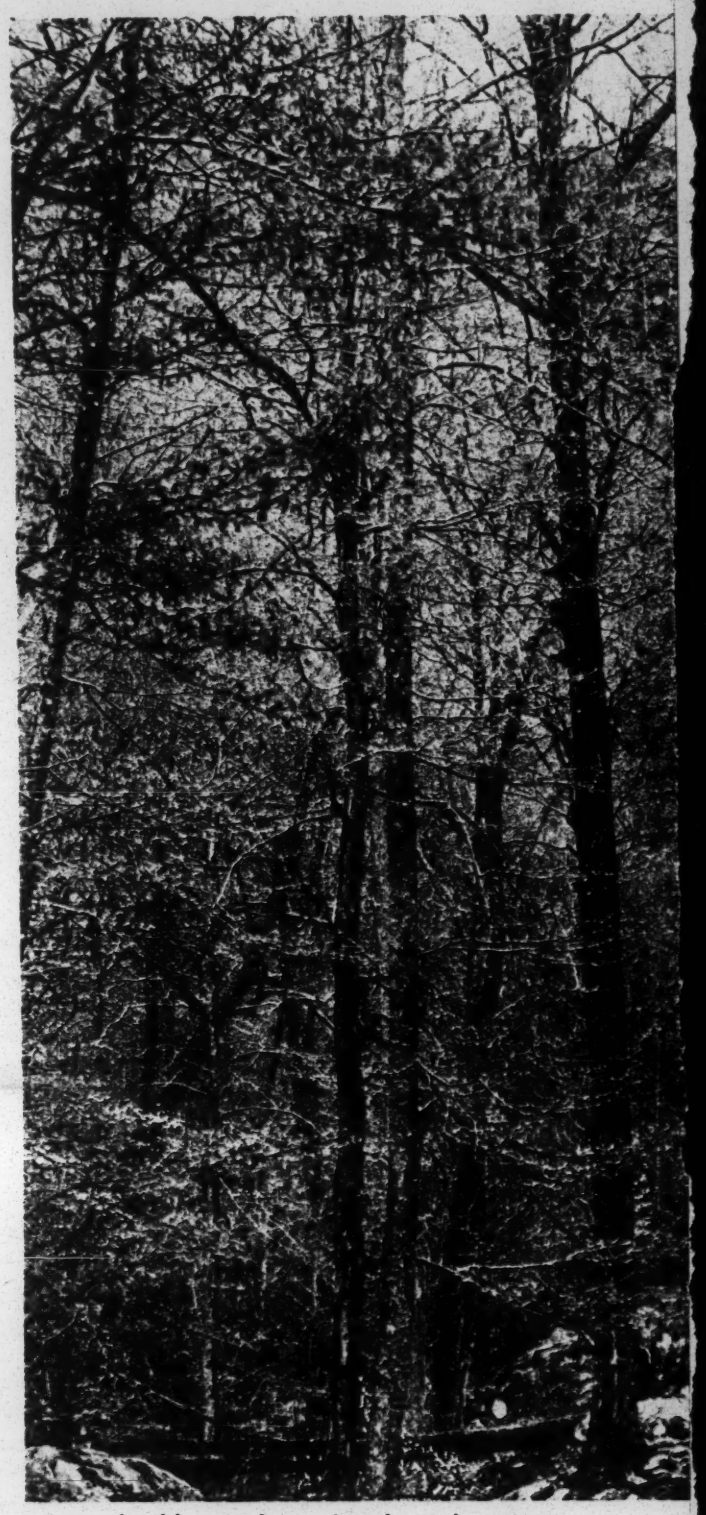
He remembers, too, days when "I did ditching" for seventy-five cents a day and logging in the winters when he went out with no wraps and waded frozen streams and came in with his overalls split in the seams from being frozen. Yet at forty-nine he sees no reason why he can't go on farming the rest of his life and earning extra money with his power saw.

"I fall down just as fast as I ever did," he tells you, "but it takes me a little longer now to git up."

Speaking of adversity, he does not talk about himself. He tells you about a man he knew once whom everybody thought was worthless. "I had a corn crop planted and then somebody offered me a job up where they was building the dam so I offered this fellow shares if he would finish my crop. He worked like the very dickens all that summer, made the crop and got on his feet again. He never got down like that again. Everybody had just knocked him until he thought he wasn't any good any more . . ."

Standing in his yard, ringed by brooding mountains in this circular valley, he says: "I believe in helping a man up one time."

Perhaps it is this kind of compassionate feeling that has kept the land and the pride of the Georgia Appalachians intact through the years. And perhaps, in his lean, mountain language, this Georgian summed up simply what all the fuss over Appalachia is all about.



The people of Dawson County (like the boy above) are descendants of Scotch-Irish settlers who came to Georgia's rugged wilderness (center) early in the 1800's.

Appalachia— Poverty, Beauty And Poverty

By REESE CLEGHORN

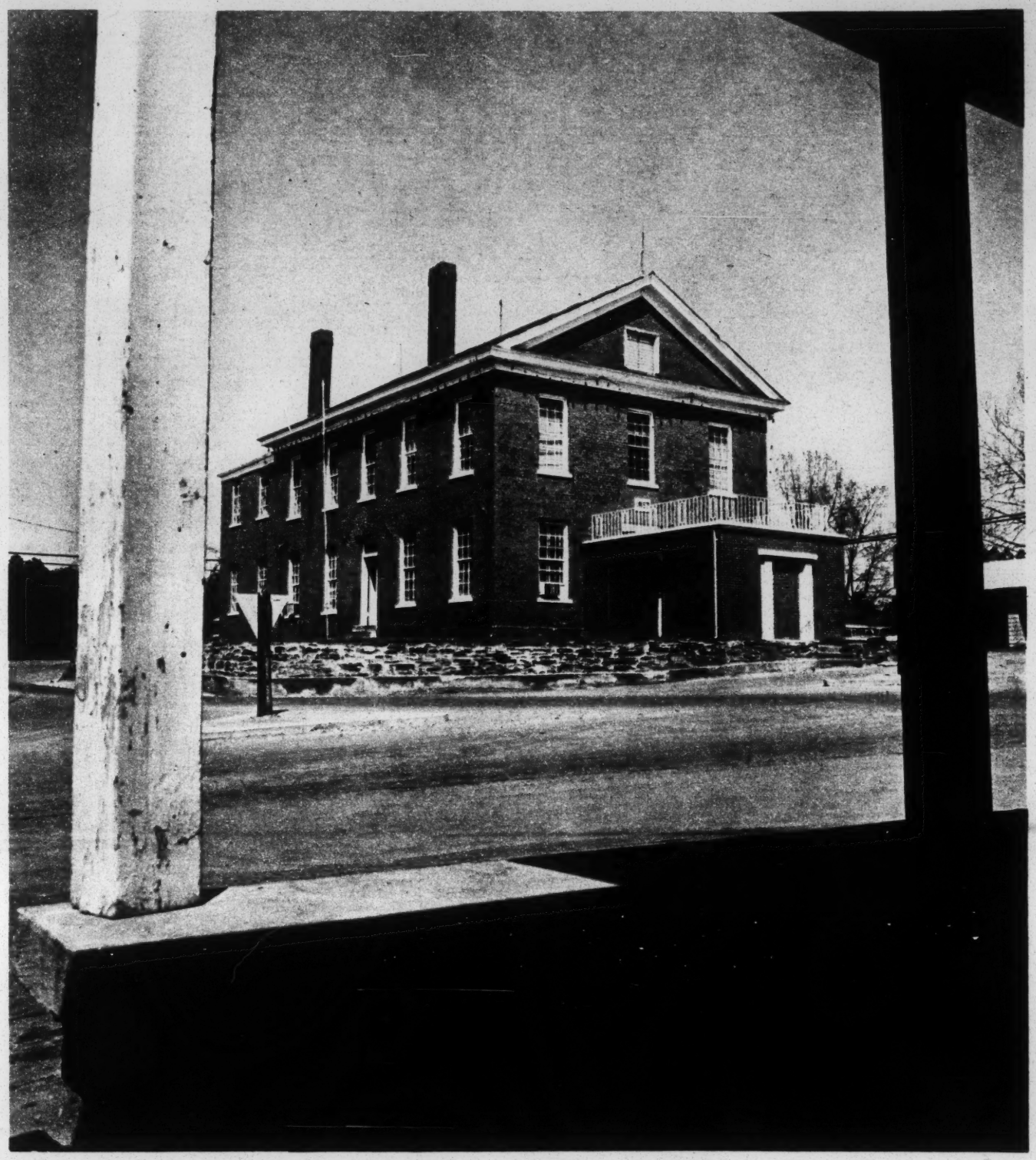
DAWSONVILLE, Ga.

THE asphalt cuts a mud-bleeding gash into a red clay bank just before U.S. 19 winds over the hills into Dawsonville, 51 miles north of Atlanta. The eye moves ahead, past ragged patches of dried cornstalks and broom sedge swaying in the wind, to a stark silhouette, rising on a ridge like an upthrust tower in El Greco's "Toledo." The red bricks of the tower seem to seep into the clay they stand upon, from which they were fashioned in kilns long since dead. The windows are dark, the two chimneys cold. On one of its walls a wooden board bears the date "1857." A fringe of grass and a rim of concrete divide the building, the Dawson County Courthouse, from the roads that turn irregularly around it.

Dawson is the smallest of 35 Georgia counties that are a part of Appalachia. Many of its people still do not know that their region bears this name or that Congress has passed an Appalachia development act. Here a program and the peculiar, prideful realities of one of America's last wildernesses meet. To know Dawson County is to know the spirit and the dispiritedness of the whole region. It is also to know more of America's history—and its lately discovered backwaters—and to wonder how things will be when the frontiers are gone.

THE roads around the courthouse in Dawsonville (population 307) were

REESE CLEGHORN is the associate editor of The Atlanta Journal.



The courthouse (right) was built in 1857, when hopes were bright. Today the county has almost 400 fewer people than it had then.

quiet on a recent rainy day. Most of the rural activity had come to a standstill. Muddy pickup trucks and half a dozen yellow school buses were parked at odd angles here and there around the courthouse square.

Inside an old brick building much like the courthouse, B. A. Tatum was talking. "I've been stopped for two years," he said. "Don't do much but gardening now. The big boys has got all the chickens. Just as well not talk about it. They ain't going to turn any of it loose." Mr. Tatum, 65 years old, a heavy, slow man with glasses and a short stubble on his face, wore a sweat-stained felt hat, overalls and formidable brogans.

He explained that, like many farmers in Dawson County after World War II, he had abandoned row crops, principally cotton and corn, for poultry. He had four chicken houses, the kind one sees behind most of the farm homes in Dawson today, almost all of them collapsing in disuse.

"We done pretty good," he said. "Pore folks can't do no good now." Poultry growers like Mr. Tatum began to lose out a decade ago when the big feed companies made contracts with farmers who could produce on a large scale. The small producers, unable to participate or find profitable markets of their own, faltered. A recent drop in poultry prices finished off almost all of them.

"We even lost our house," said Mr. Tatum's daughter, Dorothy, a chubby young woman, who sat nearby. "We was paying for it out of chicken money. It's hard for a fellow to live around here now. Daddy made us a whole lot better living farming and growing chickens than you can make now." For most people, she said, it is difficult to earn more than $50 a week in this limbo that has followed the collapse of the small-farm economy. She and her husband, Troy Lee Simmons, and their two children manage to get by, but with little to spare.

MR. TATUM, his daughter and her husband bring alive some of the statistics of Appalachia. In Dawson County these include: Population, 3,590; 1964 welfare budget, more than $131,000; average value of farms (including buildings), $5,945; per capita income, $1,203. Of the working males 58 per cent earn less than $2,000 a year; *(Continued on Page 124)*

In the wild, scenic hills of north Georgia lies Dawson County, and to know it is to know "the spirit and the dispiritedness" of Appalachia. Under the $1.1-billion aid bill, new roads will eventually open up this old frontier region, but will they also improve the lot of its proud people?

Photographs by JAY LEVITON

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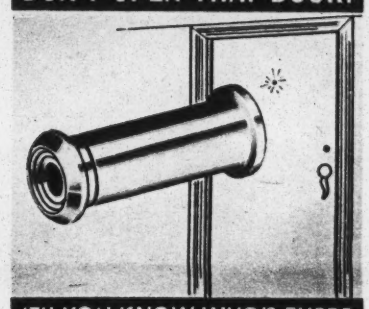

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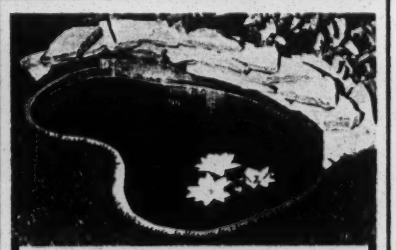

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Appalachia—Poverty, Beauty and Poverty

(Continued from Page 13)

only 16 per cent earn more than $4,000. The most somber statistics of all are these: Median educational level in the county, seventh grade; among residents 25 or older, 63 per cent did not complete the eighth grade, only 15 per cent finished high school, and only 2 per cent finished college.

The county's bright young people leave and each census shows its population growing older. Dawson has great scenic and mineral resources, yet it is a county without a doctor, a dentist or a lawyer; it has no railroad and in some areas no telephone service; there is only one, low-paying industry — a shirt-manufacturing company—that employs any significant number of local people. The county is so poor that the state of Georgia —relatively poor itself—must pay 93 per cent of Dawson's basic school costs.

NOWHERE in the Appalachian region, which stretches from the upper reaches of Pennsylvania into Alabama, can one find, side by side, greater beauty and greater lack than in Dawson. No one county, of course, can be called typical of a region that includes Pittsburgh and Birmingham, the dead strip-mining communities of West Virginia and the booming, new industrial areas along the Tennessee River in Alabama. Yet there are some common characteristics throughout, and Dawson accentuates them.

It still bears the heavy imprint of the frontier. It was in the last part of the eighteenth century that settlers began to pour through the Cumberland Gap and make their way into the valleys of this part of Appalachia. Mostly they were Scotch-Irish, descendants of Scots who had lived in Ireland after their forebears were defeated by the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden Moor.

The settlers brought with them a prickly independence, and they left upon north Georgia's hills the Scottish clansman's sensitivity to the little courtesies and the generous gestures, and a belief in the law and loyalty of the clan, which often meant handling matters, including legislative law, for themselves.

A visitor still finds tinges of Shakespearean splendor in the language of some of these people, and touches of the Bobby Burns vernacular; there is a special appreciation for the lively tongue and the colorful phrase. There is a native lustiness, and where circumstances seem to have drained it from the people, the effect is melancholy and depressing.

The religion of the frontier is still strong here. Most of the early settlers came with a firm belief not only in the Jehovah of the Old Testament, but in a Calvinist Jehovah who rewarded the stern and simple virtues. In some of the little frame churches of north Georgia the ancient rite of foot-washing is still performed in solemn dignity, a Biblical act of humility that would embarrass a city visitor. On the roadsides signs proclaim "Jesus Is Coming" and "Sinners Repent."

THE settlers—from the Carolinas, Virginia and other parts of Georgia—reached the hills and valleys of the Dawson area in the early 19th century as the Cherokees were driven, treaty by treaty, from their homelands. But it was not until 1857 that the Georgia Legislature finally created the county from parts of two other counties. The courthouse which was built then is still in use today. Significantly, in 1859 Dawson County had 3,983 people, 393 more than it had when the 1960 census was taken.

This was never true plantation country; the South's struggle with racial matters has been little evident in the region. Yet racial statistics call attention to a tawdry part of its record: in 1859 there were 308 slaves and four free Negroes. Today there are no Negroes. Early in this century an incident of violence attributed to a Negro led to a wave of persecution, and all the Negroes soon departed. Today the only signs that they were ever in the county are the tombs around the site of a Negro church, ironically named Prospect. In 1911 the church burned. Was burned? The record does not say.

From the earliest days settlers found the soil of Dawson rich, but claiming it from the frontier was a difficult task with limited rewards. The farmers extended the limited flatlands by cultivating the narrow fingers of soil they could clear on the sides of the hills, but it was never an area of big farms. This did not matter so much when the occupants of a small farm could supplement their home-grown meat and vegetables with some cash from the sale of cotton and corn.

But by the nineteen-thirties, bigness was beginning to threaten that way of life. Dawson could never produce cotton as economically as could the counties farther to the south where huge expanses could be cultivated. The efficiency resulting from the use of machinery benefited the big farms more than the small ones.

Depression prices, especially devastating for cotton, and the slowness of economic recovery led many Dawson farmers to abandon fields where row crops had been grown. Today about 75 per cent of the county is wilderness again. In 1900, Dawson had 976 farms that produced 2,000 bales of cotton. In 1964, there were 327 farms and fewer than 30 bales of cotton.

The introduction of poultry raising in this part of Georgia, now the world's leading center of broiler production, seemed to be just what Dawson County needed. Almost every farmer began to concentrate on it at the time of World War II. It became, and still is, the source of 95 per cent of the county's farm income. But while this income was once distributed broadly, now it benefits relatively few people directly. Only farmers who can raise flocks of at least 5,000 broilers can obtain contracts from the big feed companies that control the industry in Georgia.

The requirements of these companies are exacting. Formerly a farmer could put up a black, paper-covered chicken house on concrete blocks for $2,000; today $10,000 is a more nearly typical cost. The chicken house must be air-conditioned, and tight feed controls are prescribed. The feed companies provide both the chicks and the feed; the farmer provides the labor. When his broilers are ready for market, the feed companies pay him 1 or 2 cents a pound. Only a big operator can afford to sell chickens for that. "We're just working for the companies," said Ben Overstreet, one of the county's prosperous young farmers.

The steady surrender of littleness to bigness is a central theme in the history of Dawson. Little row-crop farms have lost out to the big row-crop farms; little poultrymen have lost out to the big feed corporations and big producers. Greater efficiency has resulted, but the change has left a human residue.

AT the courthouse Mary Smith, an alert matronly woman, discussed the change. Mrs. Smith is county director of the Department of Family and Children Services, Georgia's new designation of its welfare department. "I know we must pinpoint our poverty," she said, and then elaborated in a way which announced that local pride had not been erased by her professionalism. "So many who come here to see a part of Appalachia are looking for barefoot people. But many of our people just don't display their poverty in public. Poverty has many faces."

Mrs. Smith is proud of Daw-

(Continued on Page 126)

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(Continued from Page 124)

son and she likes its people. She is convinced that almost all of those who need welfare help here are victims of ill circumstance. "We handle a rather high type of people," she said. "In a larger area you may have people who have made it a way of life, but not here."

She told of a widow who receives a $59 Government check each month, bitterly resents the small size of the check, but wants to work to earn her way. She has had no special training and can get none in Dawson. Not far from the widow's home is a substantial building, now unused, that served as an elementary school. Mrs. Smith hopes that, with funds from the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 or from the Appalachia program, the building can be converted into an adult training center. The widow could then enroll there and learn how to make her way.

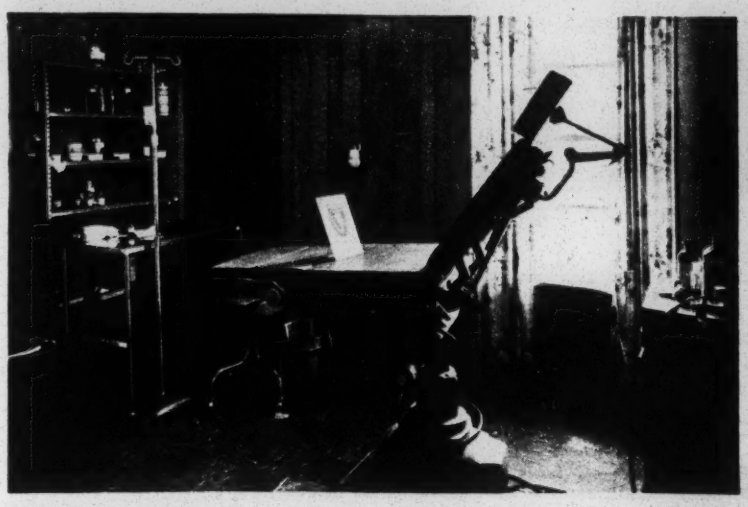
To Mrs. Smith there is an especially hollow ring to the notion that the people of Appalachia could escape from poverty if they would only abandon their lethargy. "To tell this woman who gets $59 a month just to get out and get a job—" Mrs. Smith broke off with a querulous expression. "Why, the fairies just don't create jobs! This idea that people here can lift themselves by their bootstraps just doesn't make sense."

Mrs. Smith is familiar with the mountain pride that is often seasoned with subtle humor and is revealed in little ruses. The widow she spoke of has a daughter in high school who receives a free lunch at school under the Federal lunch program, but mother and daughter see to it that it is not truly a free meal. The daughter cleans the tables in the lunchroom in payment for her lunch, although she is not required to do so. "Could you make your boys say they wanted to eat free?" the mother asked Mrs. Smith.

Perhaps the school lunch program is an index to Dawson's pride. Some 80 per cent of the county's students are now fed through the program, which provides meals at cost (20 to 25 cents) or without charge to those who cannot afford to pay. Although it is estimated that hundreds of pupils could qualify for the free lunches, hardly any of them accept the free meal tickets that are available.

Dawson has tried to help itself; there has been much organized effort. The county is represented in the Georgia Mountains Association, which seeks tourists through highway improvements and promotion, and the Georgia Mountains Area Planning and Development Commission, which operates in 12 counties. It

SELF-HELP—Dawson County is not just waiting for others to solve its problems. Vocational skills like typing are taught in high school, above, and it is trying to attract a doctor by offering a clinic, below, rent-free for a year.



now has the Dawson County Industrial and Community Enterprises, Inc., organized by community leaders to try to attract industry. The Dawson County Youth Council, recently formed, is formulating a work-study plan so that Dawson may receive Federal funds for such a program under the Economic Opportunity Act. And the county has been actively seeking a doctor, offering anyone interested a year's rent-free use of an already equipped clinic.

One effort bore fruit. A public-development corporation erected a one-story factory building and brought in a cutlery company, which subsequently left. Then a New York shirt manufacturer came to occupy the building. This company is now the county's only substantial industry, employing 200 to 300 women, who are paid on a production basis. Some of the women earn as much as $60 to $70 a week; their wages are, in many cases, the family's main income.

In 1957 Lockheed Aircraft Corporation bought 10,000 acres in Dawson for a research center. For some time there was great anticipation, for it seemed probable that at this site some of the country's most important space explorations would originate. Hope soon dimmed, as it often has in Dawson. The Lockheed research operation has remained an adjunct to the company's big plant on the outskirts of Atlanta, and few Dawson County residents have ever been employed there.

A BETTER-FOUNDED hope in Dawson, it would seem, is for an extensive tourist trade. Already one Atlanta promoter is working on a mountaintop development. Real estate firms have begun to take an interest in Dawson land.

The area has scenic rivers with melodious Indian names —Oconee, Chattooga, Tugaloo, Tallulah and Etowah. There are mountains and fertile valleys. In the highlands are forests of birch, ash and maple; basswood, buckeye, white pine and hemlock grow to giant proportions (and help conceal illicit whisky stills which are so numerous that Dawson has been described as Georgia's leading moonshine county). A finger of a big man-made sea, Lake Sidney Lanier, thrusts into Dawson, but the county's most dramatic scenery is in Amicalola Falls State Park, where the highest waterfall in Georgia, a great white stripe down the side of a blue mountain, tumbles 729 feet into the valley in a chain of seven cataracts. From the peak at Amicalola ("tumbling waters" in Cherokee) one looks out through the mists of the falls to great Blue Ridge shoulders rising above blankets of white cloud or down to fields of green fescue and tight patches of corn.

For all its attractions for tourists the county has only one motel, and there is little else to accommodate visitors. Millions of people travel the Blue Ridge Parkway not far away in North Carolina, yet know nothing of Dawson's Amicalola and other beauties.

WILL the Appalachia bill help? Of the $1.1 billion in the bill, $840 million is to be used for roads. Dawson, which has 100 miles of state and Federal highway but none more than two lanes wide, is expecting at least one four-lane road that would bring in the tourists and, hopefully, more industry. But most people in Dawson are ill-equipped to deal with this change to their advantage.

Mrs. Smith frankly says it already may be too late for most of Dawson's people. Training may be found for the widow who tries to live on $59 a month. Better jobs eventually may be available for some of the men who earn less than $2,000 a year. But the economic usefulness of many people already is lost forever. "So many older people are casualties in this atomic age," Mrs. Smith said. "It is going to be real hard with the older illiterates. I want to concentrate on the younger people."

Don Stephens, manager of the new Dawson County office of a major feed and poultry company, graduated in 1955 from Dawson County High School. He was one of 13 graduates. Of this group he recalls that two went to college, both to nearby Young Harris, a small Methodist school. One went to Atlanta as an electrician and another as a carpenter; others went to Atlanta in the hope of learning a trade. "They didn't have any special skill," Mr. Stephens said. "They went just as laborers. They were forced to leave here. There's not a lot for young people to do in Dawson County."

These youths were among a minority in their age group in the county who finished high school. Of them only three remain in Dawson. That is the sort of thing that explains why the overwhelming majority of the adults in the county have little education.

JOE BRADLEY, an articulate, 38-year-old former vocational agriculture teacher who recently was elected the new county superintendent of schools, said he is working hard on a critical dropout problem between the ninth and eleventh grades. But, he notes, the kind of programs that might enrich the basic curriculum and challenge older students—shop, art, music—require money the county does not have. To make his point about the lack of funds, even for basic maintenance of property, he raked a foot under his desk in his tiny courthouse office and an old automobile license plate slid away from a hole in the floor that it was covering.

Dawson County, after many disappointments and hard jolts, is not naturally optimistic. So far it has not bubbled with excitement over the antipoverty and Appalachia aid programs. Mr. Tatum and his daughter Dorothy say they never heard of an Appalachia development act—they only know that Dawson may soon get a better road. In his one-room country store between Dawsonville and Amicalola, W. L. Chastain, a thin-lipped, slight man says: "I just haven't thought much about it, to tell you the truth." And in a bare courthouse office, County Commissioner R. L. Barron says he has heard little talk about the Appalachia program. Although he is head of the county government, he himself expresses little interest in it.

THE chief objective of the Appalachia aid bill that was enacted in early March is to open this region with better highways. If that is done, it probably will bring chain restaurants, chain motels, chain industries and many other features of the mass American economy which have not as yet reached Dawson County. With them, it is hoped, will come prosperity.

But will it? Will any of this change alter the lives of most Dawson County residents? Or will it be largely an overlay that will simply obscure them — their plight, their uniqueness and their wilderness? Their children and their children's children are likely to live in a far different Dawson County. But a price will have been paid for the change.

This last of the country's frontiers will have been subjugated not by the steady advance of the sons of the old pioneers here, but by the speed, efficiency and machine-made homogeneity of modern America thrust into this corner from the outside.

Probably the chief beneficiaries will be, not the present occupants of the remaining small farms and the county seat, but those from elsewhere who invest in the new industries: the owners of the pulpwood company that already possesses one-sixth of Dawson County; and the promoters of mountain tourist developments who will adorn their establishments with neon drawings of feathered, painted, Western Plains Indians speaking Cherokee. Most of this last frontier seems likely to pass from America forever, not with a bang, or with a whimper either, but with resolute resignation. The conquerors will be the big corporation, the sharp investor and the hungry tourist.

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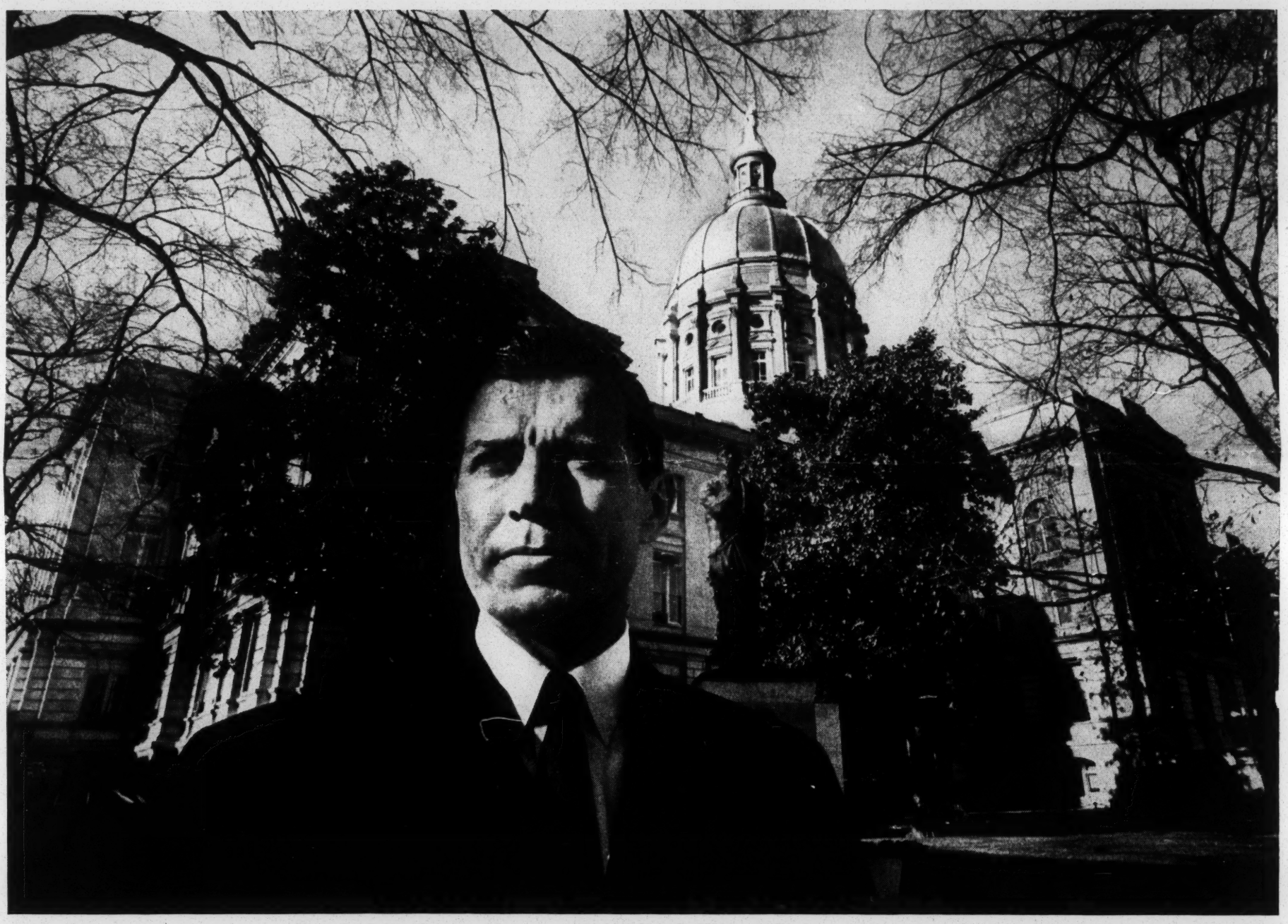
Progress goes marching through GEORGIA



Gov. Carl Sanders typifies new political breed. Wide-angle lens makes State Capitol seem to lean away from him.

By Ben Hibbs

Three years ago Georgia stood at the crossroads. A Federal court had ordered the Atlanta schools to integrate, and throughout the state there was deep resentment, with much inflammatory talk about massive resistance, school closings, violence if necessary.

During the preceding 20 years Georgia had piled up a striking record of progress and modernization. Industry had surged in from the North, jobs had multiplied, average family income had risen sharply. people were living better. Education was improving, and the illiteracy rate was dropping. Atlanta had become a gem among cities, and most of the large towns were booming mightily.

And yet in the winter of 1960 there was an air of apprehension in the state. Everyone knew that the Atlanta court order was only the beginning, and, with the threat of social strife hanging there like a storm cloud, cooler heads wondered whether Georgia's fine, straight march ahead was to be halted in its tracks.

Would Atlanta be another Little Rock? Would there be, in Georgia, another Prince Edward County, Virginia, where the public schools had been closed down tight—and remain closed to this day? Already there were signs that industry, which likes to operate in an atmosphere of peace and order, was beginning to look askance at Georgia. Several national companies had reported difficulty in persuading their branch-plant executives, particularly those with children, to move into the state.

The fact that in the end Georgia faced up to its problem and refused to turn back to the nineteenth century is one of the remarkable and encouraging events of our

"The changes are convulsive."

time. Today the state is moving forward at an even more rapid pace—in industrialization, in education, on the racial front, and politically. Last summer it threw out its ancient county-unit voting system, which had long given the balance of power to the rural backwaters—and to the Gene Talmadges they produced. By its example Georgia may very well point the way ahead to some of the other states in the Deep South.

Georgia's new attitude is typified perfectly by a comment made to me by Gov. Carl E. Sanders when I asked him to define "a moderate." "In my case," he replied, "'moderate' means that I am a segregationist but not a damned fool."

Then he added: "I am a southerner by birth and at heart, and I believe sincerely in our traditional separation of the races. On the other hand, I am for progress. I am determined that during my administration this state will move ahead—fast. And I know that we can't have real progress in the midst of social upheavals. Consequently while I am governor we are going to obey the laws, we are not going to resist Federal court orders with violence, and we are not going to close any schools. We have seen some pretty sorry examples of that kind of folly in the South, and I want none of it in Georgia."

Sanders, a 37-year-old Augusta attorney, was elected governor last autumn after trouncing Marvin S. Griffin in the September Democratic primary. A slim, neatly dressed man who speaks fluently but without flamboyance, Sanders was a B-17 bomber pilot at age 19 in World War II. He holds a law degree from the University of Georgia, conducts a successful practice in Augusta and has served in both houses of the state legislature.

"A segregationist, but"

In Georgia the governor serves one four-year term, and although he cannot succeed himself he can run for the same office again after standing aside for one or more terms. Griffin, Sanders' opponent in the primary, had occupied the governor's chair from 1955 to 1959, and his administration was riddled with financial scandals. His attempted comeback in 1962 raised the old ghost of corruption in the State House, and Sanders pounded hard on the issue of clean government. He also hammered away on his favorite theme of progress. The state had pushed forward rapidly under Gov. S. Ernest Vandiver, whose term was drawing to a close, and Sanders insisted that nothing must check this march to better things.

And of course the race problem was an issue—although to lesser degree, apparently, than most people thought. Griffin is a forthright segregationist, as undiluted as high-proof bourbon. Sanders made it clear that he is "a segregationist but ——"

"This 'segregationist but' credo," said Ralph McGill, famed columnist and publisher of the Atlanta *Constitution*, "is a dichotomy that often crops up in the statements of the new breed of southern politician. And that little word 'but' and what follows can be charged with future meaning for the South."

Many of the political soothsayers gave Griffin the edge in the primary. What they overlooked was that Georgia had indeed turned a corner. Most of the voters still wish the old racial status quo could remain, and they deeply resent what they regard as northern interference in their affairs. Yet, almost suddenly, the economic motive has become more important to the majority of Georgians than the perennial battle over Negro rights. Sanders sensed this, and he won. He was unopposed in the November election.

In Georgia, perhaps more clearly than in any other state, it is possible to see with the naked eye the almost convulsive changes which are occurring in this nation's way of life. The revolution in agriculture, the exodus from the land, the urbanization of the people, the industrialization of our economy, the rising standard of living for the rank and file—all these trends are proceeding at an accelerated pace in Georgia.

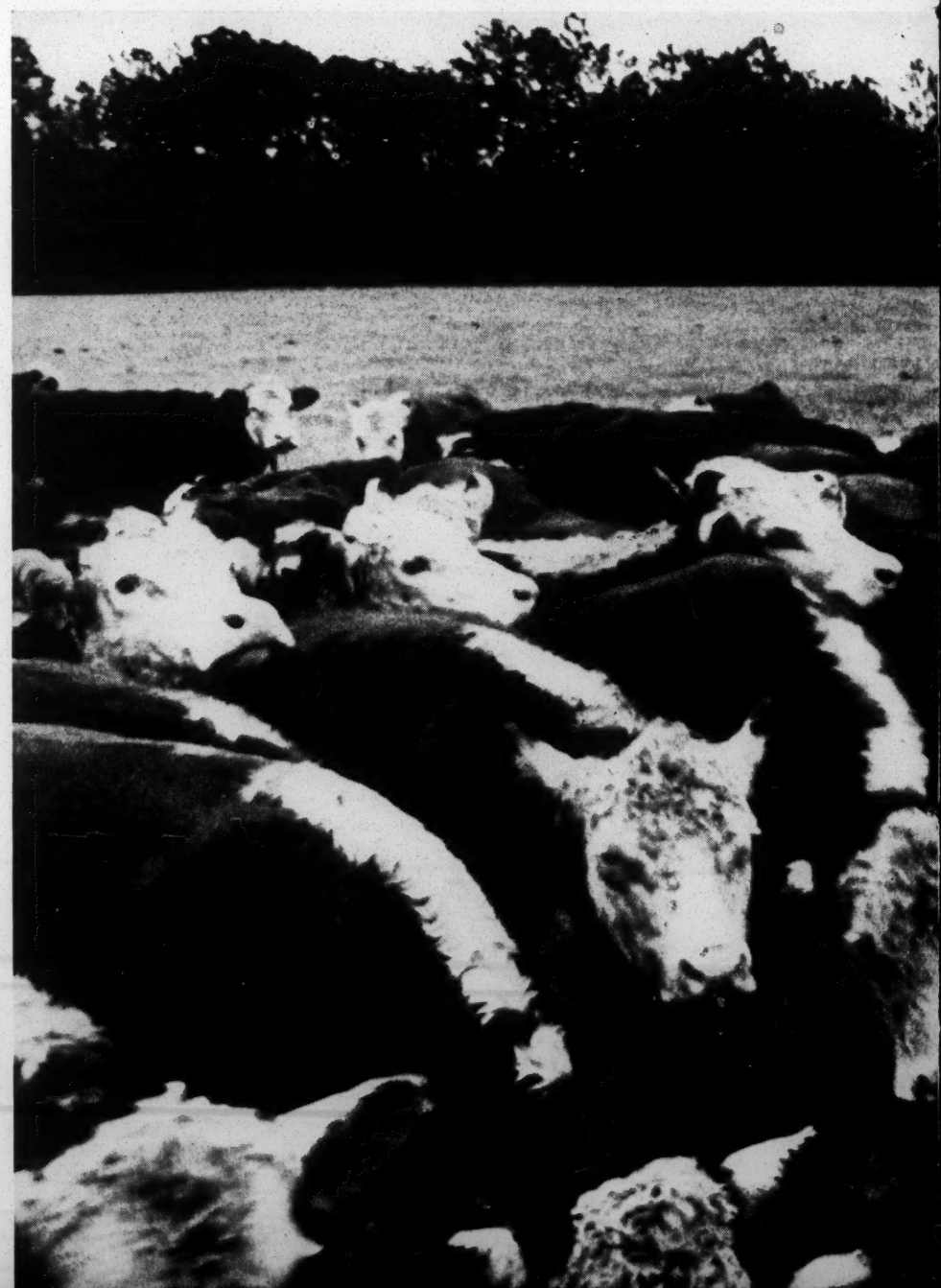
Georgia is a big, sprawling state, endowed with great natural beauty in many of its areas but ugly and neglected in others. From the mountains of the north—an extension of the Great Smokies—the terrain slopes away through rolling farm country and lovely wooded hills to the broad croplands and lush pastures of the southern coastal plain. Deep, slow streams, some of them navigable in their lower reaches, flow southward to the Gulf and east to the Atlantic Ocean. Georgia's climate is benign, good hunting and fishing abound, and the outdoor life can be enjoyed most of the year.

From the time of the Civil War until the 1930's Georgia was a rural southern state—with all that implies. Its economy was based on cotton; a half century ago its compresses turned out 2,000,000 bales a year. With the exception of some tobacco, there was little other commercial farming worthy of the name. Textiles were the only industry of any consequence. Forty-acre, one-mule farms, eroding and declining in fertility, were the order of the day. On the larger places the ancient sharecropping system still had its stranglehold on the land. Forestry was a hit-and-run business, with the little peckerwood sawmills stripping the countryside and leaving desolation behind.

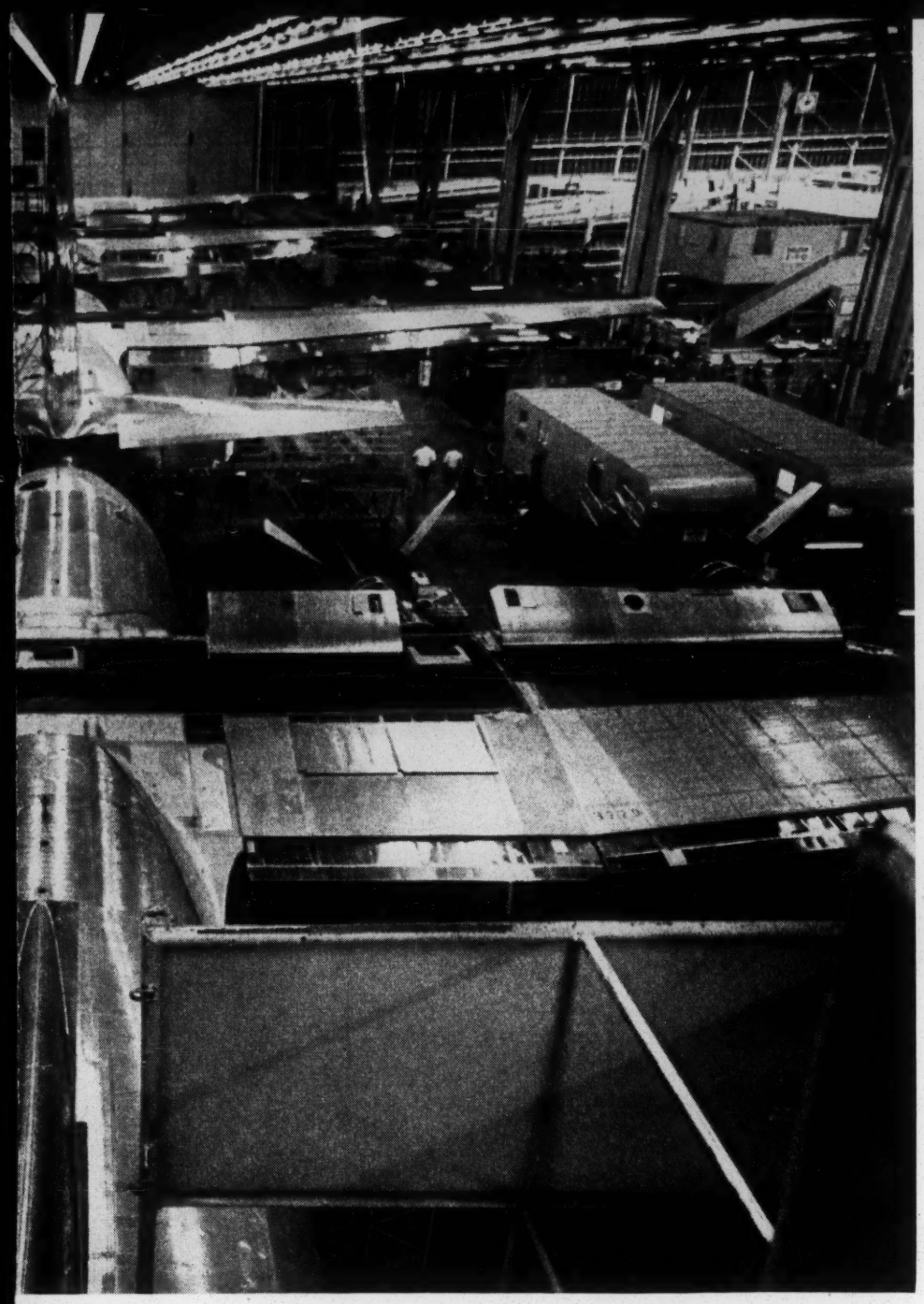
Fifty years ago two thirds of the population lived on the land, and most of the rural people of both races were bone-poor. Diet and sanitation were bad, and the health quotient was low. Schools were poor, and the roads for the most part were mere gashes in the red earth. The courthouse gangs ruled the political roost and all too frequently remained in power through appeals to ignorance and bias and hatred.

"Don't talk to me about the good old days," one elderly Atlanta businessman said to me. "I lived in those times, and they weren't good at all—for most folks."

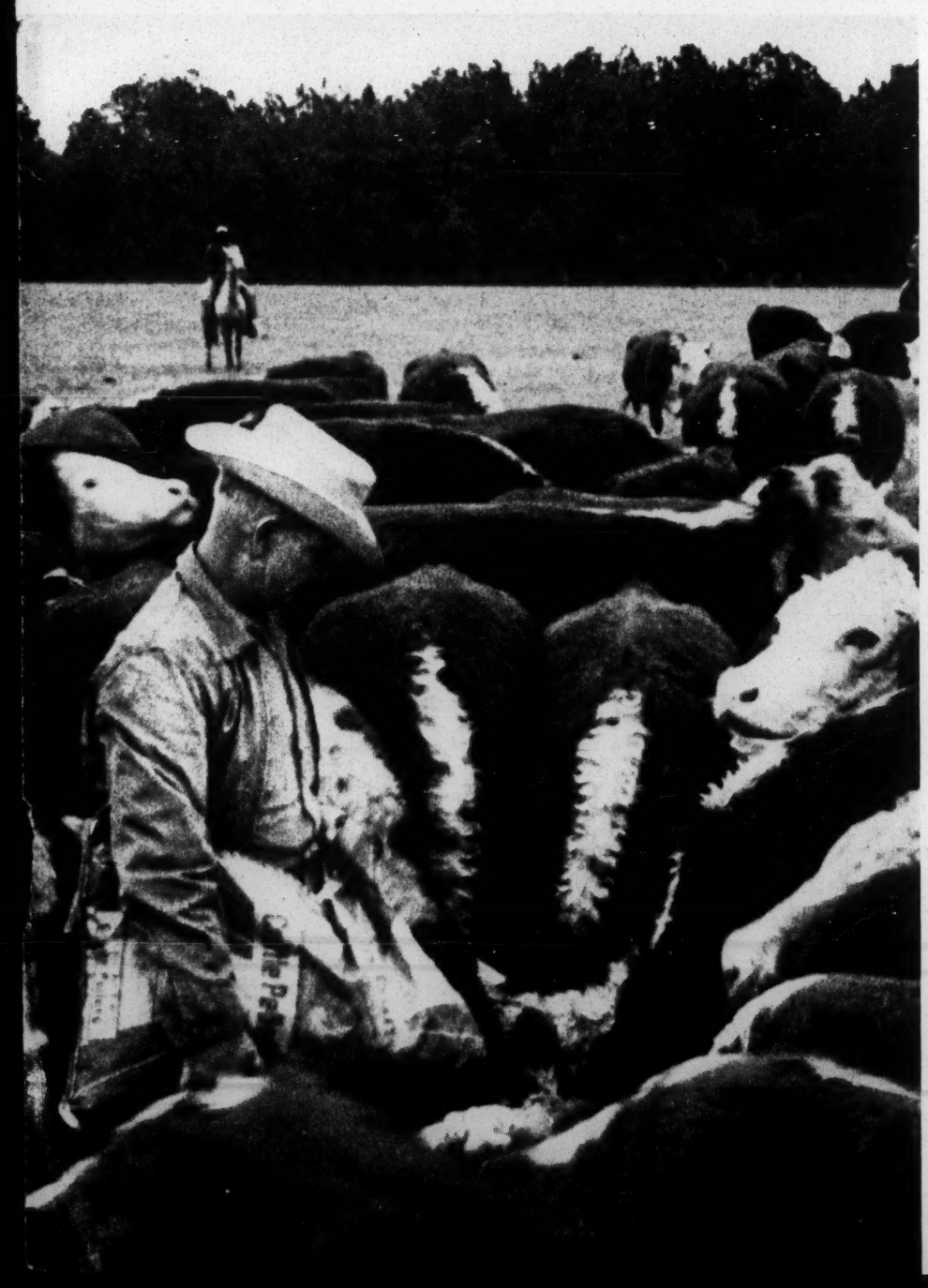
Then came the day when Georgia's one-crop economy began its precipitous decline. Cotton fell upon evil days in the Southeast and moved west. Hundreds of thousands of people knew no other way of farming, no other way of life. The flight from the land began. Abandoned cotton



These Herefords roam David Wainer's Valdosta ranch, reclaimed from devastated forests and worn-out farms.



Lockheed, turning out planes in this plant at Marietta, employs 15,000 workers in a state which industry once shunned and where Cotton ruled.



fields grew up to weeds, and little frame dwellings along the rural roads stood vacant and sagging—melancholy symbols of an era that was gone.

Even as late as 1940 there were still 1,500,000 people living on Georgia farms. Today all but 400,000—one tenth of the state's population—have fled to the towns and cities; and many of those who remain on farms earn most of their livelihood in the factories of nearby towns. Of Georgia's approximately 100,000 farms, moreover, 65 percent are listed as part-time farming operations.

And yet the state's agricultural income has leaped from $150,000,000 in 1940 to almost $800,000,000 in 1961. What happened was that the gospel of diversification, hybridization, better fertilization, mechanization—in short, more and better cash crops produced more efficiently—finally began to take hold. Cotton and tobacco are still grown in Georgia, but they are now only two of many cash crops. Peanuts, hybrid corn, hogs, cattle, dairy products, truck crops, pecans, peaches run into important money.

Big business in birds

The most spectacular success story of all is poultry. Georgia tops the nation in chicken production, having showed a hundredfold increase since 1940. Gainesville, a lively town in the foothills of the north Georgia mountains, claims to be, and probably is, the broiler capital of the world. Its packing plants process around 230,000,000 broilers a year, turning out everything from the whole bird to quick-frozen chicken pie. Chickens and eggs together yielded an income of $242,208,000 for the state as a whole in 1961—close to one third of the total farm take.

Gradually Georgia's idle croplands are being returned to grass—to support the rapidly growing cattle industry—and to fast-growing pine trees, which have become one of the big-money crops. Farmers are being taught scientific forestry for perpetual yield, and today many a farm realizes more money from its timber than it garnered from cotton in the old days.

One of the finest examples of regrassing and retimbering I have ever seen is the ranch of David S. Wainer near Valdosta in south Georgia. In 1939 Wainer began assembling worn-out farms and devastated woodlands and now has a ranch of 2,381 acres. He built 83,000 feet of terraces to stop erosion, covered the depleted land with fast-spreading grasses, and set out 600,000 trees.

Today the Wainer ranch is a beautiful piece of countryside. More than 300 polled Hereford cattle roam the pastures, 200 acres are in corn and tobacco, and the woodlands are ready to begin harvesting on a perpetual basis. Wainer expects his experiment to start yielding a substantial profit in 1963. "Many authorities predict," he said to me, "that this southeastern coastal plain some day will be the top cattle country of the nation."

The agricultural revolution is by no means at an end in Georgia. The consolidation of small farms into larger holdings goes on apace. People are still leaving the farms in droves for city jobs. But there are still many small, submarginal farms in Georgia. Rural poverty, and the ignorance that always attends it, still exist in some of the little backwaters. The poor whites, or rednecks, as they are often called in Georgia, are still there, although in much smaller numbers. All but 10 percent of the Negroes have gone to the cities along with the white folks. Meantime, coincident with the revolution in farming, manufacturing came to the towns and cities, attended by a vast upsurge in wholesaling and general business.

Today Georgia makes hundreds of products for all manner of human needs, from furniture and fertilizers to ballpoint pens and brassieres. The value of Georgia's manufactured products in 1939 stood at $677,000,000, and by 1960 the figure had risen to $5,756,000,000. In one brief generation the state had become a major manufacturing area, and the trend continues at an increasing pace.

While all this was occurring on the economic and sociological front, Georgia clung to its traditional ways politically and in racial matters. Then, three years ago, things began to happen. The turning point, many leading Georgians will tell you, came early in that apprehensive year of 1960 with hearings on integration of public schools.

In the midst of the uproar which followed the Atlanta integration order, the legislature—it is called the General Assembly in Georgia—decided to set up a commission and sound out public opinion at the grass roots. John A. Sibley, attorney and banker, regarded by many as Atlanta's most distinguished citizen, was persuaded to head the commission, a thankless job which invited brickbats from all directions. Sibley was 72 at the time and entitled, perhaps, to the serenity of advancing years, but he took on the task with quiet aplomb.

"I did it because I felt it should be done," he said to me simply when I visited him in his Atlanta office. Then he went on with a smile, "We can cope with our problems down here when we go about it intelligently. Incidentally, I am told that the North now has almost as many Negroes as we do in the South. You people have your ways, and we have ours, and I often wonder whether you handle the situation any better than we do."

Sibley and his commission held hearings in Georgia's 10 congressional districts and listened to the firebrands and the calm citizens with patience, humor, and good sense. In the end the commission turned in a report which rocked the state. The net of the findings was that, come what might, most people did not want their schools closed. Nor did they want violence. A sharp minority report took issue with Sibley's conclusions, however, and again some of the politicians began to yell bloody murder.

"This is always the pattern," said Eugene Patterson, able young editor of the historic Atlanta Constitution. "The politicians stir up the people, and away we go. If they would quit yapping and show some restraint, we southerners could handle, with peace and order, the inevitable

Atlanta: fed by expressways, hell-bent for culture.

"The state is learning to play by the new

changes that are coming. Most folks nowadays simply don't want this kind of trouble."

The first school integration in Georgia came, not in Atlanta, but at the University of Georgia, in Athens, during the winter of 1961. An embryonic riot, which might have grown into a holocaust as damaging as the recent affair in Mississippi, was squelched by state troopers before it got out of control.

In the fall of 1961 the Atlanta public schools were integrated without incident, and much of the credit goes to Mayor William B. Hartsfield, now retired, who mounted a campaign of citizen education. Week after week Bill Hartsfield answered the yammering of the politicians with the clear voice of reason. By the autumn of 1962 about 40 Negro children were attending previously all-white schools in Atlanta. Thus far this is the only public-school integration in the state.

At a higher level, Georgia Tech, Emory University and Georgia State College—all at Atlanta—have now been integrated peacefully, and Agnes Scott College, an old and aristocratic girls' school in nearby Decatur, has announced that it will accept colored students next fall.

Public transportation and various other public facilities are now integrated in Atlanta and in some other Georgia towns. The city's baseball team, the Atlanta Crackers, which won the Little World Series in 1962, has both white and colored players. In some of the factories of Atlanta and other industrial towns I saw Negroes and whites working side by side and in some cases using the same washrooms and eating facilities. Here and there I saw Negro foremen supervising white workers. In Atlanta, which has more good eating places than most northern cities of equal or larger size, Negroes now dine at several of the better restaurants without causing even a ripple of interest among the white patrons.

Many Georgia Negroes own and operate prosperous businesses, and on the southwestern outskirts of Atlanta I saw a large district of handsome Negro homes in the $30,000 to $50,000 class. Residential areas are still tightly segregated throughout most of Georgia, just as they are in northern cities.

Two months ago, in fact, race relations in Atlanta ran, quite literally, into a roadblock. To thwart—at least symbolically—the efforts of some real-estate men to move Negroes into a white residential section, the city's Board of Aldermen on December 17 ordered barricades erected on two streets running between Negro and white residential areas. Sixteen city streets had been quietly desegregated during the preceding year, but now an issue was created, and the two-foot, 10-inch-high barriers have become known as "Atlanta's Berlin Wall." As this is written a suit by the Negro All-Citizens Committee to have the "wall" removed is pending in court. Moderates hope the matter will not spark a reversal in Atlanta's—and the state's—generally impressive record in bettering race relations.

In all Georgia cities and many of the smaller places Negroes now vote as a matter of course. A young Negro attorney, LeRoy Johnson—a Democrat—was elected to the State Senate from one of the Atlanta districts in November. His Republican opponent was a Negro. It is the first time the color line has been broken in the General Assembly since 1907.

In Albany, where there were disturbances last year when Negro leaders attempted to effect the integration of public facilities, I talked with Mayor Asa D. Kelley Jr. Mayor Kelley, an attorney, is a restrained and moderate man, troubled and perhaps a bit resentful that his town was chosen as a target for the seething new forces at work in the South. "When the Negroes came to me with their plan," he said, "I advised them to wait for a court order. They refused and went ahead, and we enforced our long-standing city ordinances against such demonstrations. Now the matter is in the courts, and if and when the order comes down to integrate we'll do our best to conform."

Last summer two Negro churches were burned in southwest Georgia by roughnecks out for some excitement. In the rural counties of southern Georgia, where the colored population runs as high as 75 percent—it is about 29 percent in the state as a whole—segregation is still flint-hard and will be for a long time to come.

Doubtless there will be unhappy incidents from time to time in Georgia, but, by and large, the state is learning to play by the new rules with peace and order. Lately numerous political leaders have begun to soft-pedal their statements.

Perhaps the foremost architect of this changing attitude is Ralph McGill, who was the editor of the *Constitution* for many years before he became publisher. Short of stature but a towering figure journalistically, McGill writes an eloquent and courageous front-page column, which is also syndicated throughout the nation.

Although a southerner, McGill is no "segregationist, but ——". He believes passionately in the cause of Negro rights, and he wages the battle hard day after day. As a result he is both loved and hated throughout the state and the South. He and his wife, who died last spring, and his son have been subjected to barrages of vicious phone calls. His mailbox was blown up with a small bomb, and one night a shot fired from the street blasted through a window of his home.

When Carl Sanders won his race for the governorship in September, the Augusta *Courier*, a little weekly newspaper published by a shrill racist named Roy V. Harris, headlined the result with a streamer in red ink: McGill's Race Mixing Philosophy Won Sweeping Victory Sept. 12th. On an inside page was a cartoon showing the sun rising over the Georgia landscape, and on the sun's disk was a sinister caricature of Ralph McGill's face. McGill regards this attack as a delightful tribute and has a framed copy of the paper hanging on the wall of his office. "I'm going to will it to my son," he said to me, laughing.

Muscle for city voters

This has been a year of decision in Georgia in more ways than one. In the spring of 1962 the United States Supreme Court handed down its momentous decision which in effect said that apportionment of voting strength must be more fairly arranged in the states to give our exploding urban areas an equitable ratio of political power. In many states, citizens moved immediately to implement the decision through localized court action. It was one such suit that brought the old county-unit voting system tumbling down in Georgia and gave genuine franchise to the cities.

The State Senate was quickly reapportioned, and reapportionment of the House probably will follow. Equally important, candidates for state offices and Congress could now win or lose by the actual will of the people, solely on the basis of the popular vote. Politicians of the new young breed threw their hats in the air and scrambled to get into various races.

Charles L. Weltner, a 34-year-old Atlanta attorney—a cool customer and a progressive of the Sanders stripe—entered the congressional primary in the Fifth District, which includes Atlanta proper, and licked Congressman James C. Davis, an old-guard Democrat who had served eight terms—and who would have won again under the county-unit system. Ironically, Carl Sanders, who had delayed his decision to run for governor until it was obvious that the old system was on its way out, would have won even under the county-unit plan.

A lot of the impetus for change in Georgia has come from Atlanta, and, as everyone who lives there will tell you, it is a fabulous city. The population of the five-county metropolitan area has leaped 40 percent in the past dozen years and now stands at well over a million. The city's better residential areas are as beautiful as any I have ever seen, and in the midtown area many handsome new office buildings produce an impressive skyline. Subdivisions, dotted with gigantic new shopping centers, push out and out. Atlanta has long been the largest wholesaling and distribution center of the Southeast, and it has now become the leading manufacturing city of that area, with about 1,800 industrial plants in the metropolitan area.

The city was lucky in the fact that much of its industrial growth came late—after the planners had learned that everything doesn't have to be in the middle of town. Atlanta now has 25 pockets of industrial plants on the outskirts of the city proper, and a good many of these are impressive industrial parks, landscaped, green and beflowered. Much of the city's manufacturing is "clean industry," and there are few smokestacks.

Atlanta is also a city hell-bent for culture—perhaps more so than any other city in the South. It has its own symphony of professional quality, a host of other musical activities, numerous art groups and museums and firm plans to create a full-fledged art school. The Metropolitan Opera comes to Atlanta for a week each spring, Broadway shows hit Atlanta regularly, and little-theater groups are active. The city is also a center of higher education, with the previously-named institutions, a wide variety of trade schools, and a complex of five outstanding Negro colleges.

If it was once true that Atlanta was an island of progress in a backward state, this is no longer so. Every town I visited had at least one spanking new public-school building—usually huge and ultra-modern. Much emphasis is now being placed on more and better vocational education, to teach the skills that all this new industry demands. Many of the larger and medium-size towns such as Augusta, Macon, Athens, Gainesville, Columbus, Albany, Valdosta, Waycross and others are showing a lot of foot—with new industry flooding in. Savannah, an old seacoast city steeped in southern traditions, has improved its port facilities and is getting some new industry, but it is not pushing ahead as fast as Atlanta.

Many private firms in the cities are trying hard to see that industry is spread evenly over the state. Among the most effective of these are the railroads and the Georgia Power Company. Another is the Citizens and Southern National Bank, which has 52 branches in the state. Mills Lane, a volatile citizen who sometimes

rules of integration."

wears colorful sport shirts to the office, heads this sprawling financial empire and takes the long view that the state as a whole must move forward as a piece. He has a hard-hitting industrial department that has helped bring scores of new plants to many Georgia towns.

Despite all this I suspect that many of the little rural villages are fated to dry up and blow away—at least so far as retail business is concerned. Already the business streets of a lot of them present a dreary spectacle indeed, with half the stores and shops boarded up. Many of the people who live in these crossroads places now drive from 10 to 40 miles over Georgia's good highways to factory jobs in other towns—and do their buying in the larger places where they work.

Georgians want to learn

Georgia's factory labor, at least a dozen plant managers said, is highly productive. Several said their man-hour production was better than in their companies' northern plants. Although most of the workers are relatively unskilled when recruited, I heard much testimony about how easy they are to train.

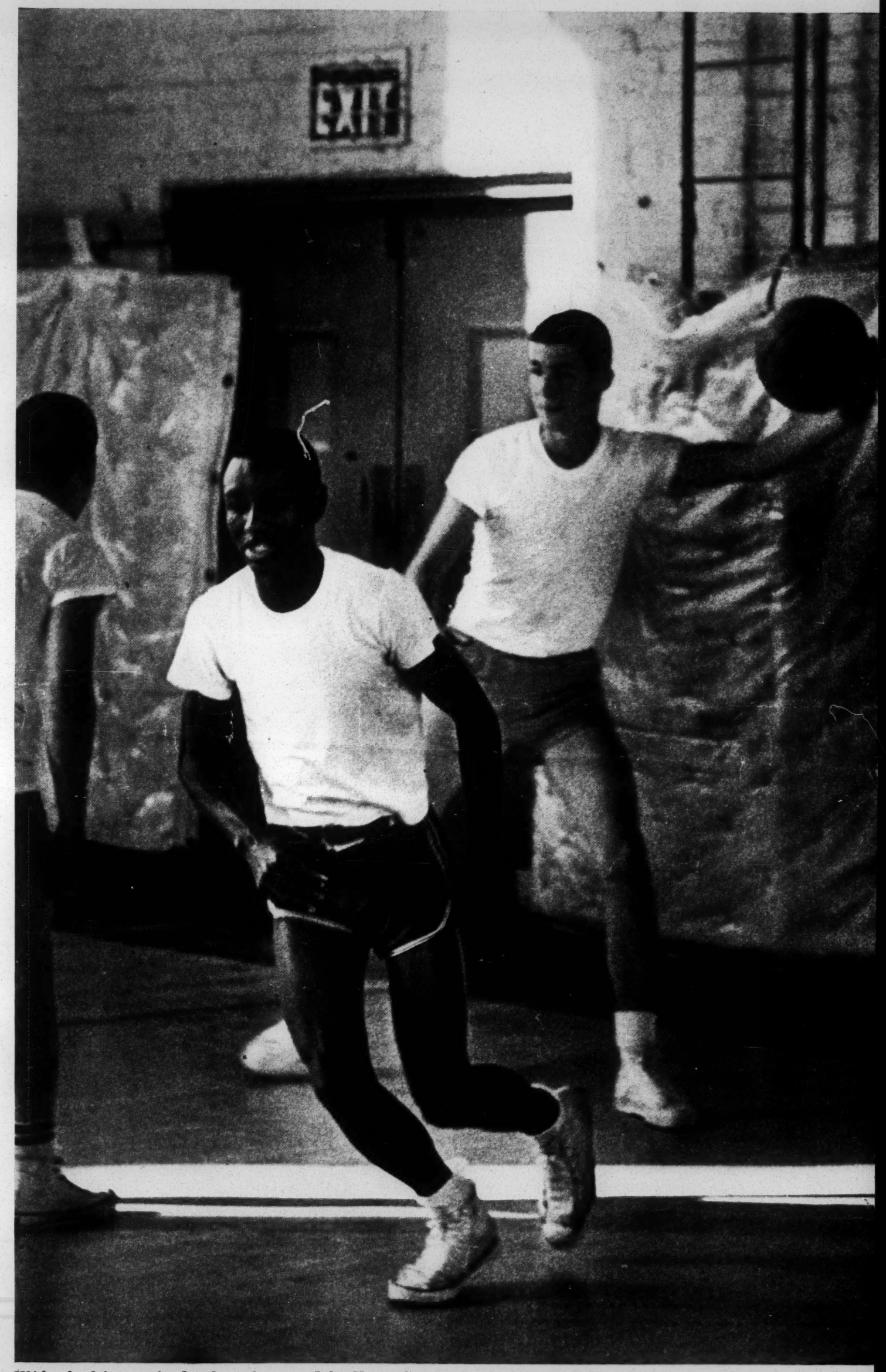
"These people want to learn," said W. A. Pulver, president of Lockheed-Georgia, which, with 15,000 workers in its vast plant at Marietta, is the largest private industrial employer in the Southeast. Lockheed makes military cargo airplanes at its Georgia plant, and also plush little jet-powered private planes priced at $1,400,000.

Unions have not made as much headway in the South as elsewhere and, generally speaking, are less militant. The Georgia factory worker fresh off the farm is apt to be an independent character, who is usually proud of his job and his company. Georgia has one of those controversial Right-to-Work laws, which in effect says that a man doesn't have to join a union to hold his job, and employers from the North like this too.

In many plants, although by no means all of them, white labor is preferred, and the Negro still gets the short end of the stick—precisely as in the North. A notable exception is Scripto, an old Atlanta firm which makes mechanical pencils, ballpoint pens and cigarette lighters by the millions. When I visited Scripto recently, it had 1,320 employees, and 950 were Negroes, 850 of them Negro women.

"Negro women do better on our type of assembly line than most white workers," said James V. Carmichael, president of the firm. "This is no sociological experiment with us. It's just good business."

Median family income in Georgia stood at $4,208 in 1960, well below the national average of $5,660 but far above Mississippi's $2,884. As in most southern states, the general level of education also falls below the national average, and the illiteracy rate is higher. Georgia still needs more jobs, and it needs to keep more of its talented young people at home instead of sending them north. In fact, the state still has some distance to go on several fronts. But it is catching up. Georgia has turned the corner. **THE END**



With school integration barely under way, John Henry Carter stars for his Atlanta high school's basketball team.

Atlantic disunity and de Gaulle

Gen. Charles de Gaulle is in many ways an extraordinary man. His courage, his patriotism and his ability to overcome seemingly hopeless odds have won him the respect of friends and enemies alike.

Any catalogue of General de Gaulle's qualities, however, must include his obstinacy, his imperiousness and the fact that he unquestionably ranks as the most exasperating Western statesman of his time. More than once in recent weeks political leaders on both sides of the Atlantic wrestling with the problem of organizing the strength of the free world must have recalled Winston Churchill's wry remark: "The heaviest cross I have to bear is the Cross of Lorraine."

Europe through most of this century has dissipated its strength in internecine wars and nationalistic rivalries. In recent years, however, Western Europe's remarkable economic recovery has posed a great opportunity. With a population of 225 million and a vast industrial capacity, a united Western Europe could play a role in world affairs commensurate with its genius and its resources. But this can be achieved only through the closest sort of cooperation: economic, political and military.

Great steps have been taken toward this end. The Common Market already has achieved a remarkable degree of economic cohesion, and great hopes for political unity have been aroused.

The policy of the U. S. Government has been to do everything in its power to encourage this development. President Kennedy last year offered to join with a United Europe in an Atlantic partnership of "full equality in all the great and burdensome tasks of building and defending a community of free nations." In proposing the Atlantic partnership the President was motivated by eminently practical considerations. As Assistant Secretary of State William Tyler said recently, in our European and Atlantic policy we have been "acting in a manner consistent with our interest; but we have conceived our higher and long-term interest as being essentially identical with that of Western Europe."

Accordingly, we have supported efforts to draw Europe closer, including Britain's application for Common Market membership, and we proposed recently that the nuclear defense of Western Europe be organized into a multilateral NATO force. To this end we offered Britain and France the Polaris missiles at Nassau in December, specifying that the missiles could be used independently "in matters of supreme national interest."

In an astonishingly blunt press conference last month General de Gaulle rejected the concept of an Atlantic partnership. He told Britain that she was an "insular" and "maritime" country that really didn't belong in the Common Market. In doing so he struck at the United States, which he regards as a Trojan horse sneaked into the market by Britain. He summarily turned down the Polaris offer and rejected out of hand the concept of a multilateral nuclear force. "France," he announced, "intends to have its national defense. . . . We are in the atomic age and we are a country that can be destroyed at any moment unless the aggressor is deterred from the undertaking by the certainty that he, too, will suffer frightful destruction." De Gaulle's insistence upon his own *force de frappe* stems in part from a distrust of the United States. "The Americans, finding themselves exposed to direct atomic attack from the Caribbean," he says, "acted in such a way as to rid themselves of that menace. . . . No one in the world, particularly no one in America, can say if, where, when, how and to what extent the American nuclear weapons would be employed to defend Europe."

The heart of de Gaulle's argument is simply this: He is not convinced that the United States would risk the destruction of New York or Washington for Paris or Berlin. Even if he were satisfied, he feels that he cannot be sure that we will not elect another Coolidge and retreat into isolation. Accordingly, he intends to go the independent nuclear route.

The United States is deeply committed to the defense of Western Europe. We have fought two wars for that principle. We have spent $41.5 billion for economic rehabilitation of NATO countries, and 440,000 Americans are now stationed in that part of the world. No one, as de Gaulle has indicated, can prophesy what will happen 10 years from now, but the best way for General de Gaulle to assure continuing American participation in the defense of Western Europe is to join with us in a multilateral NATO force. Such a force would be committed to the defense of NATO nations. It is unthinkable that we would not back up the forces we have committed to it. To be sure, complex problems of decision and command are involved. But surely these problems could be solved. General de Gaulle does not even deign to discuss them.

The French atomic force cannot conceivably compare with the U. S. or Russian nuclear deterrent. It will be capable, as de Gaulle has said, "of tearing an arm off," or threatening the destruction of Moscow. But Khrushchev talks of 100-megaton bombs that will incinerate populations.

In the last analysis Europe will still depend upon the U. S. nuclear deterrent for its safety. De Gaulle's insistence upon an independent nuclear force implies the proliferation of nuclear weapons—including a dreaded German nuclear force. It means also a dissipation of the Western effort at a time when we should be organizing our strength as effectively as possible.

The tragedy of de Gaulle's position is that the kind of Europe he envisions is outmoded in a nuclear age. Apparently he wants a loosely federated Europe based upon a Franco-German partnership with France as the dominant partner. The Franco-German *rapprochement*, ratified last month, is a consummation devoutly to be wished but it is hardly the basis of a viable new Europe. It lacks the power. Further, the keystone of German policy is—and must remain—its alliance with the United States.

What this towering egotist has offered is not effective European unity but a major obstacle to its achievement. Our course is to continue, despite the discouragements, the setbacks and de Gaulle's tendency toward "Bonapartism," to work for a really united Europe and hope that someday Big Charlie or his successors will see the light.

Bad words and good words Down South

A quartet of southern governors made speeches last month that are worth more than a passing notice. Alabama's incoming Gov. George Wallace, delivering his inaugural address, took his stance in the same spot where Jefferson Davis was first inaugurated as president of the Confederacy more than 100 years ago. As far as Wallace was concerned, the interval since Jeff Davis might just as well not have occurred. "I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny," Gov. Wallace said. "I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever."

Over in Columbia, South Carolina, the departing governor, Ernest F. Hollings, delivered his valedictory before the South Carolina Legislature and faced up to the facts of contemporary life. "We have all argued that the Supreme Court decision of 1954 is not the law of the land," he said. "But everyone must agree that it is the fact of the land. . . . As we meet, South Carolina is running out of courts. If and when every legal remedy has been exhausted, this General Assembly must make clear South Carolina's choice, a government of laws rather than a government of men."

Governor Hollings's successor, Donald Russell, a former president of the University of South Carolina, indicated that he intends to adopt a sensible approach to the problem. . . . "We shall meet with courage whatever the future holds for us," he said, "and we shall work out our problems peaceably, according to our standards of justice and decency."

The most remarkable and encouraging statement, however, came from Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina. "The time has come," he told the North Carolina Press Association, ". . . to quit unfair discrimination and to give the Negro a full chance to earn a decent living for his family and to contribute to higher standards for himself and all men. . . ."

We salute Messrs. Hollings, Russell and Sanford, and we hope that the governor of Alabama will someday undergo a change of heart.

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3-2-63

BIRMINGHAM
Alabama

A city in fear

Racial violence smolders in this Deep South tinderbox.

BIRMINGHAM

By JOE DAVID BROWN

3-2-63

Joe David Brown was born in Birmingham, attended local public schools and the University of Alabama, then worked on the old Birmingham "Post." Between assignments as a foreign correspondent and authorship of three successful novels, Brown frequently revisited his native city. On his most recent visit he found some schoolmates in high public office, others pillars of local society and industry. "The people were as charming as ever," Brown says, "but their hardened attitude, their fear of desegregation saddened me."

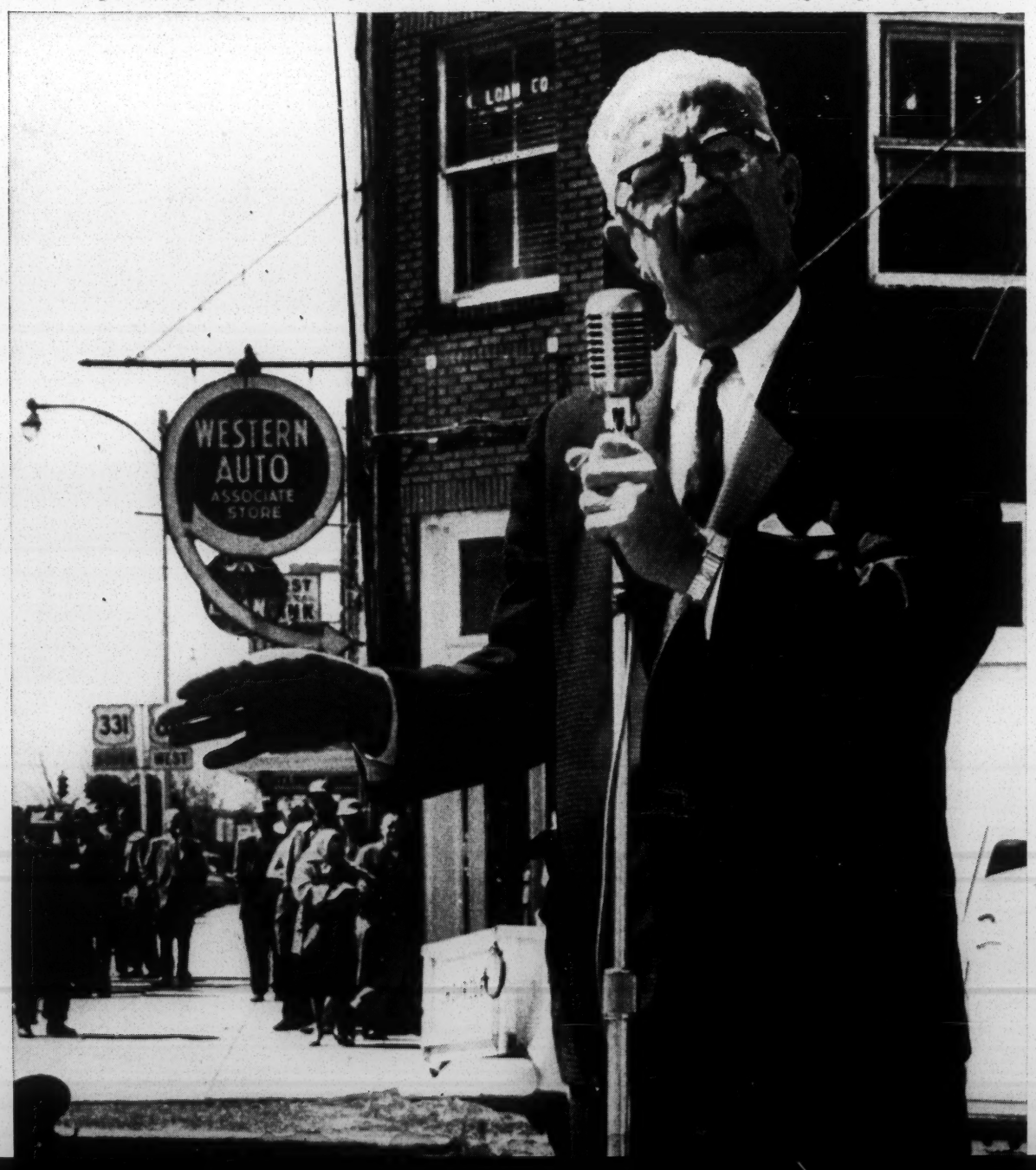
My Aunt Margaret is getting on now. I do not mean that Aunt Margaret is palsied or failing, for she still is an active, handsome woman, and time has treated her more gently than it has a lot of us. It's only that when I go to Birmingham and visit with Aunt Margaret nowadays I find it easy to forget that she was the pale lovely little girl with enormous tragic eyes who on a quiet evening leaned against the old Grand Rapids hat rack with the marble top that stood in my grandfather's front hall and cried and cried because her favorite beau had telephoned to break a date.

Aunt Margaret eventually married that beau, and although he has been dead so long that his tombstone has lost its luster, she still lives in the sprawling and drafty 90-year-old house where he took her as a bride. Aunt Margaret manages to keep busy. She looks after her property and visits with her two daughters who now have half-grown children of their own, and usually on a Sunday she attends services at the Ruhama Baptist Church, which is one of the oldest churches in Alabama. When it is her turn, Aunt Margaret also entertains the W.C.T.U. in her front parlor and pours tea and serves angel food cake and discusses ways to smite the booze trade. Aunt Margaret has lived in Birmingham all of her life, and she simply can't understand why all of a sudden it is supposed to be the toughest and most violent city in the South.

When Yankee reporters come down to Birmingham and write that fear and hatred and violence stalk the streets, Aunt Margaret is more bewildered than indignant. "I declare, I just don't know how they get such ideas," she says.

Most people in Birmingham feel exactly the same way as my Aunt Margaret and, to be fair about it, so much emphasis on Birmingham's race troubles has in many ways given the city a much worse name than it deserves. There are 340,000 people living within the city limits of Birmingham, about 36 percent of them Negroes. One has only to drive through the quiet residential streets and watch yelling kids booting footballs in vacant lots, observe housewives placidly trudging home from supermarkets laden with groceries and trading stamps, and see husbands tenderly buffing family cars in driveways to realize that the overwhelming majority of people in Birmingham, like people everywhere else, are decent, law-abiding citizens, filled with folklore and prejudices, worrying about their kids, struggling to pay their bills, but normally fearing only God and the Internal Revenue Service.

Outspoken segregationist Eugene "Bull" Connor speaks in streets during mayoralty race.



Judged solely by its downtown district, Birmingham admittedly is not an attractive city. It has only one of the slab-sided, glass-filled office buildings that add so much dash and glitter to other cities, and most of its buildings are well over 30 years old, nondescript and streaked with grime from the blast furnaces and steel mills that make Birmingham the South's greatest iron-and-steel producing center. It is only when one drives to the top of nearby Red Mountain and gets a startling cinemascopic view of the entire city ringed by mills sending up plumes of white smoke that one also realizes that Birmingham's streets are broad and laid out with sweeping geometrical precision. Then it is obvious that with some civic face-lifting here and there Birmingham could be an impressive and maybe even a striking city. Moreover, people in Birmingham always have been house-proud, and, scattered around the outskirts of the city and arrogantly spread over the mountains of unmined iron-ore surrounding it, are some of the loveliest residential sections found in all the South.

Birmingham is not without things to boast about. It is the cast-iron capital of the world. It

Solitary Negro stares at deserted Highland Park, closed along with other recreational areas to avoid desegregating them.

has its towering medical center, two fully accredited colleges, a fine symphony orchestra and its Oscar Wells Museum of Art. It also has 700 churches, for it has a strong, almost puritanical, religious streak, and now and again it claims to have more Sunday-school students per thousand population than any other city in the country.

Despite its cultural and social overtones, Birmingham essentially is a blue-collar, shirt-sleeves mill town, with all the grimy faults and all the sweaty hardships of a mill town. As a typical mill town set down in a hard-scrabble region, it also probably has more freckle-eared, sorghum-fed toughs in its population than most large cities in the South. Some of these millbilly hoodlums belong to the Ku Klux Klan, but most of them do not even have this unsavory excuse for their acts of violence, large and small, which keep Birmingham perpetually on edge.

A bomb for Christmas

Only a few nights before last Christmas, for example, a crude dynamite bomb ripped apart the front of a church in which a group of small Negro children were rehearsing a Nativity play. It was the 17th bombing in and around Birmingham since 1957, all of them directed against Negro churches and the homes of civil-rights leaders. Like any decent community, Birmingham reacts with righteous indignation when such lawless acts are committed, and after the pre-Christmas bombing, rewards posted for the perpetrators totaled $5,000 within a few days. "Let a carload of riffraff throw a stick of dynamite and—boom—we're set back another five years," a Chamber of Commerce officer said gloomily.

Birmingham has a tendency to blame its hoodlum element for most of its troubles, but the real reasons for its newfound notoriety are some grave social and political problems peculiarly its own. Anyone who wishes to be honest about it has to admit that the Yankee reporters, who have aggrieved my Aunt Margaret and others, have stated them fairly well. Sometimes their prose was too molten, and a few writers stooped to such tired old journalistic practices as making all of Birmingham's white leaders sound like uneducated Negroes while making all Negroes sound like Sir Winston Churchill; but in the main they have been uncannily accurate. The writers were not attracted to Birmingham in the first place because of the activities of a few possum-faced hoodlums. Neither did they come primarily because Birmingham is a segregated city; segregation is a problem in many places, North and South, and even Yankee editors know the futility of trying to make the issue a clear-cut contest between good guys and bad guys, or stupid men against bright men. If the issue were that simple it would have been solved long ago.

Birmingham is news because it is the largest city in the United States which adamantly refuses to call its white and Negro citizens together even to try to work out some solution to a problem which the Federal Government and enlightened public opinion plainly intend to force the city to solve. This makes Birmingham a backward big city by any standards, and it remains backward because to this day there is no communication between its white and Negro population on an official level.

Furthermore, Birmingham persistently has demanded attention with a strident defiant voice, presenting an ugly face to the world. If it had hired experts and set out to do it deliberately, it probably could not have been so successful in creating a bad national reputation. Worse still, largely because of a lack of progressive leadership, Birmingham has allowed a small, moronic hoodlum minority to make it into the most danger-laden, potentially explosive city in the nation.

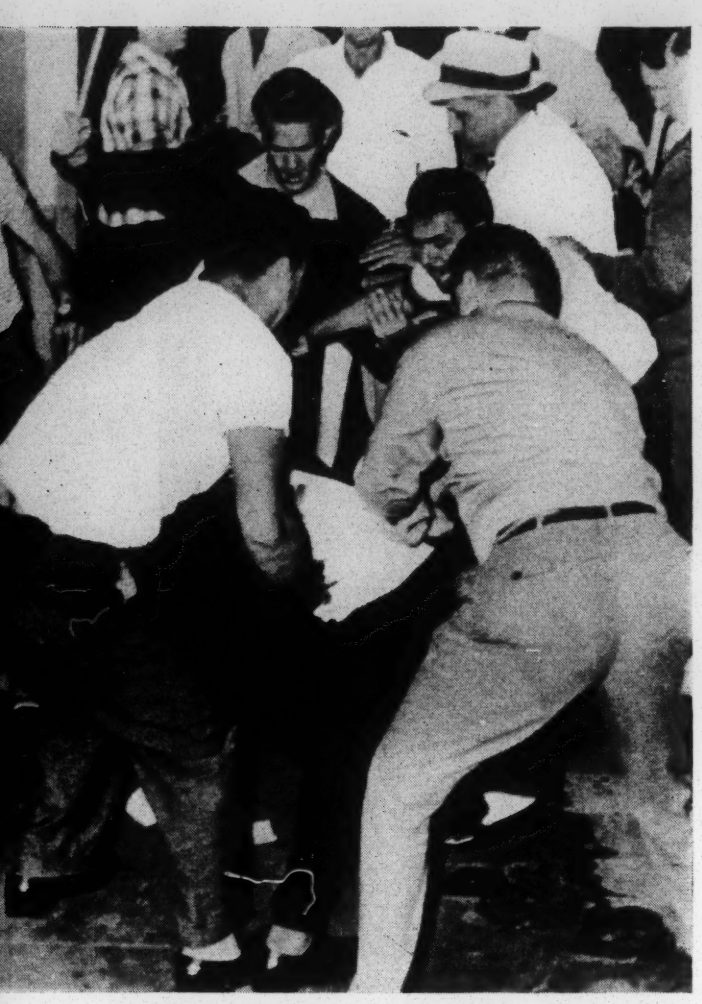
If Birmingham's public schools are ordered desegregated this fall—and cases now pending in Federal court make this a likely possibility—nasty, noisy trouble almost certainly will erupt.

"It's not a question of will there be trouble," said a Birmingham newspaperman. "The only question is how much trouble will there be. If the responsible people get together and demand that the police keep order, we'll probably have a lot of jeering and some minor scuffling, but probably no more serious trouble than New Orleans had. But if there's not a change in Birmingham, the red-necks might get out of hand the same way they did when the Freedom Riders came through. If that happens, what goes on here will make Little Rock and Oxford seem like a church social."

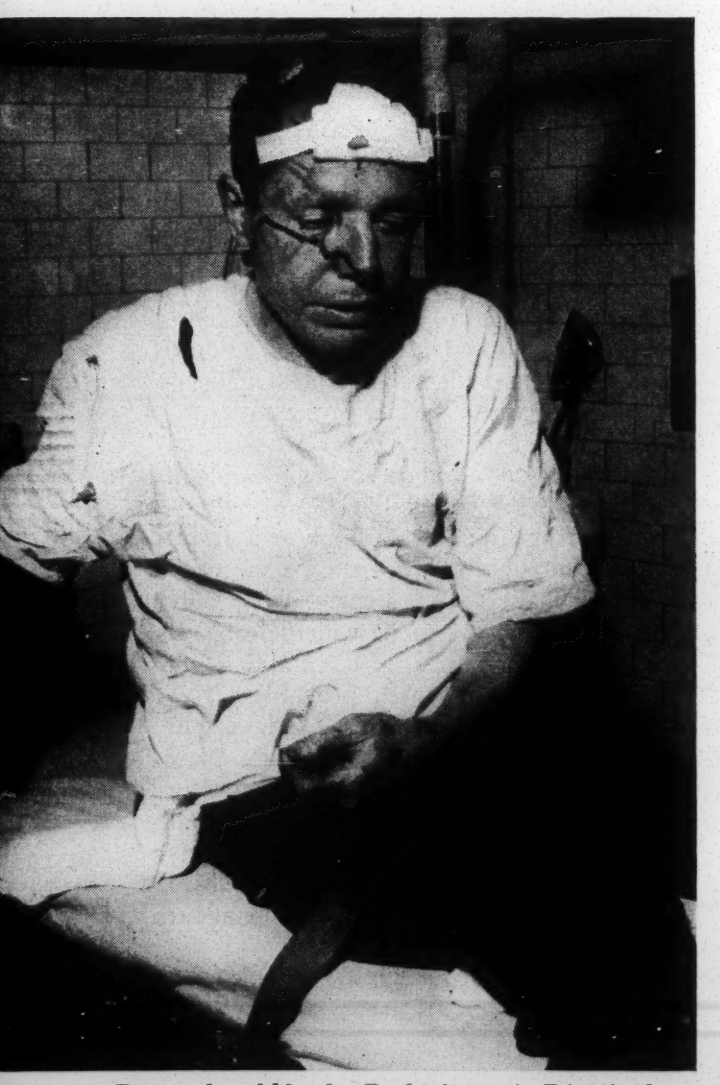
Asked what would happen if the schools were desegregated a soft-drink deliveryman glowered. "They just ain't—period," he said. "We'll kill every damn nigger in town first."

Such threats of violence are not heard often, but they are representative of the sort of people

BIRMINGHAM / "I will never permit integration in this state unless I am compelled to by force,"



Mob beats Freedom Rider James Peck during 1961 riot after busloads of Riders arrived in city.



Battered and bloody, Peck sits up in Birmingham hospital after being treated for his injuries.

who have burned more than 50 crosses around the city since 1958. Most of Birmingham's more backward citizenry seem to take it for granted the schools will be closed rather than be desegregated, probably because for a number of years city officials have promised to take such action.

"I quit school up in Attalla when I was nine," said a taxi driver, "and it don't seem to have hurt me none. I reckon it won't hurt my girl to quit when she's twelve."

Various groups of middle-aged business leaders have been scurrying around secretly as if they were plotting a revolution instead of dealing with a pressing social problem, and there are occasional vague references to a "Birmingham plan," a secret scheme to prevent racial strife. The melancholy truth, however, is that absolutely nothing has been done in Birmingham to create a climate which will permit even token integration to be carried out peacefully.

"It's all quite simple," said a well-known clergyman. "We've delayed too long, and now we are about to reap what we've sown. For more than eight years the mightiest and most influential people in this town have told us to fight, to resist, not to give in at any cost. We've interpreted that according to the kind of people we are. Some of us thought it meant to resist legally, to delay, to drag case after case through the courts as long as possible. But others have interpreted it as a call to arms, a cry to rally and fight the Civil War all over again if necessary. After whipping these people into a fighting mood for eight years, it simply is not possible to tell them that the rules have been changed. How sad it all is. If our leaders had started talking restraint and moderation eight years ago, people who are ready to spill blood would now be prepared to accept some gradual integration in our schools."

No matter what degree of trouble develops when the first Negro children attempt to enroll in its previously all-white schools, it is a disquieting fact that Birmingham can expect neither aid nor comfort from the state of Alabama, but only more trouble.

Governor George Corley Wallace, the prancing, voluble little man who was sworn in as Alabama's 47th chief executive before the capitol of the Confederacy on Goat Hill in Montgomery in January, talks tough about almost everything. But he talks the toughest of all about school desegregation. When he campaigned up and down the state with a hillbilly singer last year, Wallace acted as if he were a one-man army at war with the Federal Government. He shouted that the U.S. Supreme Court "did not have the brains to try a chicken thief," accused Federal courts in general of "judicial dictatorship and judicial tyranny." But he pleased crowds the most when he vowed that he would resist school integration even if he had to go to jail.

"I shall ask the legislature to give me the right to assign pupils to schools that are threatened with integration," he said. "When the court order comes, I am going to place myself in the position so that it must be directed against me and not some lesser official. I shall refuse to abide by any illegal Federal court order, even to the point of standing at the schoolhouse door."

When he was swept into office with the greatest popular vote ever given an Alabama governor, many people expected Wallace, a former circuit judge, state legislator and World War II flight sergeant, to forget his "stand in the door" pledge. Instead he seems determined to keep it.

In his inaugural address, he shouted his defiance even more loudly. "I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny, and I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever!"

Little 43-year-old George Wallace, who walks with his back arched like a cavalry officer leading a charge against Yankee cannon at Shiloh, has defiance stamped on his brow. One has only to meet him, and to see his eyes, which are dark as a Cherokee chieftain's, flash with scorn, and to listen to his angry tirades against the Federal Government, to know that here is a man whose name will appear in many black and rattling headlines before he is finished.

"Who suppresses Negroes?"

"I told the people of this state what I would do if I was elected," he said not long ago. "I told them, 'If you don't want me to do it, don't vote for me.'" He rummaged in his desk and produced a county-by-county tally of his overwhelming election victory and handed it over triumphantly. "They did elect me, and I'm not going to let them down. I will never permit integration in this state unless I am compelled to by force," he said, eyes flashing, cheeks flushed. "They must use force—physical force—directly on me. Let them put their hands on the governor of this sovereign state and see what happens. We're going to show the people of this country what we stand for, and they'll be glad we did. I've got stacks of mail from good people, on letterheads from all over the country, and they say, 'Thank God for you southern people. You're the only hope to save this country.'

"They talk about law and order. Hell, I'm for *law* and order; law is more important than order. The Government watched us build separate schools, raise up mortar and bricks for 100 years, and then they turn around and tell us it's unconstitutional. It's against the Negroes. Hell, what do they mean it's against the Negroes? Who's suppressing the Negroes? Did you see that case over in Mississippi the other day? A Negro and a white man came in a restaurant together and the owner served the Negro, and then he turned to the white fellow and said, 'The law says I have to serve this man, but the law doesn't say anything about a sonuvabitch like you, and I'm not serving you.'

"The Mississippi action wasn't violence against Negroes. It was Federal troops and marshals firing on young white boys. Suppose they did harangue them. Since when has it been against the law to harangue? Sure, I'm for *law* and order, but I also believe in the Federal Government obeying the law, and it's the duty of the state to preserve law. I'll do anything necessary to keep my foot in the door to obstruct this attempt to push Negroes into our schools. I'm going to ask the legislature to give me authority so I can raise lawful questions about the legality of whether we have a right to decide who shall go to our schools or shall the Federal Government dictate to us."

Although the Montgomery *Advertiser*, which

says Alabama's governor.

supported Wallace's candidacy, has called his "stand in the door" plan a "fantasy," and a Birmingham editor speaks of him as "the loneliest man in Alabama," almost everyone agrees that Wallace desires more than anything else to confront Federal troops and make them use physical force on him. It also is obvious that he would prefer this confrontation to take place at the University of Alabama, which for six years has been under a continuing Federal order to accept a Negro student and seems likely to comply next fall.

But the University of Alabama is a far different place than it was in 1956 when the admission of Negro coed Autherine Lucy brought both violence and notoriety to its quiet campus. Under an able and suave new president, Dr. Frank Rose, it has raised its academic standards, hiked salaries to lure outstanding scholars to its faculty, is in the midst of a $42 million building program and is almost truculently determined not to let George Wallace or anybody else use it as a battleground.

President Rose made that clear recently when he said, "This university cannot go through another crisis such as occurred in 1956 or happened at the University of Mississippi. . . . [It] must never become the scene of mob violence, battle troops or national news media seeking sensational headlines."

The university's trustees, alumni association, faculty and student body all quickly backed him up by passing resolutions saying, in effect, that if a Negro student is accepted by the university they will not raise any objections, and they expect the police to see that outsiders do not interrupt the school's normal routine. Various powerful emissaries also have carried the word to Wallace that the state constitution states that the university is under control of a board of trustees and, short of a constitutional amendment, nobody at the university will recognize Wallace's right to decide any student's entry.

If Wallace stands in the door anywhere, Birmingham may be the place. Whether he will be welcomed there or encounter formidable pressure to stay out of its affairs will, among other things, be settled in an election being held this month. Since even many people in Birmingham believe this election is the result of a sudden yeasty transformation that began taking place under the city's surface last fall, it is necessary to explain that the groundwork really was laid back in February, 1961.

A group of businessmen, worried about the bad publicity the city was getting and its slow rate of growth, asked the Chamber of Commerce to appoint a committee from the local bar association to look into the advisability of changing Birmingham's three-man city commission form of government. Specifically, it had long been felt that if some way could be devised to guarantee them a voice in city hall, Birmingham's large and prosperous suburban communities such as Mountain Brook, Vestavia Hills and Homewood, probably could be persuaded to join the city. Not only would this almost double the city's population to 640,000, it also would make some of Birmingham's richest and brainiest business and professional men legal residents of the city and presumably make them start taking an interest in its affairs.

Bomb damage at Bethel Baptist Church is viewed by Rev. V. C. Provitt. Blast occurred last December.

BIRMINGHAM / Bold leadership on the segregation issue has not been permitted in the city hall.

Mild-mannered Albert Boutwell, city's best hope for racial peace, seeks votes in mayoralty race.

Near the end of 1961 the panel of lawyers reported that a mayor-council form of government would do the trick. While this report was being handed around and discussed, a whole series of events roiled Birmingham and created a general feeling of dissatisfaction. A drop in steel demand increased unemployment, Negroes started boycotting downtown stores, and there was more bad publicity about the city's race troubles.

Finally, when city commissioners closed down the city's park system rather than comply with a Federal desegregation order, and Little Leaguers, den mothers, scoutmasters and outraged golfers began howling, a group of young lawyers and businessmen organized a "Citizens for Progress" movement. In one day they collected 11,000 signatures on petitions demanding a referendum on a change in city government.

The election was held last November and the mayor-council proposal squeezed through with a bare majority. Birmingham will vote for a mayor and nine councilmen on March 5. Since they can now be guaranteed a voice in city affairs, there is a good possibility that Birmingham's suburbs may eventually be persuaded to join the city. Since the Negroes have 10,000 of the city's present 80,000 votes, there also is an excellent possibility that they may be able to elect a councilman, which will certainly improve race relations in the city.

But whether 10 men in city hall instead of three will be an improvement obviously depends almost entirely on who is elected mayor. Most cure-minded groups are supporting and confidently expect the election of Albert Boutwell, a mild-mannered 58-year-old lawyer and a former lieutenant governor and state senator. Boutwell ran for governor last year but had to withdraw from the campaign after he collapsed from exhaustion. His name heads the bill that keeps Alabama's schools segregated; Boutwell is a staunch conservative. His best quality in the eyes of most Birmingham voters is that he speaks soberly and thoughtfully and is not the kind of man to attract unfavorable publicity.

Another candidate is Eugene (Bull) Connor, Birmingham's best-known citizen, who has been one of the city's three commissioners since the mid-'30's (except one term, 1954–58). Bull likes his nickname so much he uses it officially. While few people think he is a shoo-in, Bull Connor is "a man of the people," as the expression goes, and he'll certainly give Boutwell a race. During his long tenure as a city commissioner, Connor, among other things, was responsible for Birmingham's police department (he often is erroneously identified as the city's police chief or police commissioner). Southerners have always been partial to politicians who are part clown, part humble public servant, and part hard-boiled administrator, and nobody can deny that in 65-year-old Bull Connor all these qualities are powerfully evident.

Most people in Birmingham refer to Connor, as Ole Bull and, until fairly recently, at least, they usually smiled when they said it. They know Ole Bull as a jug-eared, paunchy, overgrown country boy who first worked as a telegrapher, later made his name a household word in Birmingham by the uninhibited corn-pone way he announced baseball games over the radio. In 1936, for no good reason except that he made them laugh and seemed to be exactly like them, only

more so, they elected him a city commissioner.

Since the president of the city commission in those days was a one-legged, strong-minded one-time police constable named Jimmy Jones, who ran both city hall and Birmingham with an iron hand, most voters probably felt Ole Bull couldn't do much harm anyway. They were pleased when Ole Bull actually proved to be no fool, but a hardworking and honest, if somewhat buffoonish, city official. Ole Bull fell from grace for one term back in the early 1950's after a city detective with whom he had been feuding surprised him in a hotel room with a woman secretary. There was no indication of improper conduct, but he was required to pay a small fine. After working mightily for four years to convince the electorate that he had been framed, Ole Bull was returned to city hall.

As his name implies, Ole Bull is a colorful spieler, with a knack for saying things that attract attention. Since he speaks with a gravelly croak, dislikes junketeering journalists and sometimes bawls out city-hall petitioners whom he considers his inferiors, Ole Bull often is described as tough. He likes this appellation. When Ole Bull growled that whites and Negroes "were not going to segregate together" as long as he had anything to do with it, Birmingham laughed and was not aware that the rest of the country was laughing with a different tone. Ole Bull is fond of calling himself *the* segregation man. He has bellowed defiance at the Supreme Court, offered to fight the Attorney General, vowed that "blood would run in the streets" of Birmingham before it was desegregated. Birmingham police arrested a U.S. Senator who went there to address a meeting because he entered through a door marked COLORED. The police have hauled off Negroes by the carload when they have attempted peaceful demonstrations.

Voice of segregation

Through the years Ole Bull has created such a ruckus, in fact, that his name has become synonymous with Birmingham, or, as a national publication put it, "the voice of a police chief, Bull Connor, has emerged as the voice of one of the greatest cities in the United States." The publication missed Connor's position but it got the voice right.

It took people in Birmingham a long time to realize that Ole Bull's bullfrog voice was creating a strange impression of the city in other parts of the country. Some of them still find it difficult to believe that the clownish man in their city hall has become to people in other parts of the country an example of a die-hard segregationist.

The vast difference between the way Ole Bull is viewed at home and elsewhere was vividly illustrated when a television crew came to Birmingham to put together a CBS documentary. One of the persons interviewed was a matronly churchwoman who scathingly denounced Ole Bull for "jumping up and yelling, 'Nigger, nigger,'" every time he wanted some votes. "Aren't you afraid of Bull Connor?" the interviewer asked. The lady was as surprised as most people in Birmingham would have been. "Afraid of Bull Connor?" she repeated incredulously. "No. That's amusing."

Nowadays a lot of people blame Ole Bull for giving Birmingham bad publicity, and they are eager to explain that he is neither the voice nor a fair representation of the city's citizens. This may be true, but even a visitor kindly disposed to Birmingham soon discovers that it richly deserves some of the unfavorable publicity it has been getting, and in the case of Bull Connor this is certainly true. If a majority of the people had not approved of the sentiments Ole Bull was spouting, his sensitive political antenna would have picked up the signal and he would have moderated his tones or shut up completely. It is obvious that most of them did approve, and what really disturbs them now is that his intemperate and raucous voice has attracted a lot of unexpected and unwelcome attention.

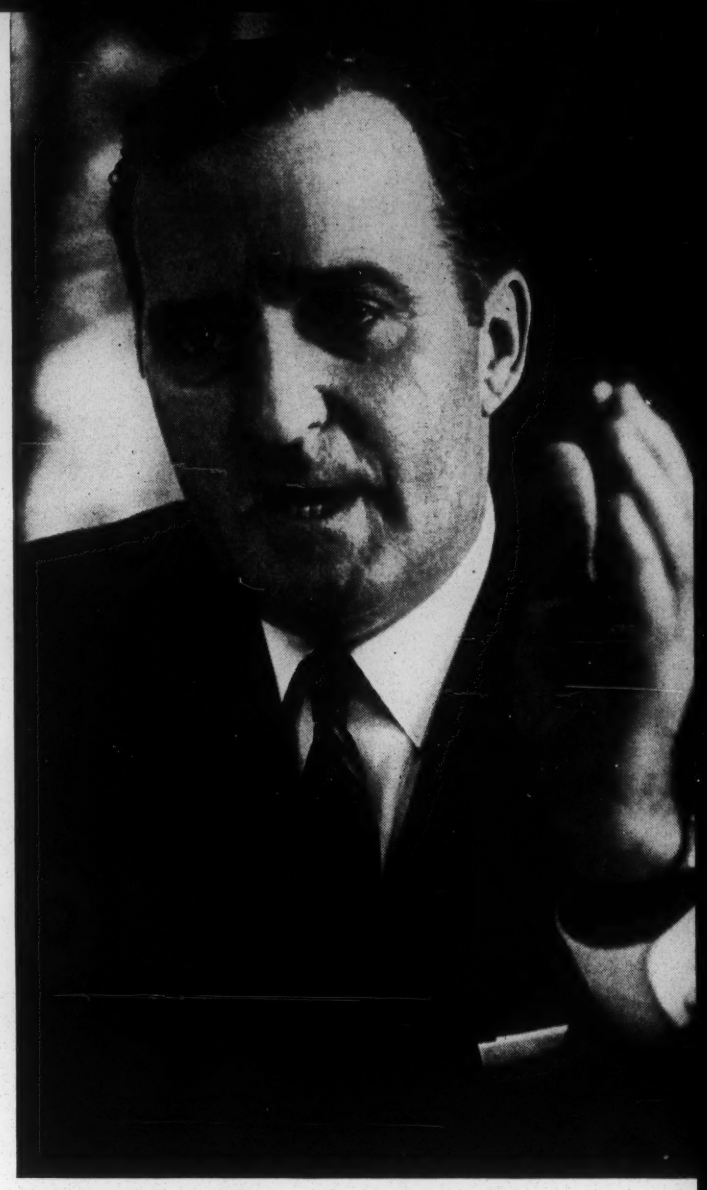
Majority opinion in a democracy, particularly at the local level, is not simply a blessing but can be turned into an unconscionable tyranny; and Birmingham cannot evade the harsh truth that on the segregation issue it has not permitted bold, progressive leadership in city hall. On the contrary, it shamelessly has badgered and pressured its elected officials until, sooner or later, all of them developed a kamikaze determination to maintain the *status quo* at any cost.

There is, for example, Art Hanes, a handsome and vigorous man of 45, who last year was elected president of the city commission, a post which gives him the title of mayor, though he shares equal power with Bull Connor and another commissioner, J. T. Waggoner. No city could have asked for a more personable mayor than Art Hanes, son of a beloved Birmingham minister, married to a gracious lady from a fine Birmingham family, a lawyer, ex-FBI agent, a PT-boat commander with a distinguished record during World War II.

Nobody is quite sure what happened to gutsy, strong-willed Art Hanes after he entered pressure-packed city hall; perhaps he doesn't know himself. But Hanes gave his supporters a rude jolt when he voted along with his fellow commissioners to close down the city's entire park system—parks, playgrounds, golf courses and community houses—after a Federal court ordered them desegregated. Furthermore, during the uproar that followed, Hanes vigorously defended the commission's action, and his friends and neighbors were aghast to discover that moderate, widely traveled Art Hanes, who has a son at Princeton and a sister who has devoted her life to mission work in Africa, sounded almost exactly like Ole Bull: "I'll never give up either to integration or Communism. They are one and the same as far as I'm concerned. . . . I don't think any of you want a nigger mayor . . . or a nigger police chief . . . but I tell you that's what'll happen if we play dead on this park integration."

Under bitter protest, the city finally has been forced to desegregate its public transport system, waiting-room and restaurant facilities at its airport, and two bus and two railroad terminals, but that is all. Besides closing down its park system rather than allow its Negro and white citizens to mingle, Birmingham has sacrificed its baseball team, no longer receives an annual visit from the Metropolitan Opera and is by-passed by most theatrical companies touring with Broadway hits.

But these are only petty annoyances compared with some grave economic and social woes which have developed because of the city's reputation for intransigence and violence. Partly because people believe it is a bad place to live, work and raise families, Birmingham's metropolitan population increased only about 14 percent during the period 1950–60, although metropolitan areas in the United States as a whole increased by 26.4 percent. During the same period Atlanta, Birmingham's old rival, grew by almost 40 percent and Memphis by 30 percent.



Outgoing Mayor Hanes, once thought of as moderate, now talks like a segregationist.

Largely because the mere mention of Birmingham sets alarm signals flashing in the minds of manufacturers who want to build new plants in the South, the city has been unable to lure any new industries to speak of for the last five or six years. Without new industries to take up an unemployment slack caused by automation in its mining and steel industries, Birmingham has suffered a drop of 10 percent in the number of jobs it has to offer in the last five years alone, though there has been an increase in jobs in the U.S. Even if it just holds its own, experts say that Birmingham must create from 8,000 to 12,000 new jobs a year. This does not give Birmingham a very rosy future and, by comparison with more vigorous cities in the region, it already is losing its status as a major Southern city.

A typical example of how Birmingham is losing new industries is the case of a company that wanted to build a Southern plant to make products out of steel. The Chamber of Commerce beguiled the company with an account of Birmingham's advantages, both the state and city made lavish concessions, and Alabama's governor even sent a state plane to bring company officials to Birmingham.

Negotiations still were going on when a busload of Freedom Riders arrived at a local bus station on Mother's Day, 1961. The Riders had telegraphed city officials the time of their arrival, and their movements were being watched carefully because they had encountered violence from

BIRMINGHAM / Most community leaders feel integration is inevitable, but they are afraid to speak up.

the time they crossed the state line. Yet police were conspicuously absent when the Riders reached Birmingham. A mob was waiting, and it charged the Freedom Riders, swinging lengths of pipe and blackjacks. Before it was through for the day, the mob also battered a newspaper photographer and roughed up a TV newsman. Newspapers all over the country were still playing up Birmingham's Mother's Day Riot when the company sent its regrets and said Birmingham was out of the question. It eventually put its plant in Tennessee, although it has to ship in its steel from Birmingham.

The Wall Street Journal started a story with a quote from Sidney Smyer, president of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce: "These racial incidents have given us a black eye we'll be a long time trying to forget."

Another Birmingham businessman was less restrained: "We let twenty-one college-age kids looking for trouble come into our town and make a half million of us look like damn red-necks—besides losing us a lot of money, time and jobs."

Birmingham's most pressing economic problem is one that almost nobody wants to talk about. For almost a year now its downtown stores have been slowly strangled by a Negro boycott which is about 90 percent effective. Some people believe it is possible that every major department store, as well as many smaller stores, showed a loss for 1962. "It stands to reason," said a newspaperman. "Negroes make up almost forty percent of the population in this trade area. Take away twenty-five or thirty percent of any store's customers and it loses money."

Whether this glib assessment is accurate is anybody's guess. The only people who really know how much the boycott has cut business are the merchants themselves; they refuse to discuss losses. They speak warily even when discussing the boycott for fear that if they sound as if they are weakening, their white customers will boycott them also. "If I told you this is my worst year since I started in 1932, you wouldn't believe me, would you?" asked one store owner. "Don't ask me about it, just tell me what to do about it," said another.

In desperation some stores removed COLORED signs on washroom doors and above drinking fountains. With one exception the signs were replaced after police threatened to prosecute storekeepers for violating the city's segregation ordinances. Since Alabama law forbids boycotts, Birmingham's Negroes also are chary about discussing the boycott; when they refer to it at all they call it a "selective-buying campaign." The boycott was inspired by the 800 students at Miles College, a run-down Negro school on the western outskirts of Birmingham, and it is the first time the city's Negro community, which is split into numerous cliques and factions based on income, religion and even class, has ever united solidly behind any movement.

Although many Negroes were slow to realize it, the boycott is about the most powerful weapon they could have hit upon to make the white community gain a new awareness of them and their demands. For since Birmingham is so highly unionized and they draw prevailing wages, the city's Negroes are a prosperous lot by Southern Negro standards. Nearly 50 percent of them own their own homes, and Negro residential sections—with their manicured lawns, trimmed hedges, and every type of house from prefab ranch to impressive brick Tudor—are among the city's showplaces.

More than 40 percent of Birmingham's Negroes own automobiles; 92 percent own electric refrigerators; and while 34 percent of the Negro population still earn $2,000 a year or less, a whopping 64.6 percent range through the $2,000–$7,000 bracket, and 1.4 percent have an annual income of more than $7,000.

On a normal, day-to-day basis relations between the races are surprisingly good in Birmingham. The Negro shoeshine boys, elevator operators, mill hands, and business and professional men one meets in Birmingham are, in the main, friendly and courteous. White households with even modest means usually employ a Negro domestic in some capacity. Fights and shoving matches do occur on buses now and then. Some whites claim that Negroes flaunt their newfound rights to sit where they please, and some Negroes claim that whites are rude and overbearing. But there was no serious trouble until last December when a bus driver shot and killed a Negro passenger who allegedly drew a knife after they had exchanged words.

Are the whites worried?

The Negro community is walking with special care these days because it realizes the slightest flare-up between the races will be exploited by Ole Bull in his race for mayor. Asked about the worries of the Negro community, Orzell Billingsley, the alert and personable young attorney who handles most of the N.A.A.C.P.'s cases in Birmingham said, "I don't know of any particular worries or fears. If anybody is worried, it must be the white community."

All of the South's big cities prefer segregation to integration, but even more they prefer continued prosperity to economic blight, social change to civic suicide. What makes Birmingham so notoriously different? It is not because it is more closely bound by Southern traditions. Although Birmingham often seems ferociously Confederate, the land where it now stands was a prosperous farm during the War Between the States, and the city was not incorporated until 1871, seven years after Sherman burned Atlanta.

From its earliest days, in fact, Birmingham had more of the flavor of a Western boom town than a Southern community. During the years of its most phenomenal growth, it was a lusty brawling place that welcomed all comers, proud that it was free of stultifying traditions and was known as the New South. As recently as 1941 the WPA guidebook on Alabama, written by Alabamians, described Birmingham as "the most unsouthern of southern cities," and added, "Birmingham people are a new type of Southerner. They are not so much concerned about where a person was born . . . as about his political opinions and how much money he has." This still is true.

The people of Birmingham are no more backward than people in other Southern cities. Although they don't like it, most of the leading business and professional people in Birmingham realize that integration is inevitable, and probably a majority of them also feel that it is time to start making plans so the transition can be made smoothly and peacefully—and as slowly as possible. The reason they do not speak up is, quite simply, fear. It is not the eye-rolling, quaking fear seen in police states, and people in Birmingham prefer to call it by other names, but it is fear all the same.

It is fear of being ostracized or called names, fear of losing status, jobs, customers, clients and advertising, and, more often than would seem possible among a hardy people, fear of chili-parlor hoodlums who have wrapped themselves in Confederate flags although they are upholding no tradition but hate and no custom except violence.

Last May about 150 civic Big Mules were summoned to the Chamber of Commerce by word-of-mouth and told emphatically by a clergyman, a lawyer and a leading businessman that unless the Federal courts altered their system the Birmingham schools would be ordered desegregated by the opening of the fall term in 1963. Birmingham's elite had better start preparing for it. Although 110 of the men present pledged their support to any program that would permit desegregation to be carried out peacefully, none has spoken out boldly or carried the message to the general public. The ironic thing, of course, is that white leaders fear to expose themselves to the almost identical risks that Negro leaders are now accustomed to facing.

It is fear that causes a fine newspaper editor to say to a visiting reporter, "For God's sake, don't say too many nice things about me, or you'll spoil my usefulness." It is fear that prompts an industrialist to say, "Please don't use my name. I made a speech along these lines a year ago, and it's only here lately that I feel safe in leaving my wife alone nights." It is fear that causes a utility-company official to refuse to head up a committee to meet with Negro leaders and discuss desegregation, and fear that caused a group of prominent businessmen to choose him in the first place because "white people won't boycott a utility company."

It is fear that silences voices of moderation; if this silence is broken, hoodlums are likely to look up the offender and dump filth on his front porch. It is fear that makes a newspaperman keep a loaded shotgun near his front door. It is fear that causes presidents of large corporations to speak with sweet reasonableness about the inevitability of integration and always add: "This is off the record, of course."

It is fear that has always made Birmingham's elected officials follow rather than lead the voters, and it is fear that prevents all the many people who believe it to be a fact from speaking out boldly and saying, "We are going to have to integrate our schools whether we like it or not, and we are a community of fools if we don't start doing something about it now."

It was fear that made my Aunt Margaret say, when she heard she was mentioned in this piece, "Be careful what you say or the Kluxers will burn a cross in front of my house." Fear is the real shame of Birmingham. THE END

Governor Wallace defies integration forces: "I draw the line, toss the gauntlet."

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST
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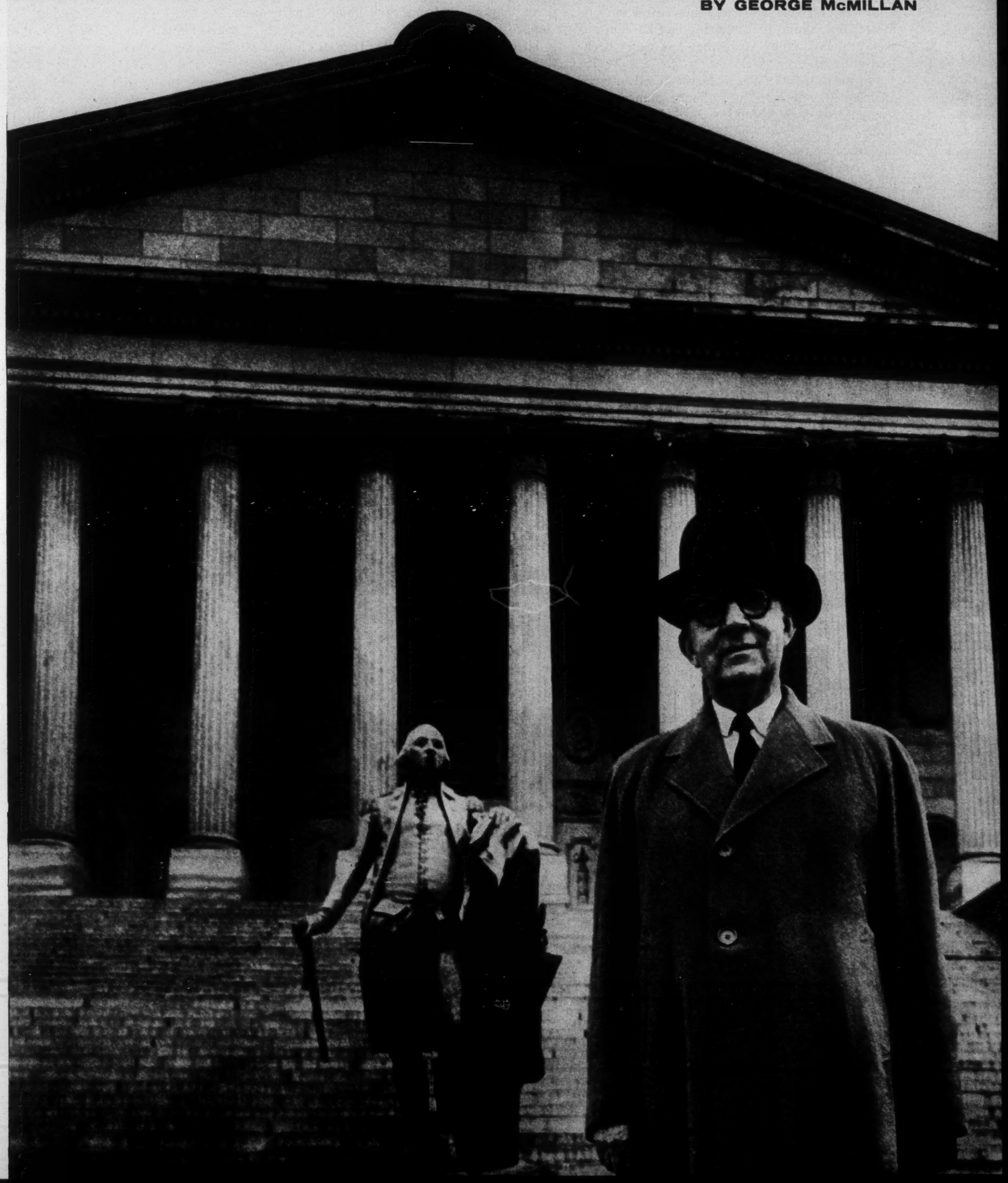
INTEGRATION WITH DIGNITY

The inside story of how South Carolina kept the peace.

BY GEORGE McMILLAN



State Senator Edgar Brown stood foursquare for law and order.

A small group of responsible citizens plotted to avert violence.

At 1:30 P.M. on January 28, 1963, a bright but cold day at Clemson College in the Piedmont hills of South Carolina, some 160 TV, radio, magazine and newspaper reporters waited quietly for the first Negro student to enroll in a white school in South Carolina.

The Negro's name was and is Harvey Gantt, and many people expected his imminent arrival to bring on one of the nation's worst racial explosions. In fact, of course, it did nothing of the kind—as everyone who has followed the case is aware. But behind that amazing fact lies a complex and fascinating story that has never been told until now.

For the peace with which Harvey Gantt entered Clemson was no mere lucky happenstance. Violence did seem clearly in the cards. South Carolinians are notoriously passionate when it comes to defending the South or southern "customs." The logic of South Carolina's history and the force of her traditions argued that Clemson would be another Oxford, Mississippi.

South Carolina was the spiritual, cultural and financial center of the South when Mississippi was still Indian territory. The fact is that South Carolinians created the South as a politically self-conscious region, led it out of the Union, and then fired the first shot of the Civil War.

Elaborate security precautions had been made to protect Gantt at Clemson, and his routine for the day had been scheduled with the precision of an astronaut shot. He was to arrive at Tillman Hall, the old brick administration building, any minute now. He was to go inside and register, come out another door, walk 35 yards to his dormitory, visit his room briefly, and then walk another 750 yards to the architectural-school building to be interviewed by the dean. The press—more than waited for James Meredith at the University of Mississippi—was ready.

At 1:33 P.M., only three minutes behind schedule, a black 1959 Buick sedan came slowly up the drive, parked in front of Tillman, and Gantt stepped out.

There was a frantic jostle. Tripods clanged as they were hastily dragged into position. Cameras whirred and clicked. Voices began to be heard talking sententiously into microphones.

But that was the action, all of it. It was one of those moments when the paraphernalia of coverage overwhelms the event. It was excitement without substance.

The only sign of an "angry mob," aside from the press, was an assemblage of about 200 students, standing with their jacket collars turned up against the wind, laughing at the antics of the reporters. There were still 100 or so of them around when Gantt came out of Tillman. But by the time Gantt emerged from his dormitory, only a handful were there to watch him start his walk to the architectural building. The reporters who had been following Gantt fell back, leaving him to the TV and radio men, who kept sticking microphones in front of the young Negro's mouth, insisting, "Come on, Harvey, say something!" But he was silent, and the campus was now deserted.

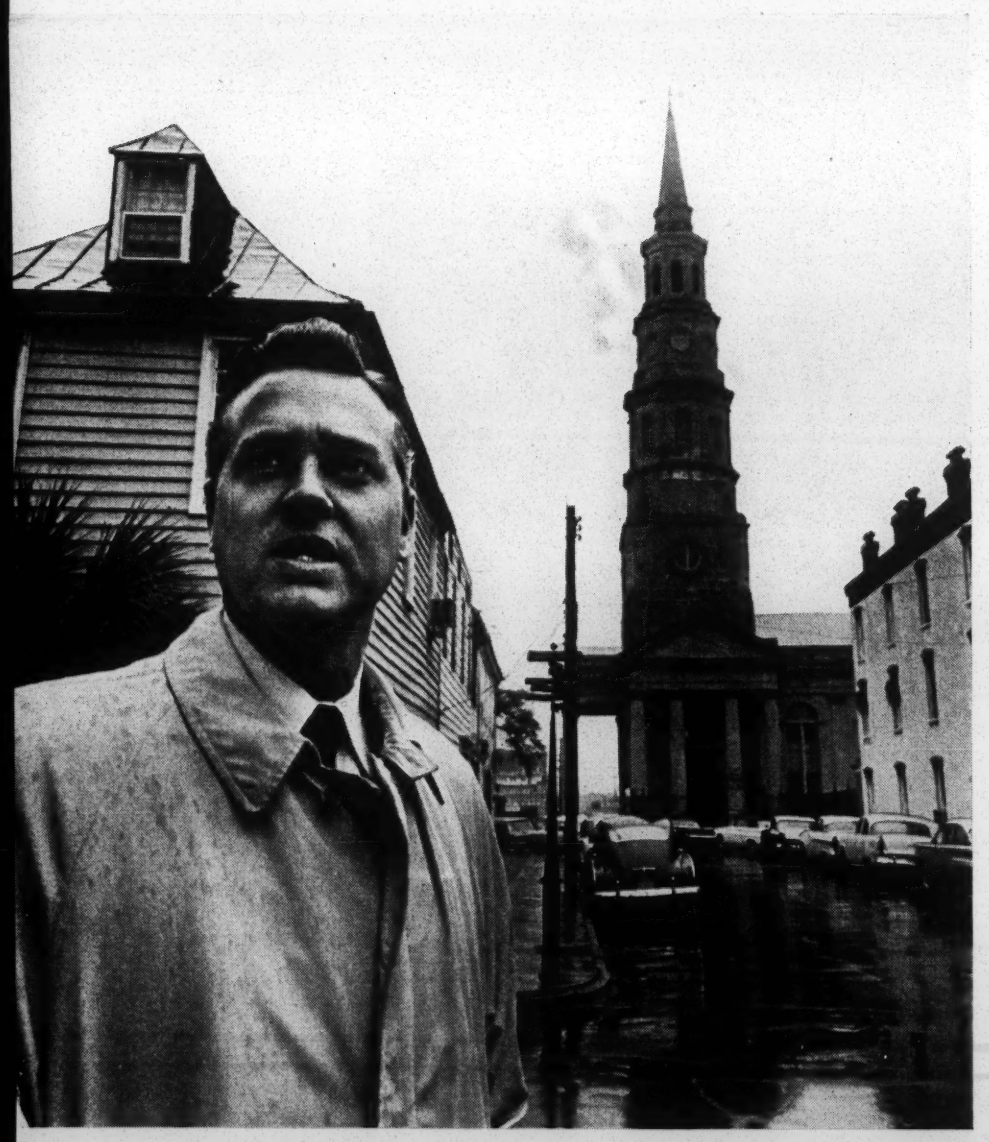
For the press, the day was over. And nothing had happened. Not one thing. South Carolina, emotionally the deepest Deep South state of them all, had met and peaceably passed its most serious racial crisis since the Civil War.

Why hadn't something happened? What was the explanation for this astonishing turn of events? Had South Carolina learned a lesson from Oxford? Or was it something else? The question was important; if South Carolina could keep the peace, so could any southern state.

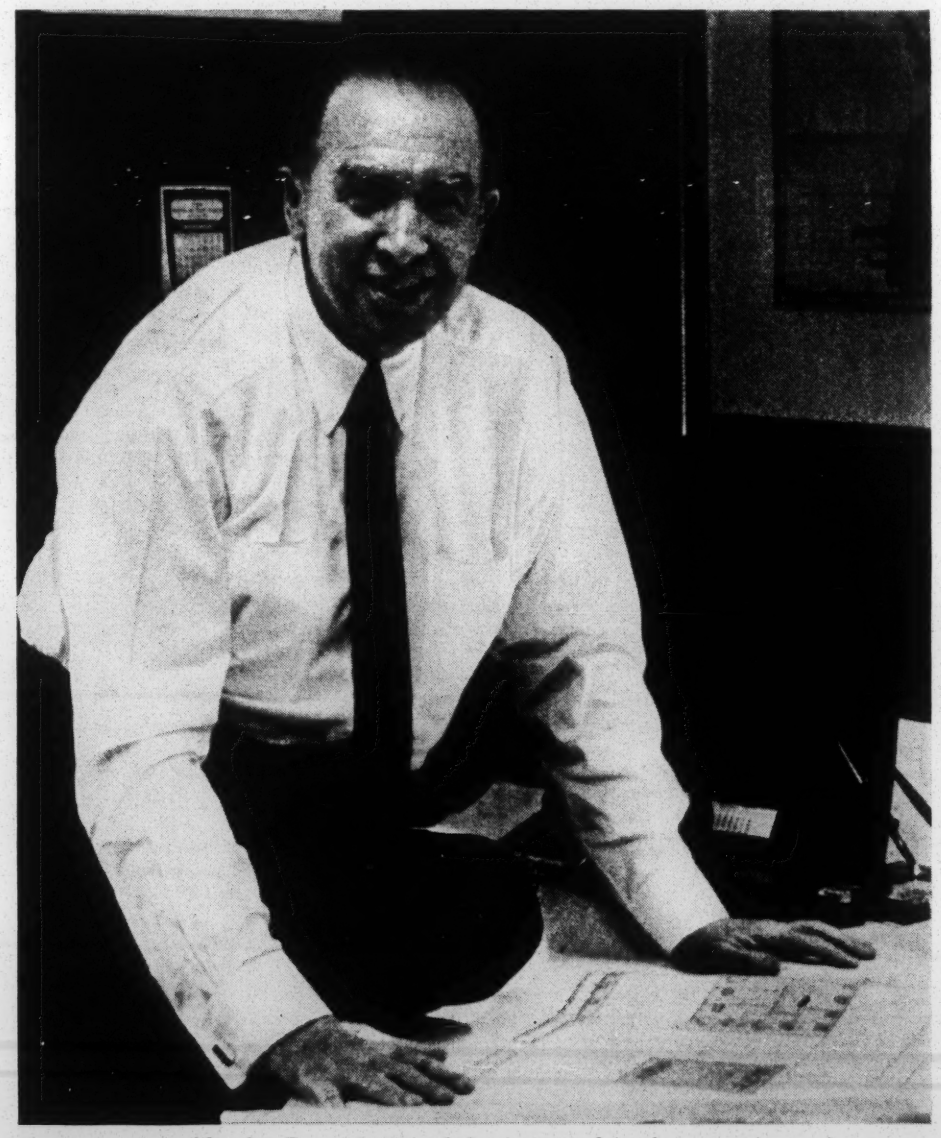
The answer is this: When South Carolina's turn came to face the inevitable fact of racial change, its responsible people, its leadership group, its "power structure" took the initiative and handled the crisis with dignity, dignity for the Negro as well as for the white man. This is why the South Carolina story is one of the most significant—and reassuring—stories in the recent history of race relations in this country.

The story begins on July 1, 1961, a day so hot that the Spanish moss seemed to be sweating. At the annual Watermelon Festival in the small Black Belt county seat of Hampton, the biggest businessman in South Carolina stood up and delivered himself of these somewhat astonishing sentiments:

"The desegregation issue cannot continue to be hidden behind the door. This situation cannot satisfactorily be settled at the lunch counter and



Ex-Gov. Hollings asked Attorney General not to send marshals.



Businessman Charles Daniel played the first card in the conspiracy for peace.

Textile executive John Cauthen rounded up advance support from the state's businessmen for Clemson's decision to accept integration without violence.

Robert Edwards, president of Clemson, worked out a security plan designed to prevent friction between Gantt and the other students.

bus station. We have a definite obligation to increase the productivity of our Negro citizens, to provide them with good jobs at good wages and to continue to assure them of fair treatment. . . . By raising their education and economic status, we would raise the whole economy of the state."

Charles Daniel, the speaker, knew what he was doing even if his audience of stunned cotton planters and restless beauty queens did not. Tough, hard-boiled, self-made and ultraconservative, Daniel had hewn together in three decades the largest construction company in the Southeast. Now he had struck the opening blow in a carefully planned effort to save Clemson College. He had joined the ranks of a handful of shrewd, influential and determined men who, in that summer of 1961, pledged themselves to see to it that Clemson stayed open and unharmed, even if it had to integrate.

The little group included besides Daniel: Robert Edwards, Clemson's president, a hard-driving textile executive who had been brought to Clemson originally as vice president in charge of development; Edgar Brown, chairman of Clemson's board of trustees, state senator from Barnwell County, president pro tempore of the state senate and the Daddy Rabbit of South Carolina politics; John K. Cauthen, executive vice president of the South Carolina Textile Manufacturers Association and the most skillful lobbyist in the state; Ernest F. Hollings, the handsome young governor of the state, who was making new industry the focus of his administration's effort; Wayne Freeman, editor of the Greenville *News* and one of the five nonlegislative members of the Gressette Committee, the state's clearinghouse for racial problems, named for State Senator Marion Gressette.

It was a loose, informal coalition; the five men never met as a group. If there was an understanding between them, it was that each would do what he could in whatever way he thought best to fulfill their common intention.

The seed of this understanding was planted in the spring of 1961 when Edwards called Cauthen about something else. Before hanging up, Edwards asked Cauthen if he thought the state's businessmen would be willing to share some of the responsibility for the problems that would arise if Harvey Gantt, who had applied for admission to Clemson in January, 1961, was finally admitted to the school on court order.

A "monster" to be stopped

Cauthen was sympathetic, and he went to work. South Carolina is a small, unusually cohesive state, and the lines of communication between its seats of political and economic power cross and recross at dozens of points. Cauthen sent feelers and messages along these interior lines, found support not only from businessmen but also from men like Hollings and Freeman and Brown, who are not.

By the end of the year Cauthen, Daniel, Edwards and the others had, in "talking around," let it be known that there was an important body of opinion in the state that firmly believed in law and order at all costs.

This was a solid achievement. But it was still an "inside" one. When Governor Hollings toured the state in the fall of 1961 he was shocked at the kind of talk he heard. He told me, "People thought I ought to have some magic to stop the monster that was about to gobble us up, or else they expected me to go to jail. It looked to me like it was high time we started sobering people up before it turned out to be too late."

Having been turned down on his first application, Gantt reapplied for admission to Clemson in January, 1962.

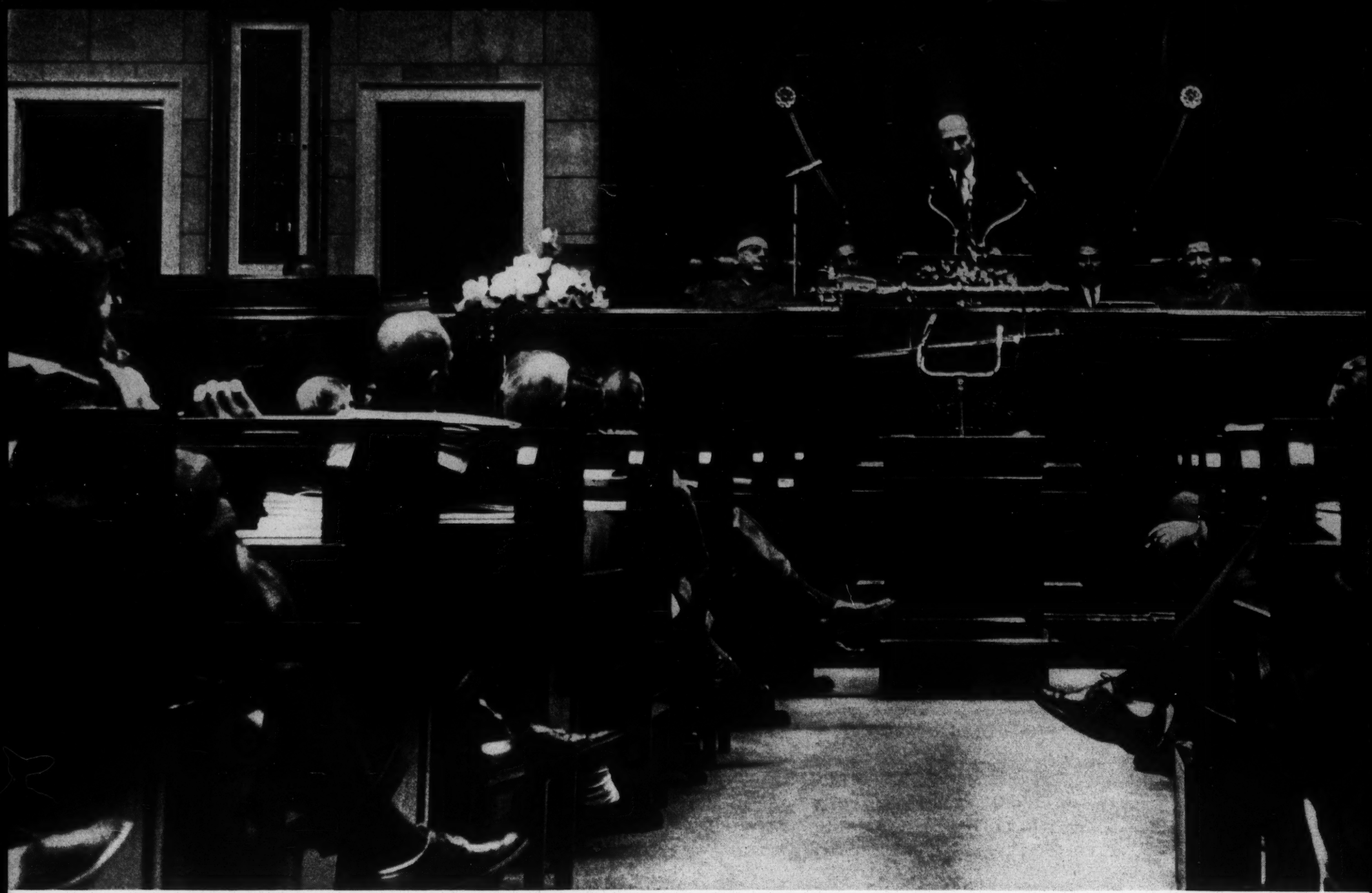
It was Hollings's custom to hold an off-the-record press briefing the week before the General Assembly convened, and he seized that moment to strike a blow.

"Before 1962 has passed," he told newsmen that January 9, "South Carolina's legal defenses will fall like a house of cards. You might as well start preparing your readers for the inevitable. We are not going to secede."

Not long after this the authoritative Columbia *State* began to give extensive, detailed coverage to Gantt, forcing by its example other newspapers in the state to treat the story as fully and as fairly. They did.

But there wasn't much news about Gantt and Clemson during the spring and summer of 1962. It was election time in South Carolina. Hollings ran for the U. S. Senate, trying to unseat the wily old veteran, Olin D. Johnston, in the Democratic primary, and got clobbered. Donald Russell, a wealthy Spartanburg lawyer who had served in Washington as an assistant to James F. Byrnes when the latter was Secretary of State, was elected governor to succeed Hollings, to take over in January, 1963.

Gantt's second application had never been formally acted upon, and the young Negro, represented by N.A.A.C.P. attorneys, filed suit in Federal court on July 7, 1962. What this meant did not hit hard in South Carolina until September 30, when rioting broke out at Oxford, Mississippi.



Before a joint session of the legislature, Gov. Russell praised Clemson's handling of the crisis.

INTEGRATION WITH DIGNITY

Mississippi indirectly called for help, and there were South Carolinians—plenty of them—who felt that Governor Hollings should go at once to Governor Barnett's side. A member of the state house of representatives, A. W. Red Bethea, insisted that Hollings lead a motorcade of South Carolinians to Oxford. Hollings refused—and was rewarded with a batch of insulting telegrams.

Other South Carolinians began to back up Barnett. Russell praised Barnett's "courage and resolution," and said he was "hopeful that Barnett's conduct may be invaluable to us in demonstrating the strength of Southern conviction." State Senator Marion Gressette, Mister Segregation in South Carolina, the man who is chairman of the state committee set up to "discourage" integration, called on the South "to rally to the support of the great state of Mississippi."

Hollings's silence stood out and annoyed some South Carolinians. Farley Smith, longtime executive secretary of the Citizens Councils of South Carolina, remarked, "It is inconceivable to me that South Carolina, of all southern states, has not, through its governor, made its position crystal clear."

A few days later, in the first week of October, a reporter cornered Hollings. Would Hollings, or would Hollings not, be willing to go to jail to prevent integration of a South Carolina school? "If it works out like Mississippi," Hollings replied, "jail would certainly be the safest place."

He was due to attend the Southern Governors Conference at Hollywood, Florida, the next week. "Faubus and Patterson [Governors Orville Faubus of Arkansas and John M. Patterson of Alabama] were waiting for me to head up a movement to wire and welcome Ross Barnett to the conference," Hollings said. He refused.

If Hollings did nothing to "help" Mississippi, he did something to help South Carolina meet *its* forthcoming crisis. He sent Pete Strom, head of S.L.E.D. (South Carolina Law Enforcement Division), to Oxford. He told him to study that situation and to come back home and work out with Harry Walker, his legal counsel, a security plan for Clemson.

He laid down three guidelines for Walker: (1) The plan must be foolproof; there should be no question of the need for U.S. marshals; (2) it should be designed to prevent even the possibility of allowing a crowd to gather, and (3) a carefully thought-out schedule must be arranged for controlling the movement of the press.

Through the late summer and fall Gantt's attorneys and South Carolina engaged in a series of legal maneuvers, but by November it was clear that Clemson sooner or later would have to admit Gantt. It was just a matter of time, and there was not much of that.

Meanwhile Cauthen had not been idle. He was "talking around" in those key places he knew so well. One day in the fall, for example, he and Clemson President Edwards went to Hartsville to see A. L. M. Wiggins, the elder statesman of South Carolina's business community. A former railroad president and Under Secretary of the Treasury, Wiggins was head of the Governor's Committee on Higher Education. "Mr. Wiggins was very strong on our side," Cauthen says.

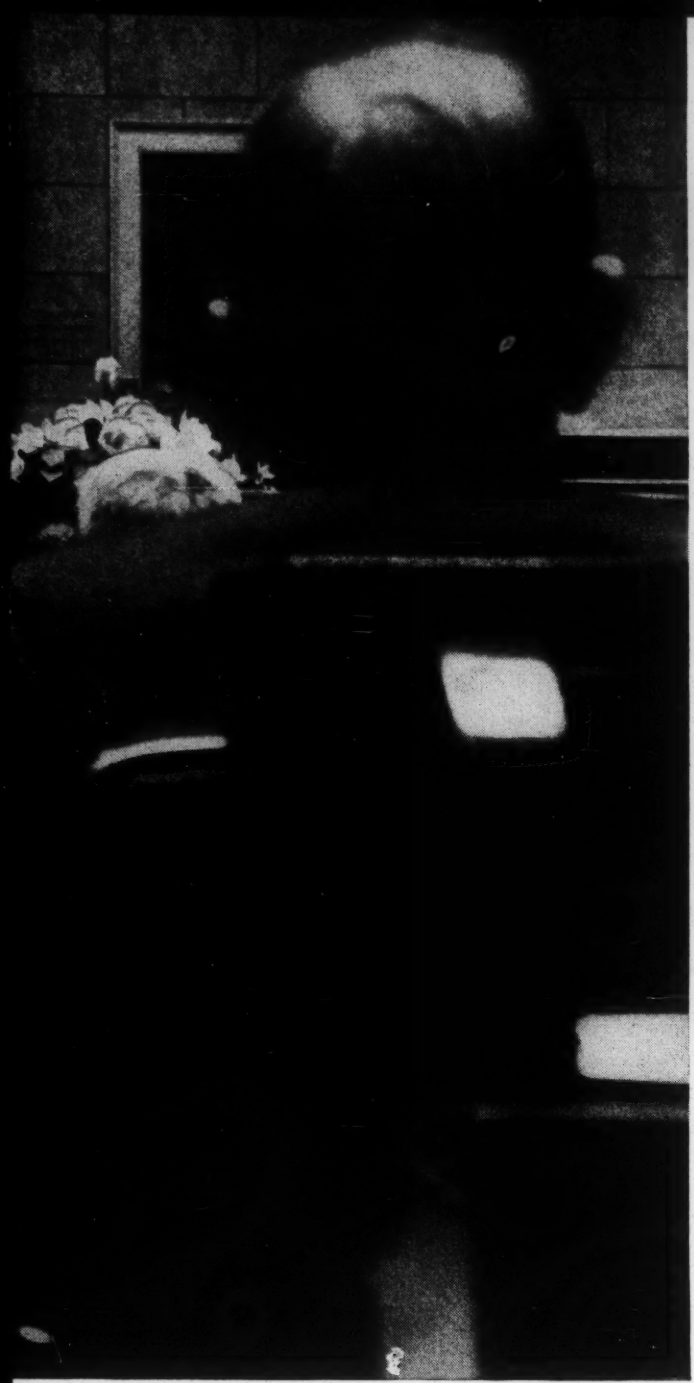
Up to now, none of the little group had taken a public stand on the case of Harvey Gantt, but the hour was obviously near when somebody must speak out clearly. The occasion arose at the end of December, when a Charleston newspaperman called Clemson board chairman Brown and put to him one of those have-you-stopped-beating-your-wife questions: "Now that it is pretty certain that the Clemson board is going to admit Harvey Gantt, what explanation would you give to the people who elected you, in the event of such a decision?"

Nobody had said that Clemson was going to admit Gantt, but Brown took down the reporter's question in shorthand and promised to give him an answer later.

He called Cauthen in Columbia, Edwards at Clemson. Both agreed to meet Brown in Barnwell the next morning. They talked it over, then Cauthen drafted a statement. Brown released it that day to the Charleston newspaperman but at the same time sent it to the press associations.

"Your premise is false," Brown's statement noted. "If the ultimate decision of the Federal courts directs that Harvey Gantt should be admitted, my position is that the board of trustees and the administration at Clemson College will not tolerate violence on the Clemson campus."

Photographs by Jim Mahan



The riots at Oxford, Mississippi, showed South Carolina the trouble it could expect at Clemson.

Harvey Gantt's reception committee at Clemson consisted almost entirely of milling reporters.

Brown had set the strategy with Cauthen months ago, when he told Cauthen not to hold an open meeting of businessmen, but rather to assemble his forces quietly. Now the strategy was about to pay off. Now the power structure of the state was agreed upon, if not yet openly committed to, a policy of admitting Gantt to Clemson and preserving law and order on the campus at the same time.

The newspapers of the state quickly joined behind Brown, and the opposition was caught flat-footed. The kind of people who might favor making a "protest" had taken it for granted that everyone in South Carolina would agree with them when the time came. They were not organized, not prepared. The Citizens Councils had been, as executive secretary Smith explained to me recently, "mainly a stand-by organization in South Carolina." Present membership is probably "less than 10,000" by Smith's estimate, and these "are not very active." This is not to say that the Citizens Councils favored violence; Smith insists they did not. But in this sense nobody in the South *plans* violence. What some groups do is stalemate and neutralize local and state law-enforcement agencies so that the relative handful of racists who will be violent can come in from the country, often from across state lines, and create chaos.

Half, maybe more, of the battle had been won without a word's being fired in anger. It was not over, not by any means. But men as savvy in the ways of Palmetto politics as Brown and Cauthen knew where their opposition lay.

State Senator Marion Gressette finally bowed to integration.

Byrnes: "Gantt has succeeded in forcing

The trouble might come from any one or all three of these powerful men:

1. James F. Byrnes. Still, in his 80's, the same dapper little man with gray felt hat whose picture was once frequently taken on the White House steps, Byrnes is today "a bitter man," according to those who are close to him. When Byrnes returned to South Carolina in the 1950's and became governor, he convinced the legislature that it ought to levy a sales tax, and he undertook an extensive program of school-building designed to create separate and equal school systems in South Carolina. "He thought the Supreme Court would recognize this," I was told. "He had convinced himself the Court would rule five to four in favor of South Carolina in the Clarendon Case [concerning public-school segregation in Clarendon County]. When it voted nine to nothing against, he turned bitter." As a member of Clemson's board of trustees, Byrnes "wouldn't say yes, and he wouldn't say no," about Gantt. His attitude in board meetings was such that some of the others on the board felt that Byrnes might, if Gantt were admitted, make an independent statement that would, considering his prestige, do serious damage to law and order.

2. State Senator Marion Gressette. Gressette was No. 2 in seniority in the senate, a man whose sincerity and integrity have never been questioned in the legislature. Every bill that might affect or be affected by a change in the status quo in segregation went to the Gressette Committee. From Calhoun, a Black Belt county in the Low Country, Gressette announced to the press that he was praying every night over the Clemson situation, and it is significant that not even the worst cynic doubted his statement.

It was almost solely their confidence in Gressette that caused groups like the Citizens Councils to stay dormant. For Gressette to go along with a plan that called for admitting a Negro to Clemson without some kind of protest would be a severe wrench for Gressette personally and for all the people who had had complete confidence in him as an anti-integration warrior. If Gressette came out publicly against admitting Gantt, all the hitherto latent forces of disorder in the state would come alive.

3. A. W. Red Bethea. Bethea is the most forthright racist in South Carolina. If Bethea went to Clemson to lead a "protest," as, in fact, he threatened to do, it would be hard to turn him away. He was both a member of the legislature and a Clemson alumnus.

Cauthen moved quickly to get business support on the line for a public announcement. Eighteen of the state's top textile executives met for lunch at the new, luxurious Palmetto Club in Columbia on January 3, 1963. When they had finished their business, Cauthen passed out three-by-five file cards, read them a statement he had drawn up. It read in part: "The major business and industrial interests of the state strongly approve the announced [Note: it had *not* been announced then] determination of the board of trustees and the administration of Clemson College to maintain law and order at all times." Cauthen asked the executives to vote Yes or No on the cards, and to hand them in without signing their names. He got 18 Yeses.

The next day the Chamber of Commerce followed suit. Polled by telephone, 70 South Carolina businessmen—52 were members of the Chamber's board of directors, 12 were former presidents and six were officers—unanimously approved the statement. The state bankers' association and the broadcasters' association followed in quick order.

Nowhere in the South in the recent history of racial change had the business community taken such a strong stand *in advance*. Clemson President Edwards on January 3 had a "very serious" meeting with Gressette and some members of his committee. Without acrimony Edwards made it plain that if he was not supported in admitting Gantt and handling the whole situation with dignity, he would resign. He got down to brass tacks with Gressette about the effect of violence. One of the nation's largest manufacturers had made overtures about building a multimillion-dollar plant in Gressette's county.

The state makes its choice

"Senator, if there's a ruckus at Clemson those people won't even plant scrub oak in Calhoun County," Edwards said passionately.

On January 9, Governor Hollings spoke out, in a farewell address to the state legislature.

"As we meet," he said, "South Carolina is running out of courts. This General Assembly must make clear South Carolina's choice, a government of laws rather than a government of men. We must move on with dignity. It must be done with law and order. The state's institutions and all law-enforcement agencies have been charged with their responsibilities."

When Hollings was halfway through, Bethea rose in his seat, took a step as if to leave, but then changed his mind and sat down. The rest of the joint session gave Hollings an ovation. "They were *impressed*," a legislative correspondent told me later.

The next night Hollings called Attorney General Robert Kennedy and outlined the security plan which by now had been worked out. He told Kennedy that U.S. marshals would not be needed. Kennedy promised not to send them.

On January 12 Hollings held a meeting in his office for a final review of the security plan. Donald Russell Jr., son of and assistant to his father, the incoming governor, was present and took a copy for his father to see.

The plan is probably the most complete and carefully thought-out one ever drawn up in the United States to meet the threat of racial violence. None of its details have ever before been made public.

It warned all officers of the law: "The state of South Carolina has assumed responsibility of maintaining law and order as a state function, and the state is capable of carrying it out." It told them to "tolerate verbal abuse or similar harassment . . . but, when faced with violation of the law, to perform duties with efficiency and dispatch.... If trouble occurs," the instructions said, "remove troublemakers quickly to detention areas set aside for large numbers of persons."

A S.L.E.D. aircraft was to patrol from the sky, police photographers were to be on the campus to take movies and photographs, the sheriffs of adjoining counties were briefed; magistrates were put on duty so that they could issue warrants; fire-fighting and medical equipment was made ready; and a central command post was set up to coordinate all the activity.

An elaborate program of briefing was set up for the Clemson student body and faculty. The student body was to be policed by its own student government. Supervisors were given the right to send students to their individual dormitory rooms.

Students were warned that "gatherings which indicate unnecessary curiosity . . . will be avoided. Counseling, advising and frank discussion should solve most problems. Situations requiring more forthright action will be dealt with firmly and effectively."

The courts began to move quickly. On January 22 District Judge C. C. Wyche complied with the Appellate Court ruling and signed the order admitting Gantt to Clemson. That same day State Senator John D. Long of Union County rose in the upper chamber of the legislature on a point of personal order. It was "cowardly" of Clemson to admit Gantt without a fight, he said.

"I would prefer that my children be raised in ignorance—not knowing 'B' from Bullsfoot—than to see them cringing and bowing before tyranny," he cried out.

Word of the debate reached the house, and Bethea and many of his colleagues came over to the senate, packed the galleries. Senator H. H. Jessen of Dorchester County joined in on Long's side. "South Carolina should not lie down and let itself be walked over," he said.

The time had come for Gressette to take his stand. He rose and began to speak slowly, sadly. "A lot of things happen in life," he said. "We have disappointments. Sometimes I feel like making a speech like my two friends made. We have lost this battle but we are engaged in a war. But this war cannot be won by violence or by inflammatory speeches. I have preached peace and good order too long to change my thinking."

If the legislature now felt that he had failed in his task, Gressette said, he would resign.

himself into Clemson."

When he had finished, the legislature rose and gave him an ovation. And Senator Long took the floor again, this time to propose that the members remain on their feet for a standing vote of confidence for Gressette.

Before the day was over Byrnes issued a statement. "Gantt has succeeded in forcing himself into Clemson," Byrnes said, but he would not be welcomed at the college "by independent men and women of the student body. . . . Thank goodness," said the former Supreme Court Justice, "not even the Supreme Court has ordered that be done—as yet!"

The Clemson board of trustees met with Governor Russell and the Gressette Committee during the morning to set the strategy for making the formal announcement. At noon word went out to reporters that press conferences would be held separately by Russell, by Gressette and by President Edwards—in quick successive order, at two P.M., at two-thirty and at three.

Promptly at two Russell came through a door into a paint-fresh new executive conference room, handed out a few copies of his statement and read quickly: "We shall meet and solve this problem peaceably, without violence."

The reporters scampered across the street to the capitol and heard Gressette read: "Peace and good order must be maintained both on and off the college campus."

Bethea was there, hunched deep down in an upholstered chair, an incongruous figure in the light bark-cloth-papered room. Reporters did not have time to stop and ask him for a comment.

It was a short walk from the capitol to the studios of WIS-TV where Edwards was to read his statement before the cameras. A few seconds after the press corps arrived, Edwards emerged, took his position before a microphone and began to talk: The Trustees approved "complete and good-faith" compliance with the court order, and Gantt was to be admitted "exactly as any other transfer student."

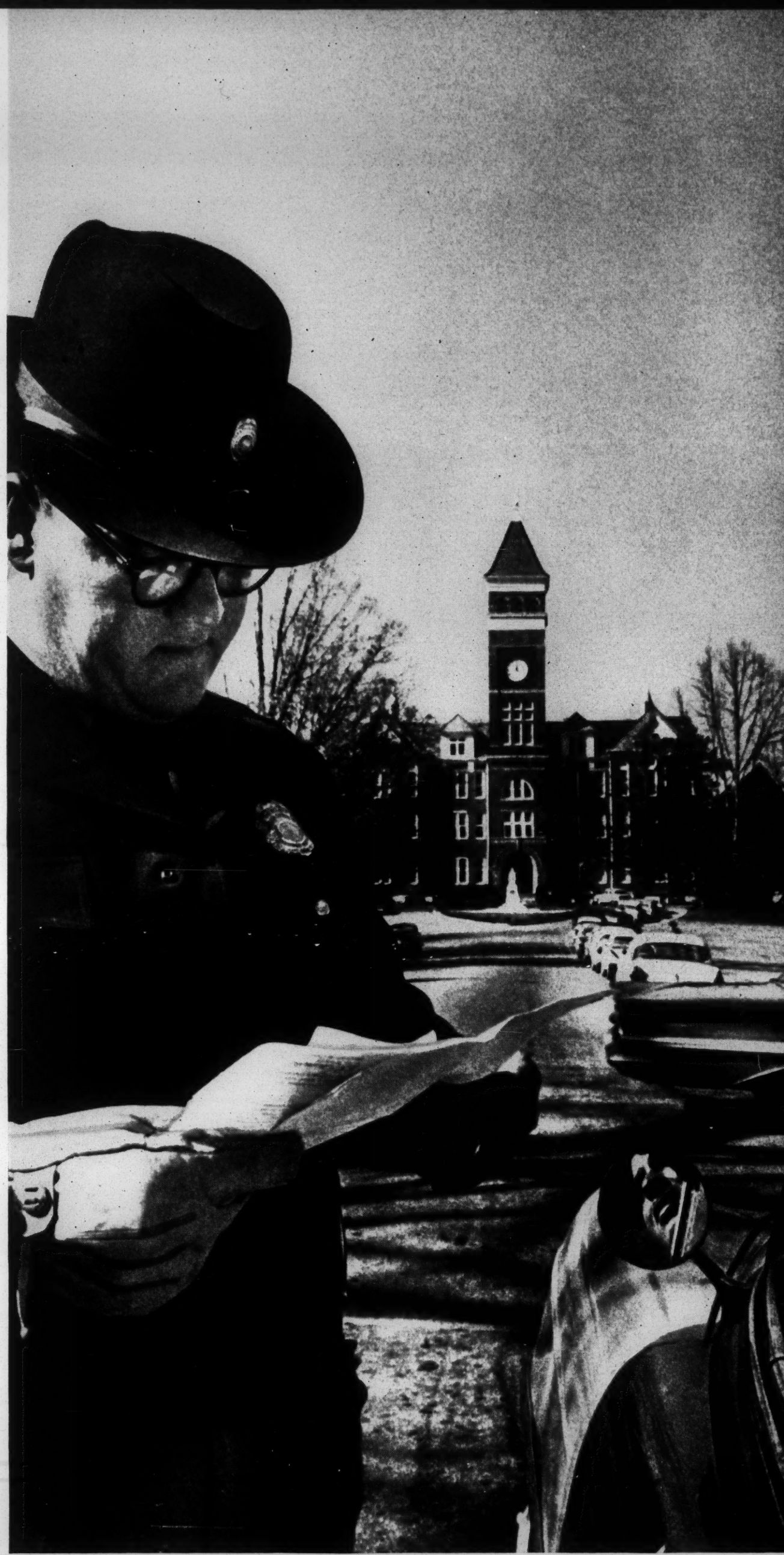
When Edwards finished, someone passed out copies of Cauthen's statement—the endorsement of law and order by the manufacturers, bankers, businessmen and broadcasters. It almost got passed by in the rush.

I had made the rounds with the rest of the newsmen, and, as I started to leave, I saw Brown and Cauthen sitting against a far wall. I went over and Senator Brown offered me a ride back to my hotel. The three of us walked out into the street again.

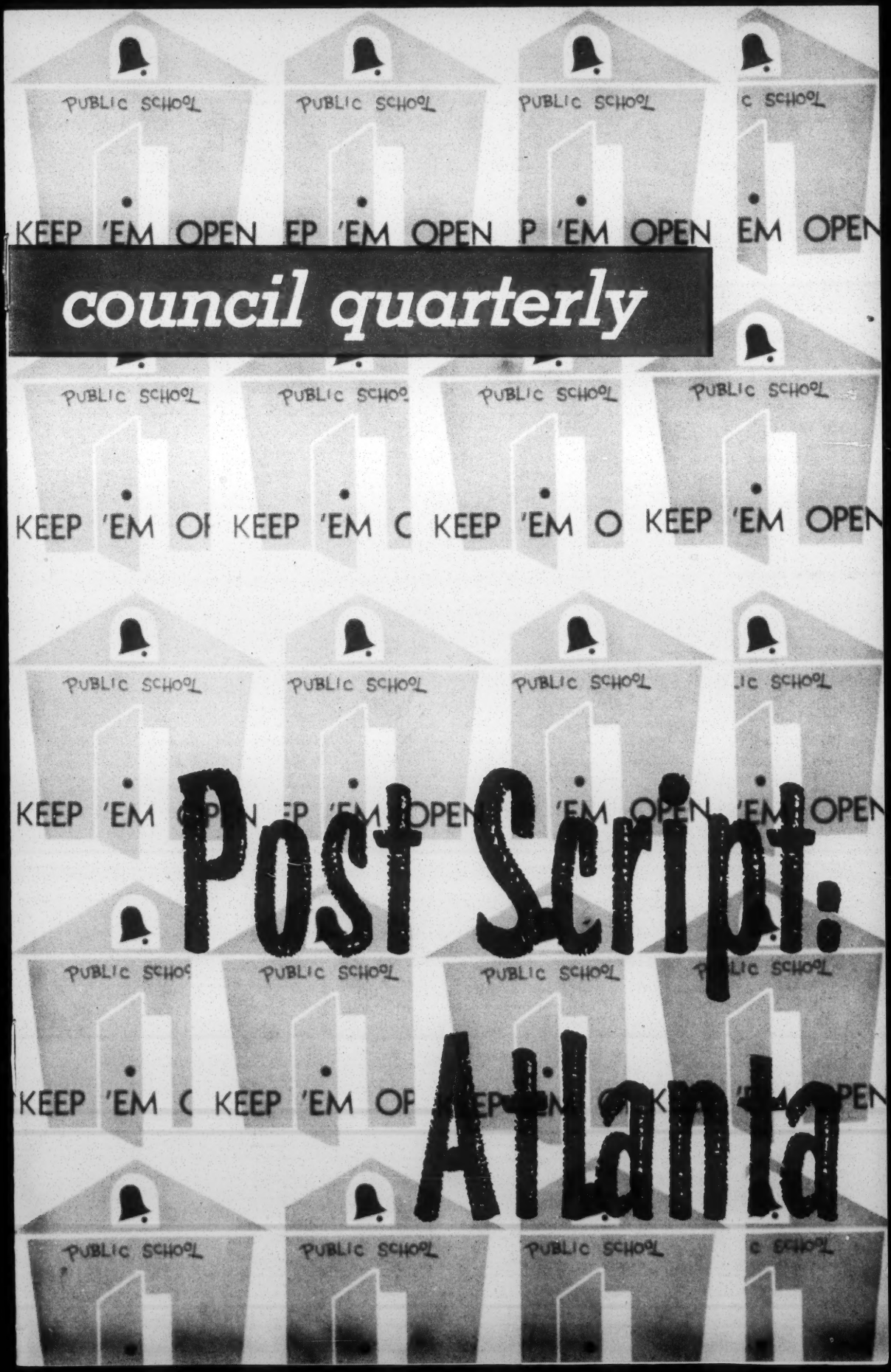
"Well, John," said Brown, pulling himself erect, cocking his head on one side and then giving Cauthen a smile, "it's been a long day, hasn't it?"

"Yes, it has, senator," said Cauthen, returning the smile, "but I think everything's going to be all right now."

And it was all right. THE END

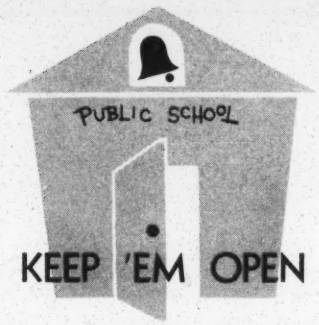


State troopers checked all students' passes and identity cards at the approaches to the college.



council quarterly

Post Script: Atlanta



P.S. Atlanta...

Future historians may record that not only was Atlanta in prime shape to face school desegregation—maybe it was a little bit overtrained. Item: Zealous policemen apprehended two loiterers near one of the high schools who subsequently turned out to be FBI men. Item: Two teen age drum majorettes, bent on preserving their school's honor conked a segregationist demonstrator on the head with their batons. Item: the youths armed with a gun, knife and hate literature on school grounds were arrested, interogated, placed in the police lineup, brought to trial, sentenced and carted off to jail in two hours and forty-two minutes flat, probably a track record.

In the days just prior to D-Day, civic leaders appeared on television in around the clock, one-minute spots, to remind Atlantans of their civic responsibilities. Parents of school childrer received an outline of the ground rules for school attendance from Superintendent John Leston that read like a well-thought out battle plan. The Mayor provided the national press with news facilities rivalling a Presidential convention, plus free cokes, caviar, ham, biscuits, cookies and potato chips. He capped his efforts by a bus tour of the city at which he served as barker. Merchants and the Chamber of Commerce provided a sumptuous integrated cocktail party for newsmen at a downtown hotel. School opening got underway in a happy atmosphere of carnival and self-congratulation.

What were the elements that went into creating this atmosphere? Why did Atlanta succeed where New Orleans failed a year ago? Without delving into the subtle psychological differences between these communities, several factors provide the glaring contrast that spelled the difference between success and failure.

1. The leadership provided by Mayor Hartsfield, who has long made it perfectly clear that he supported the Supreme Court ruling as the law of the land, and would use his office to enforce it. The attitude of the Mayor of New Orleans by comparison, could be described as wishy-washy.

2. The posture of the Atlanta Police Department and its Chief, Herbert T. Jenkins. He served notice that he would not tolerate violence — notice served well in advance of school opening so that trouble could be prevented before it got started.

3. The cooperation of the school administration which, by its calm acceptance and well thought out plans, set an example for the faculty, the students, and the parents.

4. The editorial position of both Atlanta papers, which for three years has been hammering home the inevitability of school de segregation and the need for peaceful compliance. Here again, is a contrast with the New Orleans papers which did little to prepare the community in advance. Nor were the editorials which finally appeared as forceful or as frequent. All Atlanta television stations gave the school story priority public service attention in prime time. In New Orleans, only WDSU presented a fair picture to its audience.

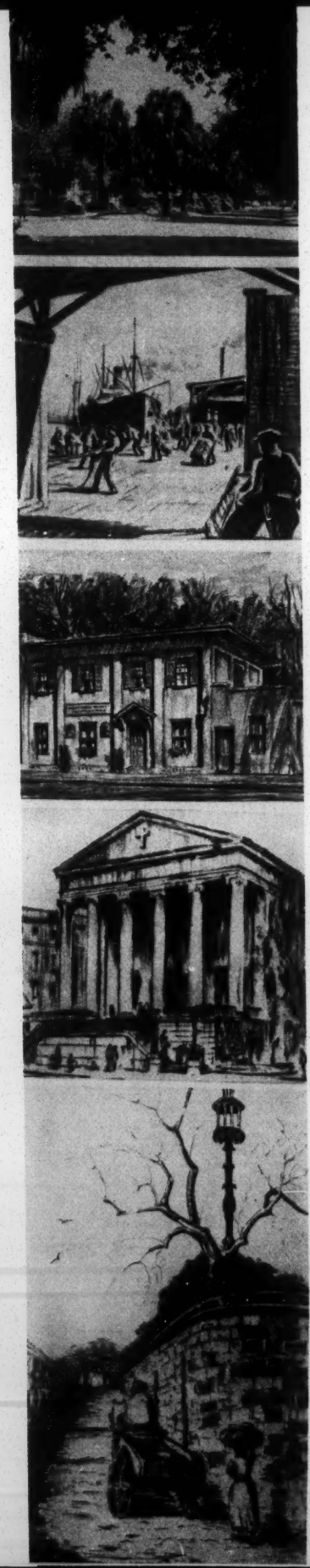
5. The non-intervention of the Georgia state government. Certainly the Governor and many legislators were bitterly opposed to desegregation. But they came to recognize that any violence would doom the state's drive to attract new industry and to promote economic growth. The Georgia Legislature declared against violence, and within the limits of their outlook, behaved responsibly. By contrast members of the Louisiana Legislature had urged their constituents to violence, even calling for lynchings and floggings.

6. The role of the voluntary agencies acting through OASIS (Organizations Assisting Schools in September) and within their individual groups. No one can calibrate the exact impact of the three years of work done by HOPE and other voluntary agencies, or of all the sermons preached, the discussion groups held, the material printed. It is unsatisfyingly vague to say that they "created a good atmosphere" for school desegration. But without that healthy climate, the first day of school might have been a disaster. And it was not the community's leading citizens who showed the way, not the Chamber of Commerce or the leading industrialists, or society leaders. Although community leaders appeared on the scene at the last moment to give their stamp of approval to peaceful desegregation, it was the anonymous citizen, backed up by his voluntary organization which lent it character and direction.

7. The march of events—the riots at Athens and the trouble in New Orleans crystallized Atlanta's resolve that this should not happen here. The sentimental attachment of the Legislature for their Alma Mater did more than statistics or sermons to point up the dangers of massive resistance. When it came to an actual choice of closing the University of Georgia or complying with federal law, the Legislature wisely chose to save the University. The unladylike spectacle that the New Orleans demonstrators presented stiffened the resolve of many a housewife that Atlanta should not be marred by such ugly strife.

Much has been written about the historical significance of this first successful token desegregation in the deep South. And indeed, if violence had occurred on the day school opened in Atlanta, it is likely that racists would have taken heart all over the South and violence would have marked school openings in Dallas, Little Rock and New Orleans. That all southern school openings were peaceful is at least partly attributable to Atlanta's good example.

But in the midst of this heady talk of a major success, we must keep in mind the sobering thought that for Georgia, Atlanta's token integration is only a small first step. What remains is the continuing challenge of guaranteeing equal educational opportunity for all.



The Savannah Story

Sixty-five Savannahians are deeply involved in consolidating and expanding recent improvements in human relations.

The Chatham Human Relations Council is following up the success of its first project by taking action in other major areas: school desegregation, fair employment, recreational facilities, voter's rights.

Joining the organization, for most members, did not come from a sudden realization of the need for progress. The core of the Chatham Council members have worked together before on Savannah's human relations problems in HOPE, the League of Women's Voters, YMCA, NAACP and other groups. Rather, this group of dedicated acquaintances, along with the majority of "new faces" in the Council, felt that two recent developments made the Human Relations Council approach especially timely: (1) A 15-month boycott of stores on Savannah's main shopping street, by the NAACP had reached a deadlock when the Chatham Council was formed on April 17, 1961. (2) Savannah had a new mayor. The 15-month stand-off had convinced downtown merchants that some settlement was needed, and the new Mayor, Malcolm Maclean, had called publicly for citizen leadership in human relations. In this new atmosphere, Mrs. Frances Pauley, executive director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, organized the local Council's first meeting.

About 40 persons attended this exploratory session at Christ Church, one of Savannah's best known houses of worship. Temporary Negro and white co-chairman simultaneously chaired the first few meetings. Merchants, doctors, lawyers, housewives, and teachers attended. At first, there were no students; later a few joined.

It was subsequently learned that merchants and people close to the city government were struggling to form a committee to end the boycott. The Rt. Rev. Albert R. Stuart, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Georgia, had agreed to head a committee of leading white citizens to end the boycott. This approach was demanded by the regional Woolworth's manager and supported by leading Broughton Street merchants.

Two members of the Chatham Council on Human Relations were members of the Bishop's Committee. They reported later that merchants decided the mode of desegregation in a plenary session with NAACP leaders and a few Committee members. The main Committee aim was to give massive prestige to any announced settlement. The moving force was a nucleus of city government officers and merchants eager to end the boycott.

At one point the secret negoations apparently broke down. In a timely move, the Chatham Council voted to submit a petition to the Mayor. It called for lunch counter desegregation, store use of courtesy titles for Negro patrons, and new employment opportunities for Negroes along with removal of discriminatory signs on stores' water fountains and rest rooms. Its aim was to gain at least 75 per cent participation on the petition from Broughton Street merchants, a likely goal. Also thousands of citizens' signatures were to be sought. The petition was addressed to the mayor and alderman as a demonstration of general agreement on the desegregation idea, if not a direct pact resulting from a conference.

After only three days, when about 150 white and 500 Negro signers had supported the petition, the Bishop's Committee was informed of the petition. A few days later the panel of leading white citizens' names was published in daily newspapers with the Bishop's announcement that lunch counters had been desegregated.

The other demands in the Council's petition were not treated in the Bishop's announcement. However, stores generally removed discrimnatory signs and began using courtesy titles—in many cases where lunch counters were not involved.

The petitions were delivered to the city with an explanation of their interrupted circulation and incompleteness.

On the agreed test day of initial desegregation, Council members were at all lunch counters in stores. They reported, as did the newspapers, that there was no violence or unpleasantness. Store desegregation was a complete success.

White Citizens Council members, the Klan, and other white supremacy groups have begun a boycott of the desegregated Savannah stores. While this has disappointed some managers, not all of whom were eager for settlement of the previous boycott, Broughton Street has remained firm. The new boycott, by keeping troublemakers away, aides peaceful desegregation.

Chatham Human Relations Council members continue to emphasize patronage at cooperating stores, encouraging reopening of charge accounts, partronizing desegregated lunch counters, helping consolidate new gains.

Continued page 11

Crisis and the Church..

By Martin Luther King, Jr.

Those of us who live in the twentieth century are privileged to live in one of the most momentous periods in human history. In a real sense we stand today between two worlds—the dying old and the emerging old. We are all familiar with the old order that is passing because we have lived with it and seen it in all of its dimensions. We have seen this old order in Asia and Africa in the form of colonialism and imperialism. Here at home, it takes the form of segregation and discrimination.

Living under conditions first of slavery and then later of segregation, many Negroes lost faith in themselves. They came to feel that perhaps they *were* inferior or less human. But the twentieth century industrial revolution brought with it a revolution in human relations. The coming of the automobile, the upheavals of two world wars, the great depression made the Negro's rural plantation background give way to urban industrial life. His cultural life was enriched through the steady decline of crippling illiteracy. His economic status rose with the growth of industry and the influence of organized labor and other agencies. The Negro masses began to re-evaluate themselves, and the Negro came to feel that he was somebody. With this new sense of dignity and destiny, came a new Negro determined by struggle and sacrifice to crumble the walls of injustice.

On May 17th, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a new decision which nullified the old doctrine of "separate but equal". It said that separate facilities are inherently unequal, and that to segregate a child on the basis of his race is to deny that child equal protection of the law. As a result of this decision in the area of race relations, we stand today on the threshold of the most constructive and creative period in our nation's history. In bibical language, we have broken loose from the Egypt of slavery. We have moved through the wilderness of segregation and now we stand on the border of the promised land of equality.

But the emerging new age has not come without some oposition. There are those determined to resist all the power and all the techniques they can muster—in Johannesburg, in Montgomery, or in Jackson, Mississippi. We see this resistance in the form of arrests, physical violence and legislative defiance. It is this pattern of advance countered with resistance that presents our nation with such a powerful moral challenge.

Whenever a crisis emerges in history, the Church has a role to play. It has a role to play because this issue is not merely a political issue; it is a moral issue. The Church can never evade any moral issue, because this is its primary concern.

Let us look at some of the things that the Church must do in order to play a creative role in this transition period.

First, I think the Church should instill within its worshippers a world perspective, for when individuals have a world view, they cannot live in the valley of racial hatred.

Therefore, the Church must urge men to rise above the narrow confines of their individualistic concerns to the broader concerns of all humanity. For the new world that is emerging is a world that is geographically one, and we are challenged to make it spiritually one.

It is trite but true through our scientific genuis we have made of this world a neighborhood; and now we are challenged through our moral genius to make of it a brotherood. Whatever affects one individual directly, affects all indirectly.

We are all caught in an inescapable network of mutuality; we are all tied in a single garment of destiny. The Church must also make it palpably clear that segregation in any form is a moral evil which no Christian can accept. We cannot compromise on this point. Segregation is wrong because it overlooks the fact that all men are made in the image of God; wrong because it relegates individuals to the status of things; wrong because it substitutes on I-it relationship for the I-Thou relationship. Segregation is wrong because it distorts the personality and damages the soul; it gives the segregator a false sense of superiority, while leaving the segregated with a false sense of inferiority.

The Church must also seek to get to the ideational roots of racial prejudice. Racial prejudice always develops from suspicions, fears and misunderstandings that are groundless. The Church can play a great role here by showing the irrationality of many of these beliefs. The Church can reveal that the idea of a superior or an inferior race is a myth that has been refuted by the best evidence of the anthropological sciences; the Church can show that the Negro is not inherently inferior in academic, moral and cultural standards. The Church can show that where conditions of inferiority exist, they are environmental, not racial; that poverty and ignorance breed crime whatever the racial group may be. It is tortuous logic indeed to use the tragic results of segregation and discrimination as an argument for their continuation.

The Church must reveal the true intentions of the Negro and the colored peoples of the world—the intention not to dominate the nation or the world, but to live as free human beings, with dignity and worth.

The Church must seek to open channels of communication where they have been closed as a result of this period of transition. Men can

never rise to their full maturity when they are seeking to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

The Church also should go out into the field of social reform. It is not enough to clarify the ideas. The Church must develop a social action program and take a stand wherever economic and social injustice exist. One of the best ways that the Church can take action is to remove the yoke of segregation from its own body. We must face the tragic fact that the Church is still the most segregated major institution in our society, and when we stand on Sunday morning to sing, "In Christ There Is No East or West," we stand in the most segregated hour of Christian America. How often in the Church do we have a high blood pressure of creeds, and an anemia of deeds!

Here and there churches are courageously integrating their congregations; here and there local ministerial associations are taking concrete stands on major issues. These actions are very significant, but we must admit that they have been far too few. We must also admit that the pronouncements that have come from the major denominations have moved down to local congregations all too slowly. It will be one of the tragedies of history if a future Gibbon is able to write that at the height of the twentieth century, the Church proved to be the last bulwark of segregated power.

What are the prospects for realizing the bright promises of a just society? We must realize that human progress never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. We must realize that privileged groups never give up their privileges without strong resistance—they never do it voluntarily.

In this great drama of freedom that is taking place on the stage of modern history, we cannot be merely detached spectators, we must be concerned participants. For this problem will never be solved until enough people come to see that racial injustice is wrong, and until they are willing to work passionately and unrelentingly for its doom.

Yes, there is need today for an Amos in the modern world, to cry out in terms that echo across the nations, "Let judgment run down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream." There is need in this world for a Lincoln to remind men that nations cannot live half slave and half free. There is need today of a Jefferson to cry out once more "All men are created equal . . . endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights . . . among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. There is need today for a Mahatma Gandhi to remind men once more that non-cooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good. With these insights, we will be able to bring into being the dreams and the ideals of a new world.

Ours is not an easy road. Some will be scarred and bruised before the victory is won. Some, like Paul and Peter, will have to spend a few days in jail before the victory is won. But God grant that you will be part of that creative minority and help arouse the dozing conscience of the nation and the world, knowing that in the struggle there is the power of God working with you. For there is something in this universe that justifies James Russell Lowell in saying:

"Truth forever on the scaffold
Wrong forever on the throne;
Yet that scaffold sways the future
And, behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow
Keeping watch above his own."

From: Executive Director, Georgia Council on Human Relations

Subject: Progress Report

There has been so much activity this summer that it is hard for me to begin to put things in their proper order. Here are just a few of these heartening summer events: Lunch counters in Savannah desegregated, the Macon Golf Course desegregated, Columbus buses quitely desegregated, four Atlanta high schools peacefully desegregated.

And the changing climate in Georgia is reflected too in our own Council. Our membership has increased 49% since March 1st. We have been able to expand our activities and prepare new material for you.

But there are many thousands of Georgians who have a more compelling reason for this change in attitude. They have come to realize that practical considerations are only secondary. Deep in their hearts, they know that discrimination is morally wrong.

This moral conviction can have far reaching results not directly connected to the struggle against racial discrimination. For with it, we can surely expect an improvement in political leadership, a deepening of religious convictions, and great progress in our educational system. Why? Because many Georgians have come a little closer to truth.

Frances Pauley

Frances Pauley

Things are looking UP at LOCKHEED

As a catalyst for social change, nothing beats a defense contract. The one billion dollar Air Force contract awarded to the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation at Marietta, has already brought some profound changes in its wake, changes that will not only affect the plant itself, but hiring in other southern industries, and even educational opportunities for Negroes all over the South.

When the United States government awarded the billion dollar jet cargo contract to Lockheed, 31 of the 500 Negroes working at the plant submitted affidavits to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, charging "overt discrimination" in working conditions, seniority and promotional opportunities, as well as segregated facilities. The affidavits specifically claimed that Negroes were barred from plant apprenticeship programs, thus cutting them off from advancement, and dooming them to custodial or janitorial jobs. The Equal Employment Committee pledged that it would recommend to the government that the contract be cancelled if Lockheed would not cooperate in eliminating these conditions. It therefore came as no surprise when on May 25 Courtlandt S. Gross, promised an intensified effort to wipe out racial restrictions and to open jobs for Negroes in engineering, profes sional, administrative, supervisory and skilled clasifications.

What progress has been made under this new agreement?

1. Segregated plant cafeterias have been abolished, along with separate rest rooms and drinking fountains.

2. The Lockheed Management Club for the first time invited the plants two Negro production supervisors and a Negro mathematics analyst to its monthly dinner.

3. An intensive search by management for qualified engineering and management posts is under way. According to Harold Arnold, director of Vocational Services of the Atlanta Urban League, "Lockheed in making a sincere effort to fill all jobs on a non-discrimnatory basis.

As part of this new hiring policy, company recruiters recently visited five Negro colleges and put out feelers to a number of others.

4. Perhaps most important, company recruiters have also visited Negro high schools to obtain candidates for its apprenticeship program, and several high schools graduates are already participating in this on-the-job training program previously closed to them.

A major problem facing management is to find properly qualified Negroes for both proffessional jobs, at the college level, and for the apprenticeship probram at a high school level.

Here we see a dramatic example of how segregated education puts Negro students at a disadvantage. For the Negro high school has neither the physical plant, the teaching equipment, nor the enriched curriculum that the white high school does, and these educational shortcomings place Negro high school graduates under a burdensome handicap when they compete for skilled jobs. If young Negro men and women are to take full advantage of expanding job opportunities, they will have to receive the educational opportunities they have so long been denied.

Although it is still to early to tell definitively whether this compliance is just a token to satisfy the Equal Employment Committee, or part of a long-range human relations project, these changes at the very beginning of the contract period must be considered hopeful.

Even greater opportunities may follow, for the ten year contract with the Air Force will mean adding about 3,000 workers to the payroll in the next 18 to 24 months.

The "Plan for Progress" has implications far broader than the Marietta area. Lockheed is the largest private employer in the Southeast. Its $100,000.00 payroll equals the combined income of Georgia's cotton and tobacco crops. Its 76 acres under one roof make it the biggest aircraft manufacturing unit in the country.

If this complicated industrial giant could change the patterns of discrimination into a "plan for progress", there is reason to believe that other southern industries with defense contracts could do the same.

In any event, the Equal Employment Committee, headed by Vice President Lyndon Johnson has made it clear that it intends to use the Lockheed pact as a model in its drive to eliminate employment bias in companies working on government contracts.

THE SAVANNAH STORY CONTD

Meanwhile the Council has continued its meetings—in a synagogue and the penthouse of a recently opened savings institution, and has developed strong school and employment committees, among others. The Council's Human Relations group has publicly requested discussion of schools at a school board meeting. The employment committee will begin studying federal employment segregation practices in Savannah.

The Council has been most fortunate in its chairman, the Rev. Oliver W. Holmes, who repeatedly displayed unusual tact and ability to aid members to reach decisions with dispatch. Mr. Holmes had been appointed some months earlier by the Mayor as Savannah's first Negro to serve on the city recreation commission.

With an active executive group, the Chatham Council ordinarily meets monthly, but during the lunch counter desegregation activity met as much as twice a week. Average attendance at the meetings has been about 35 members.

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HIGHLIGHTS FROM RECENT LITERATURE

I.

October, 1958

This is the first of a continuing series of bi-monthly digests of recently published literature - periodical, pamphlet, and book length - on desegregation and inter-group relations in the South. Statements of the authors are liberally paraphrased and condensed in these brief synopses, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
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Atlanta 3, Georgia

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1. Fleischman, Harry and Rorty, James. WE OPEN THE GATES. Pamphlet, available from National Labor Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York, single copy: .35¢. 64 pages.

Racial and religious discrimination in employment and in union membership is contrary to the policy and the fundamental faith of the American trade union movement. Unions oppose discrimination first, because it is morally wrong, and second, because it endangers the standards unions have worked to win. As in other sections of national life, discrimination and prejudice can be found in some segments of the labor movement, but the trend toward complete equality of opportunity and elimination of discrimination is clear.

We Open the Gates presents "success stories," case histories of vigorous union action opposing racial and religious discrimination on the job. Among the titles of these 14 studies are: "Rubber Workers Erase Bias," "Working on the Railroad," "Oil and Bias Won't Mix," "Steelworkers Fight Discrimination," "The Case of the Colored Salesman."

2. Foreman, Kenneth J.. WERE OUR ANCESTORS WRONG? Presbyterian Outlook, August 4, 1958, p. 13.

Many Christians are disturbed by the thought that what the church today is beginning to call right is incompatible with what their ancestors considered right. To support a change such as desegregation seems, in effect, to dishonor their ancestors. If this were a sound reason for opposing change, there would never have been any moral progress. If a proposed social change embodies and carries into practice, better than existing patterns, the principle of love to God and neighbor, then we can be fully faithful Christians only if we support the change.

Our ancestors were not subjectively wrong if they conscientiously upheld the only justice they knew, although they were objectively wrong when they followed practices we know today to have been cruel and harmful. We do not dishonor our ancestors by living by a wider, clearer light than they could have had.

3. Hill, Herbert. "RIGHT TO WORK" LAWS AND THE NEGRO WORKER. Crisis, June-July, 1958, pp. 327-332.

The NAACP vigorously opposes so-called "Right to Work" bills. The slogan "Right to Work" is a Madison Avenue refurbishment of the old phrase "Open Shop," used to prevent trade union organization. In many states forces promoting the union-busting "Right to Work" bills have made special efforts to secure support from the Negro community, even to the extent of selling the laws as "a substitute for fair employment practices legislation." It is the position of the NAACP that these anti-trade union measures endanger colored

workers and the economic well being of the entire Negro community.

The full power of the organized labor movement should be invoked to eliminate discriminatory racial practices, for inaction and delays alienate Negro workers from the trade union movement and permit the enemies of organized labor to mobolize support for anti-labor measures. Now more than ever before it is important that the trade union movement give top priority to the elimination of the evils of racial discrimination and segregation.

4. Holden, Anna. A FIRST STEP TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION. Pamphlet, available through Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York. .25¢ per single copy, June, 1958.

Experiences of the Nashville Committee on Racial Equality during the 1957 beginning of desegregation of schools in Nashville, Tennessee, lead the group to conclude: (1) with cooperation, understanding and non-violence, the so-called "unworkable" plan of school desegregation can be made to work for the benefit of all; (2) personal contact is the best way to support people affected by school desegregation and to give them a better understanding of citizenship; (3) if we expect to build the kind of society we want, we must put forth effort ourselves; (4) the interracial group - a live demonstration that integration works - has something especially valuable to contribute.
A FIRST STEP TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION records methods employed by the Nashville group and offers specific suggestions which will be helpful to other groups concerned with desegregation. (Illustrated.)

5. Jones, Lewis and Smith, Stanley. Tuskegee, Alabama: VOTING RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE. Pamphlet, published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in cooperation with the National Council of the Churches of Christ. May be ordered from the ADL, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York; price .50¢ per copy. 46 pages. June, 1958.

In Tuskegee in the summer of 1957, a series of events involving the issue of Negro voting rights developed into a racial crisis of broad significance.

At stake in the white community - the numerical minority - was its traditional power of exclusive political control as well as traditional white supremacy in many other areas within society. For the entire Negro community, all hopes and aspirations were at stake.

The authors present a comprehensive background on and description of the conflicting forces in Tuskegee, and summarize the struggle of the Negro community for enfranchisement. In summary they state that application of economic pressure by the Negroes has seriously endangered the business community, however, the goal of such pressure -

voting rights - has not been achieved. The ability of Tuskegee Negroes to organize an effective general boycott of the white business community has had an important effect upon the struggle of Negroes for civil rights in Alabama and Southwide.

6. Montagu, Ashley. **WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT "RACE,"** pamphlet, One Nation Library series, available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. 85 pages.

The term "ethnic group," rather than "race," should be used because it serves as a challenge to thought and as a stimulus to rethink the foundation of popular beliefs about "race." There are many ethnic groups; such groups resemble each other much more than they differ. None are physically inferior to others and the biological endowment for intelligence is basically similar. High intelligence is not the monopoly of any one ethnic group, rather the environment must be held to be the dominant factor influencing the development and expression of intelligence.

Scientific theory accounting for superficial pyhsical differences between ethnic groups, an explanation of the interdependence of heredity and environment, and a discussion of the results of recent intelligence tests are offered by Mr. Montagu in this primer-like pamphlet. (Illustrated.)

7. Patrick, Rembert W.. RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH. Pamphlet, available through Florida State Teachers Association, P. O. Box 1211, Tallahassee, Florida, .25¢ per single copy. 21 pages. 1958.

Numerous myths - fashioned to fit the dreams of her interpreters - abound about the South and about race relations in the South. Mr. Patrick explodes some of these myths and concludes that since 1954 race relations have deteriorated, and the cause is obvious. Moderates on race relations have made few protests against the actions of agitators.

The results of the last few years are peculiarly unfortunate. After decades of poverty, the number one economic problem of the nation was becoming a land of opportunity. Economic loss resulting from segregation is a known fact, but an even greater danger is threatened by individuals who advocate closing the public schools. In the world of today, the United States cannot afford any limitation placed upon education. Any victory which the segregationists may win today will be temporary. The caste system cannot endure with a majority of the nation and of the world in opposition to it.

8. Peters, William. THE STORY NOBODY TELLS YOU.... McCall's, September, 1958, p. 35.

Increasingly throughout the South, quietly and usually without fuss, white men and women are lining up on the side of desegregation, a fact which is surprising to most Americans, since it is the segregationist South which makes the headlines. A mob is news; a peaceful

majority is not.

Seemingly powerful groups working to prevent desegregation are actually minority groups who know they are fighting a losing battle. In no case has a mob involved more than a tiny fraction of the white community. The majority of Southerners are passive in their racial attitudes and tend to accept whatever exists, while a surprising number are already taking new positions supporting desegregation.

The substance of this article is a report on some of the forces and a number of the individuals contributing to a peaceful solution of the problems of desegregation.

9. Segal, Benjamin D. INDUSTRIALIZATION: ACCENT ON THE SOUTH. Pamphlet reprinted from Labor's Daily and distributed by Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights, 1244 - 19th Street, N. W., Room 301, Washington 6, D. C. at .10¢ a copy. 33 pages.

Basic changes are occurring in the economy of the South that must have a vital impact on the plans of organized labor. After a century of agrarian economy, a late beginning in technological development, and an accelerated World War II industrial expansion (which was, however, primarily in low-paying industries with poor reconversion possibilities), the South is today holding its own in industrial expansion, although the rate of increase is not at present ahead of the rest of the nation.

Very real progress has been made, but the South is not building nearly as fast as one is sometimes led to believe and the pattern of growth has its drawbacks as well as its encouraging side. "New type" industry has given the region a real lift, however, low profit industries, with the lowest wages, show a greater expansion. Population has been shifting - out of the rural districts and out of the poorest states. Wage differentials - based on both geography and race - still prevail to the disadvantage of the Southern worker.

Expansion of under-developed research facilities and the solution of race relations problems are among the multitude of factors affecting the solution of the southern economic problem. Organization of the South - still labor's number one problem - is a job which must be done for the good of the South and for the good of American workers.

10. Tumin, Melvin; Barton, Paul; Burrus, Bernie. EDUCATION, PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION: A STUDY IN READINESS FOR DESEGREGATION. American Sociological Review, Volume 23, No. 1, February, 1958.

Recent research and theory suggests that a variety of facilitating or inhibiting factors, such as law, conscience, and informal community restraints, can be interposed between an individual's attitude of prejudice and his action of discrimination (i. e., his private feeling and public action).

In seeking factors which help counterbalance the impulses and drives of emotionally-rooted prejudice, it is important to note the impact of formal education upon behavior. Through formal education, larger perspectives develop without any necessary or matching reduction in the emotional sets against which they are posed. Countervailing perspectives, developed during the course of formal education, help to produce an increasingly mature and socially responsible individual.

In support of this hypothesis, the authors present a portion of the results of a study in readiness for andresistance to desegregation conducted in Guilford County, North Carolina, in the fall of 1956. Their findings indicate that the ideology, sentiments, and actions of the more highly educated individual are tempered by his awareness and anticipation of the costs and consequences of discrimination, although his image of the Negro may express prejudice to a degree not significantly lower than that of less well educated groups.

11. Wright, Charles Alan. SCHOOL INTEGRATION: AN ALMOST LOST CAUSE. The Progressive, August, 1958, pp. 7-10.

Today it is entirely conceivable that in major parts of the South the schools will never be desegregated. Integration which has so far been accomplished is only in those places where it is easy. Four years have shown that the South will not end segregation because it is no longer lawful or because it is immoral, and in many instances violence and delaying legalism have effectively preserved segregation despite specific court orders.

It is virtually unprecedented to leave enforcement of the law of the land exclusively to the pitifully inadequate resources of private lawsuits, brought and financed by private persons. The federal government alone has the money, the legal manpower, the patience, the power, and the express constitutional authority to require compliance. Segregation will be ended only if the government of the U. S. recognizes its function and responsibility and if Congress corrects the mistake it made in abandoning Title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Our claim to a strong federal union and constitutional government under law is at stake.

12. Yinger, J. Milton and Simpson, George E.. CAN SEGREGATION SURVIVE IN AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY? The Antioch Review, Spring, 1958, pp. 15-24.

Dramatic changes in the structure of American society are "surrounding" and undermining the foundation of the segregation system. Urbanization, the increase in industrial jobs with hourly pay rates, the beginnings of unionization, diversification of jobs for Negroes, the growth in literacy and awareness of democratic values, the sharp increase in the size of the urban middle class, a growing integration of the national economy - these and other forces are changing the patterns of race relations in all parts of the country.

An urban, mobile, industrial society applies impersonal, "functional" criteria to associations. Some of the ways in which segregation patterns are now being replaced support this thesis.

Weakness in any part of the system of segregation is felt throughout the system; equally true, one firm segment re-enforces all the others (as continued residential segregation exemplifies). Although it will not disappear quietly or immediately, segregation is crumbling. It belongs to another age.

HIGHLIGHTS FROM RECENT LITERATURE

II

December, 1958

This second issue of a continuing series of digests of newly published literature on desegregation and intergroup relations in the South includes several books released during 1958 but not widely reviewed. In the interest of brevity, their treatment in these pages has been limited to brief annotations. Other materials, published in periodicals or as pamphlets, are here presented in digest form, and statements of the authors have been liberally paraphrased, condensed, and quoted.

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MAGAZINE ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS

1. American Jewish Committee. BIGOTRY IN ACTION (Organized Anti-Semitism in the United States Today). Pamphlet, published by the American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York. Single copy: .25¢, 23 pages, 1958.

Since 1950 the level of organized anti-Semitism has remained fairly constant - well below that of the peak year before Pearl Harbor - and at present there are fewer than one hundred groups devoting themselves primarily to formenting anti-Jewish prejudice. However, their strength is augmented by cooperation from organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. Since the Supreme Court decisions, anti-Semitic bigotry has enjoyed its greatest successes in the South, where professional bigots have capitalized on desegregation tensions. Non-Southern efforts to stir hatred have been welcomed, in varying degrees, by substantial elements within two Southern movements - the White Citizens Councils and the KKK. In its results, bigotry spills over until it attacks the community as a whole.

Other disturbing anti-Semite advances have been made through the use of political extremists and pro-Arab apologists. Those who traffic in bigotry are constantly on the lookout for new political, social, and economic tie-ins that may be used to gloss their ugly product and make it acceptable. The antidote lies in stripping the veneer from the anti-Semites and their confederates.

(Some attention to the background and tactics of individual professional bigots is included in BIGOTRY IN ACTION.)

2. The American Jewish Committee. THE PEOPLE TAKE THE LEAD. 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York. January, 1959. Single copy, .25¢.

The following highlights from this annually published nationwide survey of civil rights advances were taken from the AJC "Fact Sheet on The People Take the Lead."

HIGHLIGHTS

Armed Services: Racial segregation has been eliminated in all of the armed services, and in VA hospitals.

Citizenship: Registration of Negro voters in the South has more than doubled in 10 years, reaching 1,266,488 in 1958....In 1957, Congress adopted the first civil rights law in 82 years; the first Federal challenge of maneuvers barring qualified Negro voters from the polls is now before the courts.

Education: Close to 2½ million white and Negro children are in Southern public school systems that have been, or gradually are

being, desegregated....Some 220 formerly segregated colleges and universities now admit Negroes.

Employment: Fair employment is now enforced by law in 14 states, and by Federal regulation in firms doing business with the Government. More than one-third of the population is protected by state or local FEP statutes.

Housing: Restrictive covenants were ruled unenforceable by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1948....Segregation in public housing has been barred in nine states and many major cities, including Louisville, Ky., and St. Louis, Mo....Several state laws and court rulings have hit at discrimination in publicly-assisted housing, including dwellings financed with VA or FHA mortgages....First ordinance banning racial or religious discrimination in private housing was adopted in 1958 by New York City.

Public Accommodations: Twenty-two states have laws banning racial or religious discrimination in public facilities....U. S. Supreme Court has barred racial segregation in interstate (1951) and intra-state (1956) travel....Discrimination in Washington, D. C. has been virtually wiped out.

Religious, Professional, Fraternal and Civic Societies: Mergers of formerly all-Negro and all-white congregations and ministerial associations have taken place in many parts of the country....Scores of medical, educational, legal and other professional societies have opened their ranks to Negroes....Some 40 Greek-letter societies in colleges and universities are taking steps to end discriminatory membership practices.

3. Auerback, Carl A.. HOW CONGRESS CAN SPEED SCHOOL INTEGRATION. The New Leader, December 22, 1958. page 8.

Taking the South as a whole, the progress toward public school integration has been slow. Time has been used to devise plans to thwart and delay integration and weaken the authority of the Supreme Court. Enlarging the overall area of effort to integrate the public schools will facilitate the success of individual efforts in particular localities. This can be done only by legislation authorizing the Federal Government to institute suits to compel local school officials to implement the Supreme Court's decisions. In the 1959 Congress, there appears to be a better chance for success of a proposal such as the 1957 legislation introduced by Senator Douglas, authorizing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to prepare desegregation plans for localities which refuse to prepare and effect their own. Enforcement authority would have been delegated to the Federal courts.

As part of their program of "massive resistance," most Southern states have enacted a progression of laws to delay, if not evade, integration litigation. Consideration, therefore, should be given

to the suggestion of Senator Clifford Case that Congress try to improve court procedures for handling school desegregation cases and speeding appeals. More drastic Federal action, however, is necessary to get at the core of the problem.

Congress can do a number of things to reopen public schools, closed by Southern resistance legislation, on an integrated basis. It would encourage acceptance of integration if Federal assistance were automatically provided to localities willing to accept the elimination of segregation but deprived of state funds as a consequence. Congress can also do much to help make a success of integration in localities which practice it.

Additional legislation is needed to broaden the area of effort to secure civil rights generally. The Government must demonstrate a firm determination to secure the Constitutional rights of the Negro citizen, but at the same time promote all avenues to Southern reconciliation with the program of gradual public school integration.

4. Grantham, Dewey W.. POLITICS BELOW THE POTOMAC. Current History*, November, 1958. page 262.

Notwithstanding their sectional overtones, Southern politics have never remained static. During the last quarter of the century, forces that had been pushing in new directions for many decades were suddenly given explosive power by new development of a political and economic nature.

The white supremacy agitation has temporarily frustrated any meaningful liberal-conservative factionalism in Southern politics, just as it has made the Republican party less attractive in the region; however, in the long run it is unlikely that the enormous economic and social shifts taking place within the region will fail to have a great effect upon the political habits and ideas of Southerners. In a multitude of ways Southerners are under pressure to behave like other Americans. Moreover, fundamental political problems in the South are not much different today from fundamental problems in other regions.

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*The November issue of Current History is titled "The Changing American South," and includes, in addition to Dr. Grantham's article on political prospects, the following: "The Face of the South," by Wilma Dykeman; "The Revolution in Southern Agriculture," by Gilbert C. Fite; "The Changing Status of Negro Southerners," by Lewis W. Jones; "The Economics of the New South," by George B. Tindall; "Unchanging White Supremacy," by Francis B. Simkins; "The South and its History," by Fletcher M. Green; "Southern Schools in Transition," by Joan L. Barkon.

Despite the tradition of intolerance, demagoguery, and racism that has often obscured its more praiseworthy political traditions, the region has a genuine liberal strain in its politics. During the next few years Southern politics will probably be dominated by the race question. But, meanwhile, urbanization, industrialization, and the movement of people will continue and point toward a more complete political integration of all parts of the country.

5. Isaacs, Harold R.. WORLD AFFAIRS AND U. S. RACE RELATIONS: A NOTE ON LITTLE ROCK. The Public Opinion Quarterly, Volume XXII, Number 3, Fall, 1958.

We hear a great deal nowadays about the effect of American race relations on American standing in world affairs. Little heed is given to the reverse effect, the impact of world affairs on American race relations. We have some scattered information on the former subject, but so far little knowledge, and there is an urgent need for sophisticated and uninhibited scrutiny of the impact of American racism abroad. Of the reverse of this matter we know even less.

Exploratory conversations with some sixty individuals in almost all parts of the race relations spectrum suggest certain targets for comment or reflections. The impact of world affairs in relation to the American race problem: (1) has been most direct and consequential on top government leadership (especially the Executive branch); (2) adds to the burdens of so-called "moderate" whites on this issue but does not at this time have any decisive effect on their behavior; (3) elicits angry challenges from racist spokesmen, with still unexplored effects on the larger segregationist mass; (4) is felt profoundly by many Negroes, creating new feelings, new self-images, and spurring many among them to new postures in their fight for civil and human rights.

6. Javits, Jacob. INTEGRATION FROM THE TOP DOWN. Esquire, December, 1958. page 236.

The march of progress and world events make it quite possible that a member of the Negro race will be appointed to a top cabinet post or elected to the presidency of the United States by the year 2000, a conclusion based on very practical considerations.

The solid progress we have made in achieving civil rights gives us every reason to anticipate that these gains will accelerate the move to more progress. There is much still to be done in breaking the barriers of racial prejudice, but there have been tremendous strides in the last half century.

Once the civil rights fight has won for Negroes in the South their Constitutional right to vote and once they learn to take the full responsibility of voting, this country may well witness a

ballot-box revolution in many Southern states.

Racial and religious prejudice, where used in election campaigns in recent years, has turned out to be very poor politics. Smear campaigns tend to be unsuccessful today, a solid indication that by the turn of the century racial and religious smears should be almost nonexistent and certainly impotent.

As the approximately one billion non-white people who live in presently underdeveloped areas of the world carve out new viable and secure nations, Caucasian nations will find that, in their own self-interest, they must deal with the non-white nations as equals. Our country's future strength, indeed, its very existence, may well depend upon whether these underdeveloped countries finally choose communism or freedom, and the world's non-whites have their gaze focused on whether we practice what we preach about equality and justice.

7. Louisville Defender. A STUDY ON TEACHER INTEGRATION. A series of articles published by the Defender, July 3 to October 2, 1958, and available from that newspaper in pamphlet form. .10¢ per copy.

Louisville, Kentucky, has been praised by the nation for peaceful desegregation of its schools, but until the city's faculties are integrated, the Louisville Board of Education has yet to merit acclaim.

The Defender reports results of a study, conducted by that newspaper in mid-1958, which indicate that teacher integration will have acceptance generally from white parents, principals, and teachers, and that although the School Board passively accepts the principle of teacher integration it is making no plans for such a step. The Defender charges that Louisville's Negro teachers are caught in a trap between an inactive board and an "enough-for-now" superintendent, and are gradually becoming extinct since opportunities are denied them in their local school system. The superintendent's stated reasons for hesitancy in integrating the city's faculties are exploded by the Defender's findings, and it is concluded that there is no established reason why Louisville teachers cannot or could not have been integrated.

8. Miller, Arthur S.. THE STRATEGY OF SOUTHERN RESISTANCE. The Reporter, October 2, 1958, pages 18-20.

The basic strategy of Southern resistance to the Supreme Court decisions is to establish doubt about eventual compliance - to create and nurture the idea that the decisions can be circumvented. Along with an attempt to create disrespect for the Supreme Court (and any form of Federal power having an adverse effect on the South), legal devices are employed, all designed to cause delay and to wear down

the opposition. The latter fall into two distinct types: (1) state segregation laws backed up in the courts by the states' legal counsel; and (2) the use of law and legal process to harass those attempting to further desegregation.

The chances of success for the legal maneuvers of the South involve the issue of the Equal Protection clause of the 14th Amendment. Although predictions of Supreme Court decisions are rash, the ultimate success of placement laws and private school plans is doubtful. Here, legal ploys become involved in politics. How far are white Southerners willing to go in support of massive resistance?

Historically there have been instances of defiance of Supreme Court decisions, but in those cases, no attempt was made by a dominant majority to subjugate a minority. That difference, plus "the unifying forces of modern technology," may well be decisive.

9. Taeuber, Irene B.. MIGRATION, MOBILITY, AND THE ASSIMILATION OF THE NEGRO. Population Bulletin, Volume XIV, Number 7, November, 1958. Population Reference Bureau, Incorporated, 1507 M Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C.

At mid-century, certain legal, social, economic and demographic trends have drastically changed the prototype of the American Negro. Background for understanding one of the nation's major domestic problems lies in the demographic record which, supplemented by other statistics, reveals a massive migratory movement and notable changes in the pattern of birth and death in the Negro population.

By 1950, only one-fifth of the nation's non-white population was classified as "rural farm." In the South there were two and one-half times the number of Negroes in all fifteen slave-holding states a century earlier. In the North there were more Negroes in 1950 than in all the Confederacy at the time of the Civil War. The "Negro question" is no longer a rural problem in nine Southern states. It has become mainly an urban problem and it is nation-wide in scope.

This paper, primarily an analysis of essential demographic statistics, concludes that the population history of the Negro over the last century is an impressive one and today the stage is set for even more rapid advance. The demographic frontier in the movement toward comparability with the general population once was the exodus from the farms and the South. Today, it is the movement from concentrated settlements into the diversified types of areas appropriate to the education, the incomes, and the social status that individuals have achieved.

BOOKS

10. Becker, Gary S.. THE ECONOMICS OF DISCRIMINATION. University of Chicago Press, 1957. 137 pages, $3.50.

In this study the author develops a pioneer theory of discrimination in the market place, in order to supplement the psychologists' and sociologists' analysis of causes with an analysis of the economic consequences of discrimination. It is demonstrated, through the use of the techniques and analytical models of economists, that discrimination reduces the incomes of both majority and minority groups (although the majority group is affected to a lesser degree). The author states that the major contribution of the book is to develop a theory of non-pecuniary motivation and to apply it quantitatively to discrimination in the market place.

11. Braden, Anne. THE WALL BETWEEN. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1958. 306 pages, $5.00.

Although the main line of action of this factual story centers around an attempt to initiate residential desegregation in Louisville, Kentucky, it is deep in perception and broad in scope. The actions of those on both sides of the "wall" are considerably illuminated by the insight of the author, "one who might well have been on either side of the conflict."

12. Cable, George W.. THE NEGRO QUESTION. Edited by Arlin Turner. Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York, 1958. 286 pages, $3.95.

A selection of essays, letters, and speeches written between 1875 and 1890 by a Southern novelist-social critic (once a Confederate soldier), "The Negro Question" analyzes the major problems and conflicts with which the South is confronted today. On the basis of religious, political, moral, and social considerations, the author concludes that the treatment of the Negro has been immoral, unjust, and impractical, thereby soundly arguing the case for extending unrestricted civil rights to all people.

13. Harlan, Louis R.. SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL (Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915). University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1958. 290 pages, $6.00.

From the fly leaf: "Here is told, in a successful blend of warm interest and cold statistics, the story of public education in the four Southern seaboard states under the impact of two powerful forces - the wave of racism that swept the South in the early 1900's and the efforts during the same period of a group of Northern philanthropists to help the crusading school men of the South toward their

goal of 'universal' education. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia swung...toward a slowly expanding public school system - and toward an ever widening inequality of education between whites and Negroes."

Although, as Mr. Harlan states, this study is only indirectly related to the desegregation movement, it is of particular interest in these times of threat to the South's painfully constructed public school system.

14. Simpson, George Eaton and Yinger, J. Milton. RACIAL AND CULTURAL MINORITIES (Revised Edition). Harper and Brothers, New York, 1958. 881 pages, $7.50.

"Racial and Cultural Minorities" analyzes majority-minority relations with the following purposes: (1) to synthesize the bulk of material dealing with this subject, thereby separating valid observations from errors and exaggerations and pointing up omissions, and (2) to connect studies in this field to the whole area of the sciences of human behavior in such a manner that every proposition concerning intergroup relations might be understood as a manifestation of the total complex of human life. The 1958 edition includes extensive revisions in a number of chapters, covering the increasing amount of study and research as well as the dramatic changes in majority-minority affairs which have transpired in the past five years.

15. Tumin, Melvin M.. DESEGREGATION: RESISTANCE AND READINESS. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1958. 270 pages, $5.00.

The publishers state that the purpose of this book, which is based on a field study of white adult male citizens of Guilford County, North Carolina is to show with evidence what attitudes toward desegregation exist and what other factors bear upon these attitudes and in what ways. These people were tested in five ways, ranging from what they "thought" about Negroes to what action they would take when faced with certain real situations (in a restaurant, in a bus, in school, etc.). Their responses were grouped according to eleven facts of their lives: years of school completed, exposure to mass media, occupation, income, number of children, religious affiliation, church attendance, urban-rural residence, work experience, age, mobility.

Some of the conclusions reached through the Guilford County survey should make this book one of the more valuable publications of recent years in the field of inter-group relations in the South.

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ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

CHILDREN

Elkin, Frederick. The child and society; the process of socialization. New York, Random House, 1960. 121p. 95¢ paper.
Focuses on the group integration and social adjustment of children from different social levels and environments.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Barnes, Roswell P. Under orders; the churches and public affairs. New York, Doubleday, 1961. 138p. 2.95. 75¢ paper.
Written mainly from a Protestant point of view, it outlines the church's influence in public affairs and recommends ways for improving cooperation between the church and the public.

Frakes, Margaret. Bridges to understanding; the "academic movement" in Europe and North America. Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press 1960. 134p. 2.50.
Reviews the current movements in Europe and North America which seek to establish positive communication between the secular and the religious world.

Kloetzli, Walter. The city church - death or renewal; a study of eight urban Lutheran churches. Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press, 1961. 224p. 3.75.
Sociological techniques were used to study the effectiveness of the church in meeting the problems of urban living in eight urban parishes in different eastern and midwestern cities.

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. Christian influence toward the development and use of all labor resources without regard to race, color, religion, or national orgin. New York, N.C.C., 1960. 5p. mimeo. 10¢
Resolution of the National Council on fair employment practices, particularly for church-related agencies and for increasing the availability of trained applicants.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Douglas, William O. A living Bill of Rights. New York, Doubleday, 1961. 72p. 1.50.
A testimonial to the Bill of Rights in terms of the citizen's daily life; written to encourage interest on the part of young people.

Krishnaswami, Arcot. Study of discrimination in the matter of religious rights and practices. New York, United Nations, 1960. 79p. 1.00 paper.
Report of the Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, based on materials collected from various countries covering recognition and practices relating to "freedom of thought, conscience and religion".

Perry, Richard L. ed. Sources of our liberties; documentary orgins of individual liberties in the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights. New York, American Bar Foundation, 1960. 456p. 5.00.
Public documents covering a wide range; the editor briefly describes background and significance of each one.

COLLEGE STUDENTS

The Amherst Student. A report on student political action. Amherst, Mass., January 30, 1961. 32p. 25¢
Articles on various protest demonstrations here and abroad refute charges that present day college students are apathetic toward current political and social problems.

Whalen, William J. Catholics on campus; a guide for Catholic students in secular colleges and universities. Milwaukee, Bruce, 1961, 125p. 1.50 paper.
Problems confronting the Catholic student include student activities, morality, sex, Newman Clubs, fraternities, spiritual life, etc.

CONFERENCES

√ Capes, Mary, ed. Communication or conflict; conferences: their nature, dynamics and planning. New York, Association Press, 1960. 228p. 4.00.
Taken from the proceedings of an international conference on conferences. Particular attention has been paid to the problems of communication across cultural and national barriers.

THE DIALOGUE

America. One fold, one shepherd. New York, America Press, 1961. 33p. 25¢
Brief statements on the Christian dialogue by leaders of the Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox Churches in America.

Bosc, Jean, Guitton, Jean and Danielou, Jean. Catholic-Protestant dialogue. Baltimore, Helicon Press, 1960. 138p. 3.50.
An exchange about Protestant and Catholic similarities and differences among three outstanding French theologians.

JEWS

Shapiro, Harry. The Jewish people; a biological history. Paris, UNESCO, 1960. 84p. (Race Question in Modern Science series) 70¢
A short tracing of Jewish history stressing Jews' origins as a group and their biological, or morphological, characteristics.

Sherman, C. Bezalel. The Jews within American society; a study in ethnic individuality. Wayne State University Press, 1961. 260p. 5.95.
A study of the acculturation processes of the Jewish group into the culture of our nation in comparison with other group assimilation or non-assimilation.

RACE RELATIONS

Jahoda, Marie. Race relations and mental health. Paris, UNESCO, 1960. 48p. (Race Question in Modern Science series) 50¢
Briefly reviews the psychological bases for antagonisms toward other groups and the place of prejudice in the healthy and unhealthy personality.

ordered 6-5-61

Nicholls, William. Southern tradition and regional progress. University of North Carolina Press, 1960. 202p. 5.00.
Traditions of the South are blocking its progress, economically, psychologically, ideologically. "While the Negro was physically emanicipated from the Southern white in 1862, the psychological emanicipation of the Southern white from the Negro is yet to be achieved a century later".

Record, Wilson and Jane. Little Rock, U.S.A.; materials for analysis. San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Co., 1960. 338p. (Materials for Analysis series) 2.25. paper.
"The first section recounts the story chronologically, from newspaper accounts, court records, and other documents. The second section contains interpretative material, a spectrum of critical comment and opinion".

RACE RELATION (cont.)

Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Man, race and Darwin. New York, Oxford University Press, 1960. 151p. 2.90.
Papers read at a joint conference by a varied group of specialists on many aspects of race, such as miscegenation, race in relation to intelligence, sociology, nationalism, Communism; concentrates on the muti-racial countries of the British Commonwealth.

SIT-IN DEMONSTRATIONS

Howlett, Duncan. Thirty days in jail. Publications Committee, All Souls Church, 16th and Harvard Streets, N. W., Washington, D.C. 7p. 10¢
Reprint of a provocative sermon comparing the trial and conviction, on the same day, of seven electrical firm executives and 6 Lynchburg college students.

ordered 6-5-61

Kahn, Tom. Unfinished revolution. New York, distributed by the War Resisters League, 5 Beekman Street, 1960. 64p. 50¢
A review of non-violence in relation to the Negro's securing of civil rights, stressing the current sit-in demonstrations.

TEXTBOOK STUDIES

Dance, E. H. History the betrayer; a study of bias. London, Hutchinson, 1960. 162p. 12s 6d.
A British authority reports on his comprehensive studies of prejudicial material in history textbooks; one chapter deals with UNESCO's part in future textbook revisions.

TEXTBOOK STUDIES (Cont.)

Marcus, Lloyd. The treatment of minorities in secondary school textbooks. New York, Anti-Defamation League, 1960. 63p. 50¢
"In a study of 48 leading secondary history and social studies textbooks, A.D.L. found that a majority present a largely white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon view of history and the current social scene".

URBAN PROBLEMS

Dodson, Dan W. The inner city; four essays. New York University, Center for Human Relations and Community Studies, 1961. 40p. (Human Relations Monographs, no. 12) 50¢
These addresses relate intergroup problems to the areas of urban renewal, public schools in New York city, camping, and the professional's role in social reform.

VALUES

Von Mering, Otto. A grammar of human values. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961. 288p. 4.50. 3.50 paper.
A statistical treatment of values growing out of a six year research project by Harvard's Laboratory of Social Relations. Basis for this piece of research is the patterning of values in a Texan settlement and a Mormon village in New Mexico.

WORLD TENSIONS

Cleveland, Harlan, ed. The promise of world tensions. New York, Macmillan, 1961. 157p. 3.50. paper.
The addresses given at the Conference on World Tensions at the University of Chicago in 1960 sponsored by World Brotherhood (now the Council on World Tensions) include Harry Ashmore, Ralph Bunche, Harlan Cleveland, Ernest Gross, Paul Hoffman, Lester B. Pearson, Adlai Stevenson.

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The above publications may be purchased from most bookstores or directly from the publisher. This library does not sell or distribute any of the titles listed.

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RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Vol. 22, No. 4 April 1961

Books and Pamphlets

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

Charleston, W. Va. Population Study Committee. Third annual report on the Jewish population of Charleston, W. Va.; a demographic study. Charleston, W. Va., March 1, 1961. 8 p.

Jewish community directory and Heritage yearbook. Los Angeles, Heritage Pub. Co., 1960. 102 p.

CANADA

Rosenberg, Louis. The demography of the Jewish community in Canada. Reprinted from the Jewish journal of sociology, v. 1, no. 2, Dec. 1959. Published on behalf of World Jewish Congress, London. Montreal, 1960. 217-233 p. (Canadian Jewish population studies. Population characteristics series, no. 2)

CATHOLICS IN THE U. S.

Blanshard, Paul. The future of Catholic power. Washington, Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, 1961. 28 p.

Based on speech entitled "Church-State Separation and the Future of Catholic Power" made in Washington, D. C., Jan. 1961.

Murray, John Courtney. We hold these truths; Catholic reflections on the American proposition. New York, Sheed and Ward, 1960. 336 p.

CHURCH AND STATE

Baylor University, Waco, Tex. J. M. Dawson Studies in Church and State. Church and state. Washington, Supreme Council, 33°, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction, United States of America, 1961. 64 p.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Ohio. Civil Rights Commission. Report. Columbus, Ohio, 1960. 42 p.

Southern Regional Council. The Federal executive and civil rights. Atlanta, 1961. 48 numb. l. (processed)

COMMUNISM

U. S. Library of Congress. Legislative Reference Service. World Communist movement; selective chronology, 1818-1957. Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1960. 232 p.

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Capes, Mary, ed. Communication or conflict; conferences: their nature, dynamics, and planning. With the collaboration of A. T. M. Wilson. New York, Association Press, 1960. 228 p.

DEMOCRACY

Kernodle, Rigdon Wayne, ed. Unsolved issues in American society. Williamsburg, College of William and Mary, 1960. 100 p. (Marshall-Wythe Symposium, College of William and Mary, 1959)

Truman, Harry S. Freedom and equality, addresses. David S. Horton, ed. Columbia, Mo., Univ. of Missouri Press, 1960. 85 p.

DISCRIMINATION - PUBLIC ACCOMODATIONS

Ohio. Civil Rights Commission. Discrimination in public accomodations in Ohio; a report. Columbus, Ohio, 1960. 60 p. (processed)

EDUCATION AND STATE

American Jewish Committee. Statement on federal aid to education to the Subcommittee on Education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 87th Congress, first session. New York, March 22, 1961. 5 p. (mimeo.)

----Statement on federal aid to education to the Special Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor, 87th Congress, first session. New York, March 22, 1961. 5 p. (mimeo.)

EICHMANN CASE

American Jewish Committee. The Eichmann Case; moral questions and legal arguments. New York, April 1961. 7 p.

Bayne, E. A. Israel's indictment of Adolf Eichmann; some philosophical, political, and historical aspects of the Israeli action. New York, American Universities Field Staff, 1960. 20 p. (Southwest Asia series, v. 9, no. 7, Oct. 1, 1960)

EICHMANN CASE (cont.)

Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine. Le dossier Eichmann et "la solution finale de la question juive." Préfaces de Edgar Faure, François de Menthon et Robert Kempner. Introd. de Joseph Billig. Paris, Buchet/Chastel-Corrêa, 1960. 221 p.

Friedman, Tuviah. The hunter. Ed. and trans. by David C. Gross. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1961. 286 p.

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Foundation Library Center. Annual report, 1960. New York, 1961. 23 p.

GERMANY

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Emmet, Christopher. The vanishing swastika; facts and figures on nazism in West Germany, by Christopher Emmet and Norbert Muhlen. With a foreword by George N. Shuster. Chicago, H. Regnery Co., 1961. 66 p.

Littell, Franklin Hamlin. The German phoenix; men and movements in the church in Germany. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1960. 226 p.

GERMANY - NAZI MOVEMENT

Snyder, Louis L. Hitler and nazism. New York, F. Watts, 1961. 182 p.

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Jacobs, Arthur P. Benign quotas: a plan for integrated private housing. Reprinted from Yale Law Journal, v. 70, no. 1, Nov. 1960. 126-134 p.

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Goldberg, Israel (Rufus Learsi, pseud.). Filled with laughter; a fiesta of Jewish folk humor. New York, Yoseloff, 1961. 351 p.

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United Hias Service. Annual report, 1960. New York, 1961. 31 p. (processed)

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New York (City) Commission on Intergroup Relations. Directory of intergroup relations agencies; public and private, in New York City. New York, 1961. 57 p.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

Douglas, William Orville. The rule of law in world affairs. Santa Barbara, Calif., Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1961. 31 p. (Free society)

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Palestine Economic Corporation. Annual report for the year 1960; 35 years of investing in Israel. New York, 1961. 9 p.

JESUS CHRIST

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Winter, Paul. On the trial of Jesus. Berlin, W. de Gruyter, 1961. 216 p. (Studia Judaica. Bd. 1)

JUDAISM

Kaufmann, Yehezkel. The religion of Israel, from its beginnings to the Babylonian exile. Trans. and abridged by Moshe Greenberg. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1960. 486 p.

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Martin, John McCullough. Juvenile vandalism; a study of its nature and prevention. Springfield, Ill., Thomas, 1961. 145 p.

LEADERSHIP

Freeman, Linton C., and others. Local community leadership. Syracuse, N. Y., University College, Syracuse University, 1960. 29 p. (Syracuse University. University College. Metropolitan leadership research project)

Merrifield, Charles W., ed. Leadership in voluntary enterprise. Pub. for the Council of National Organizations for Adult Education. New York, Oceana Publications, 1961. 232 p.

Warach, Bernard. Group leaders handbook. With additional material from your center. New York, Jewish Community Center Division, National Jewish Welfare Board, 1961. 53 p.

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Mayer, John E. Jewish-Gentile intermarriage patterns: a hypothesis. Reprinted from Sociology and Social Research, v. 45, no. 2, Jan. 1961. 189-195 p.

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Klapper, Joseph T. The effects of mass communication. Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1960. 302 p. (Foundations of communications research)

MIDDLE EAST

Ellis, Harry B. Challenge in the Middle East; Communist influence and American policy. New York, Ronald Press, 1960. 238 p.

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MOVING PICTURES

American Jewish Committee. Film Division. Films for human relations. New York, Jan. 1961. 62 p.

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Mally, Leo Hans. Oberammergau, scene of the Passion Play. Photographs by Lotte Eckener. Westminster, Md., Newman Press, 1960. 95 p.

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Alexander, Lloyd. The flagship Hope: Aaron Lopez. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1960. 179 p. illus. (Covenant books, 12)

Noveck, Simon, ed. Great Jewish personalities in modern times. Washington, Dept. of Adult Jewish Education, B'nai B'rith, 1960. 366 p. (B'nai B'rith great books series, v. 2)

Schechtman, Joseph B. Fighter and prophet: the Vladimir Jabotinsky story; the last years. New York, Yoseloff, 1961. 643 p.

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Sponsored by St. John's College, the Northeastern Division, National Conference of Christians and Jews, and others.

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Musselman, G. Paul. The Church on the urban frontier. Greenwich, Conn., Seabury Press, 1960. 136 p.

Winter, Gibson. The suburban captivity of the churches; an analysis of Protestant responsibility in the expanding metropolis. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1961. 216 p.

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Ward, Leo Richard. Religion in all the schools. Notre Dame, Fides Publishers, 1960. 195 p.

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Letts, Harold C., ed. A case book on Christian responsibility for freedom. New York, Dept. of Religious Liberty, National Council of Churches, 1960. 96 p.

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Marcus, Lloyd. The treatment of minorities in secondary school textbooks. New York, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961. 62 p.

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Hovet, Thomas, Jr. Bloc politics in the United Nations. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1960. 197 p. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Center for International Studies)

U. S. - POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Bowles, Chester. The coming political breakthrough. New York, Harper, 1960. 209 p.

Hutchins, Robert M. Two faces of federalism; an outline of an argument about pluralism, unity, and law. Followed by a discussion. Santa Barbara, Calif., Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1961. 125 p. (Free society)

U. S. - SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS

Amory, Cleveland. Who killed society? New York, Harper, 1960. 599 p.

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Millis, Walter. Permanent peace. Santa Barbara, Calif., Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1961. 31 p. (Free society)

-----A world without war. Followed by a discussion. Santa Barbara, Calif., Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1961. 71 p. (Free society)

WORLD WAR, 1939-1945 - WAR CRIMINALS

B'nai B'rith International Council. War criminals. Washington, 1961. 4 p. (Survey. Report, no. 4, Feb. 8, 1961)

Musmanno, Michael Angelo. The Eichmann kommandos. Philadelphia, Macrae Smith, 1961. 268 p.

YOUTH

Glustrom, Simon. Living with your teenager; a guide for Jewish parents. New York, Bloch, 1961. 175 p.

Raylesberg, Daniel. The Jewish adolescent and his Jewish identification. New York, B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, 1960. 28 numb. l. (processed)

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Sultanik, Kalman, ed. Zionism for our day. New York, World Confederation of General Zionists, 1960. 80 p.

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ARTICLES OF INTEREST IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

Vol. 12, No. 5 May 1961

American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee

INSTRUMENT OF SURVIVAL, by Richard Cohen. Congress Bi-Weekly, March 27, 1961, pp. 5-7.
A history and evaluation of the work of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

Anti-Semites

THE KEHILLAH AND THE "NAZI", by Stephen G. Esrati. The Reconstructionist, April 21, 1961, pp. 28-32.
The author questions the value of the quarantine treatment of George Lincoln Rockwell.

ROCKWELL: THE ROAD TO NOWHERE? The ADL Bulletin (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith), April 1961, pp. 6-7.
A summary of Rockwell's publicity-seeking activities.

Anti-Semitism

ANTI-SEMITISM ASSESSED BY THE UNITED NATIONS, by R. Zacklin. World Jewry, March 1961, pp. 4-5.
The work of the UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities is reviewed.

MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM, by Marietta Tree. Department of State Bulletin, March 27, 1961, pp. 463-464.
A statement made in the U. N. Commission on Human Rights by the U. S. Representative on the Commission.

Anti-Semitism (cont.)

THE UNITED NATIONS SURVEY ON ANTI-SEMITISM: PROLOGUE OR EPILOGUE? By Isaac Lewin. Jewish Life, April 1961, pp. 31-37.
An analysis of the annual meeting of the U. N. Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

Arab Refugees

HOW END THE PLIGHT OF ARAB REFUGEES? By Don Peretz. The Christian Century, April 19, 1961, pp. 479-481.
"In stressing political considerations, most discussion of the Middle East's refugee problem overlooks more basic matters."

Authoritarianism

EFFECTS OF WHITE AUTHORITARIANISM IN BIRACIAL WORK GROUPS, by Irwin Katz and Lawrence Benjamin. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, November 1960, pp. 448-456.
A study of social interaction in work groups composed of Negro and white men.

Capital Punishment

THE CASE AGAINST CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. Social Action, April 1961, pp. 4-31.
Partial contents: The case against capital punishment, by D. E. J. MacNamara.-Vengeance and the law, by B. E. Eshelman.-Capital punishment: a Christian approach, by C. S. Milligan.

Censorship

CREEPING CENSORSHIP IN OUR LIBRARIES, by Farrell Cross. Coronet, May 1961, pp. 40-45.
The problem of "book burning" and the public libraries.

Communication

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNICATION. Social Progress, April 1961, pp. 27-39.
Partial contents: Communication: blocking and facilitation, by C. R. Rogers.-Barriers to communication, by F. J. Roethlisberger.

Concentration Camps

THERE IS NO NEWS FROM AUSCHWITZ, by A. M. Rosenthal. The New York Times Magazine, April 16, 1961, p. 26.
A reprint of a 1958 article describing a visit to Auschwitz.

Discrimination - Employment

DISCRIMINATORY ASPECTS OF THE LABOR MARKET OF THE 60's, by Louis F. Buckley. Interracial Review, April 1960, pp. 95-96.
Discrimination in the service occupations and farm employment.

Discrimination - Housing

DESEGREGATION RESEARCH IN THE NORTH AND SOUTH. The Journal of Social Issues, vol. 15, no. 4, 1959, pp. 1-75.
Partial contents: The Negro wish to move, by Morton Rubin.-Christians and residential exclusion, by Robert W. Friedrichs.-The Bridgeview Study: a preliminary report, by E. Leacock, M. Deutsch, and J. S. Fishman.-The demography of desegregation, by T. F. Pettigrew and M. R. Cramer.-Negro-white perceptions of interracial housing, by C. L. Hunt.

DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING: A STATEMENT OF CONCERN. Interracial Review, April 1961, pp. 106-107.
A statement issued by the Housing Commission of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, February 1961.

Discrimination - Public Accomodations

NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK - FOR ALL? By Harold C. Gardiner. America, April 15, 1961, pp. 150-152.
Many of the nation's public libraries are still open to whites only.

Discrimination, Social

AN INCIDENT IN SCARSDALE. Christian Friends (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith), April 1961, pp. 7-8.
A report of the Rev. George F. Kempsell's sermon after a young man of Jewish parentage was recently barred from attending the Scarsdale Golf Club's Holly Ball.

Education - Desegregation

BUILT-IN SEGREGATION, by Eugene Fontinell. The Commonweal, April 7, 1961, pp. 40-45.
An analysis of the New Rochelle school controversy.

DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Interracial Review, April 1961, pp. 111-113.
A progress report by the Southern Regional Council listing formerly all-white colleges and universities which have desegregated since 1935.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS DIED HERE, by Irv Goodman. Saturday Evening Post, April 29, 1961, pp. 32-33, 85-89.
In Prince Edward County, Virginia, segregationists chose to abandon public education rather than integrate.

SEGREGATION AND THE FUTURE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH, by T. L. Patrick. School and Society, April 8, 1961, pp. 175-177.
Some possible effects of the struggle over desegregation in the public schools on the school system in the U. S.

Education, Jewish

JEWISH EDUCATION IN A CHANGING WORLD, by Judah Pilch. The Jewish Spectator, April 1961, pp. 9-12.
An educator suggests ways of raising the level of Jewish education.

JEWISH EDUCATION IN A VACUUM, by Trude Weiss-Rosmarin. The Jewish Spectator, April 1961, pp. 3-6.
"Our first line of attack ... should be the vast wasteland which surrounds the struggling oasis of Jewish education."

Education and State

AID TO PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS: TWO CONSIDERATIONS. Christianity and Crisis, May 1, 1961, pp. 61-62.
An editorial supporting the President's bill and proposing ways of aiding parochial schools consistent with the separation of church and state.

AID TO PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS - WHY KENNEDY SAYS IT'S ILLEGAL. U. S. News and World Report, April 10, 1961, p. 100.
The official position of the Kennedy Administration on the school aid question, from a report by Secretary Ribicoff.

BREACHING THE WALL, by Leo Pfeffer. Congress Bi-Weekly, April 17, 1961, pp. 7-8.
"...the demand that Federal funds be granted to parochial schools represents the most serious assault upon the wall of separation of church and state in the history of our nation."

Education and State (cont.)

A DUBIOUS ADVANTAGE, by David L. Holmes, Jr. The Christian Century, April 19, 1961, pp. 482-483.
"The Roman Catholic Church might ultimately have reason to regret getting what it now wants in the way of government aid for parochial institutions."

KENNEDY'S DILEMMA: FEDERAL AID FOR PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS, by Edward T. Folliard. Saturday Review, April 15, 1961, pp. 56-57.
An analysis of the religious aspects of the struggle over federal aid to education.

KENNEDY'S PROGRAM AND CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, by John B. Sheerin. The Catholic World, April 1961, pp. 4-7.
An editorial stand against the Kennedy bill.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S STAND. The Jewish Forum, March 1961, pp. 36, 56.
An editorial upholding the Kennedy education bill.

PUBLIC FUNDS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS ONLY, by Philip Burton. The Christian Century, April 5, 1961, pp. 415-417.
"The constitutional amendments which uphold religious rights also prohibit government subsidization of costs incurred in the exercise of those rights."

SCHOOL AID - A CATHOLIC VIEW, by Thomas J. O'Toole. The New Republic, April 10, 1961, pp. 13-15.
"The Catholic community, even if it were to receive the proposed loans, faces a serious and impending crisis concerning its elementary and secondary schools."

SHOULD THE STATE AID PRIVATE SCHOOLS? By Robert F. Drinan. Vital Speeches of the Day, April 15, 1961, pp. 397-401.
A Catholic speaks on religious freedom and tax-supported education.

U. S. FUNDS ALREADY GIVEN TO CHURCH-RUN SCHOOLS. U. S. News and World Report, April 10, 1961, p. 101.
Some church-sponsored institutions are already receiving federal funds through special programs.

Eichmann Case

ADENAUER AND THE EICHMANN TRIAL. Congress Bi-Weekly, March 27, 1961, p. 3.
An editorial on the relevance of the trial to the people of Germany.

Eichmann Case (cont.)

BEHIND THE EICHMANN TRIAL. Senior Scholastic, April 26, 1961, pp. 12-15, 22.
"More is at stake than one man's fate ... a whole era of human barbarism is under scrutiny."

A DEAL WITH EICHMANN, by Ira Hirschmann. Look, May 9, 1961, pp. 31-34.
"A secret F. D. R. envoy tells how he helped save thousands of Jews."

DOES ISRAEL HAVE JURISDICTION OVER EICHMANN? By Russell J. Weintraub. National Jewish Monthly, April 1961, pp. 5, 32-34.
An examination of the legal aspects of the case by a specialist in the field of international law.

DOSSIER ON EICHMANN. World Jewry (London), April 1961, pp. 2-31.
The entire issue is devoted to official documents relating to Eichmann.

EICHMANN AND THE GERMANS, by Terence Prittie. The New Republic, April 24, 1961, pp. 5-6.
"The Eichmann trial is necessary, for the Germans. It can be salutary for us all."

EICHMANN AND THE NEW ISRAELIS, by Alfred Kazin. The Reporter, April 27, 1961, pp. 24-25.
A discussion of some of the implications and aims of the trial.

THE EICHMANN CASE. Digest on Germany and Austria, April 10, 1961, pp. 1-8.
A comprehensive review of developments of the case and reactions to them.

EICHMANN GOES ON TRIAL. Saturday Review, April 8, 1961, pp. 17-19, 49-50.
Contents: The charged air, by Horace Sutton.-Who are the guilty? By Hans Zeisel.

EICHMANN IN ISRAEL, by Milton Mayer. The Progressive, April 1961, pp. 17-20.
In the form of a dialogue between Eichmann and an Israeli, the author questions Israel's right to try the Nazi war criminal.

EICHMANN ON TRIAL, by Curtis G. Pepper. Newsweek, April 17, 1961, pp. 41-49.
A special report on the opening of the trial, including an examination of the legal implications and the German reaction.

IS IT GOOD FOR THE JEWS? Jewish Observer and Middle East Review, March 31, 1961, pp. 8.
The American Jewish Committee is cited as an example of American groups concerned about the effects of the Eichmann trial.

Eichmann Case (cont.)

'A STRANGER TO THE HUMAN RACE', by Harry Golden. Life, April 21, 1961, pp. 43-46.
"In the Eichmann trial a noted American Jew foresees risks for Israel in tragic revelations."

"YES WE KNEW EICHMANN." Jewish Observer and Middle East Review, March 24, 1961, pp. 17-21.
Some background stories of prosecution witnesses.

Germany

ANTI-SEMITISM AND FORCES OF THE PAST. Digest on Germany and Austria, April 10, 1961, pp. 8-19.
Evidence that Nazism and anti-Semitism are not yet eliminated from political life in Germany.

GERMANY AND ISRAEL. Digest on Germany and Austria, April 10, 1961, pp. 36-38.
A brief review of Israeli-German relations.

THE OTHER GERMANY. Digest on Germany and Austria, April 10, 1961, pp. 29-36.
Some notes on German re-education.

Great Britain

BRITAIN'S JEWS: IN THE FINEST TRADITION, by Monty Jacobs. The ADL Bulletin (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith), April 1961, pp. 4-5, 7.
"The British liberal spirit has helped them achieve status and security equal to those of American Jews."

Groups (Sociology)

ETHNIC GROUPS IN AMERICAN LIFE. Daedalus, Spring 1961, pp. 219-349.
Some of the papers here presented in revised form were originally prepared for a Conference on Group Life in America, sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and held at Arden House in 1956.

Housing

BLIGHT AND THE CHANGING NEIGHBORHOOD, by Mary Liguori. Interracial Review, March 1961, pp. 72-74.
Laws covering occupancy, safety requirements, restrictions on usage, and elimination of fire hazards are not enforced to the advantage of tenants.

Intergroup Relations

THE CREATIVE ROLE OF CONFLICT IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS, by Dan W. Dodson. Social Progress, April 1961, pp. 18-26.
From an address delivered in 1957 to the Eleventh Annual Conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

Iran

AMONG THE MEDES AND THE PERSIANS, by S. J. Goldsmith. World Jewry (London), March 1961, pp. 13-14.
A profile of the Jewish community of Iran.

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_____ WHAT THE SUPREME COURT SAID, by Prof. Robert A. Leflar, 12 pages, reprinted from Southern School News. A critical analysis of the Supreme Court school decisions. 10¢ single copy; 8¢ for quantity copies.

LEADERSHIP (L) REPORTS (periodic reports, listed below, concerning race relations and related subjects; single copy free; quantity rates on request).

_____ L-5 -- PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA, excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, General Manager, Special Control Dept., General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Virginia, June 12, 1959.

_____ L-6 -- THE "DAVIS REPORT" AND THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SITUATION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., July 3, 1959.

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_____ L-8 -- RACE AND INTELLIGENCE, August 10, 1959.

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_____ L-15 -- TYPES OF DESEGREGATION PLANS, February 1, 1960.

_____ L-16 -- ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, by Frank H. Stallings, Associate Professor of Education, University of Louisville, January 26, 1960.

_____ L-17 -- DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, March 14, 1960.

_____ L-20 -- PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES, October 25, 1960.

_____ L-21 -- PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, by H. McKinley Conway, Jr., president of Conway Publications, Inc., publishers of industrial magazines and business guides, November 30, 1960.

_____ L-22 -- A REPORT BY THE FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS, a biracial commission appointed by former Governor Collins of Florida to supply leadership on issues of race relations, December 9, 1960.

_____ L-23 -- DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION, January 24, 1961.

_____ L-24 -- EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY MALCOLM BRYAN, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF ATLANTA, CONCERNING RACIAL PROBLEMS AND ECONOMICS, February 16, 1961.

_____ ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A GUIDEBOOK, by Herbert Wey and John Corey, 276 pages, 1959, Phi Delta Kappa Commission Project. Single copy free, quantity requests considered.

_____ THE LOUISVILLE STORY, by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James, 173 pages, 1957, Simon and Schuster, detailed account of Louisville's desegregation of schools. Single copy free, quantity requests considered.

_____ SOUTHERNERS AND SCHOOLS, by Helen Fuller, reprinted from The New Republic, 1959. A series of seven articles concerning the South and desegregation. Single copy free; quantity requests considered.

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_____ CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH, 120 pages, Southern Regional Council. A collection of more than 40 articles from NEW SOUTH magazine, 1946-55, tracing the far-reaching trends in Southern race relations. It contains the story of new practices in voting, law enforcement, government, the press, libraries, travel, the armed forces, education and the public schools and other topics. Single copy free, quantity copies for payment of postage.

_____ THREE VIEWS OF THE DESEGREGATION DECISIONS, 29 pages, 1956, Southern Regional Council. The pamphlet includes three papers presented before the 21st annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association. The papers were presented by William Faulkner, Nobel prize winner for literature; Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College; and Cecil Sims, lawyer of Nashville, Tenn. Single copy free, quantity copies for payment of postage.

_____ DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS, 32 pages, The Maryland Commission on Interracial problems and Relations and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations. Single copy free, quantity copies for payment of postage.

_____ SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK, 89 pages, compiled by the Reverend John B. Morris and others. A collection of short essays concerning race relations by South Carolina "moderates." Single copy free, quantity copies for payment of postage.

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BOOKS

1. CITIZENS GUIDE TO DESEGREGATION, Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg. Beacon Press, 1955. 185 pages, $1.45.

   Chronicles social and legal change in America from the Reconstruction era to 1954 and outlines major court decisions leading to and culminating in the school desegregation decisions.

2. EPITAPH FOR DIXIE, AN, Harry Ashmore. W. W. Norton, 1958. 189 pages, $3.50.

   The executive editor of Little Rock's Arkansas Gazette examines and appraises the Southern scene in its present state of economic and social transition, supplying perspective on the region's desegregation convulsions. Critics rate the book as the first definitive study of the current period, a source book of the South which ranks with W. J. Cash's "The Mind of the South."

3. LONESOME ROAD, THE, Saunders Redding. Doubleday & Company, 1958. Mainstream of America Series, 355 pages, $5.75.

   An account of the Negro's progress toward racial equality in this country with the focus on the individual. Recounts stories of thirteen men and women, among them, W. E. B. DuBois; Daniel Hale Williams; Sojourner Truth; Joe Louis; Thurgood Marshall; Daniel E. Payne; A. Phillip Randolph.

4. MIRACLE OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT, Carl F. Hansen. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. 70 pages, $ .35.

   Carl F. Hansen, associate superintendent in charge of white elementary schools and curriculum planning in the District of Columbia during the period of desegregation of the District's schools, describes the "man-made miracle" of successful social change in his school system.

5. NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE, Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely. Rinehart & Company, 1958. 371 pages, $5.00.

   A picture of the South during the four year period following 1954 drawn from interviews with people from every element in Southern society and presented in readable anecdote style.

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A selection of essays, letters, and speeches written between 1875 and 1890 by a Southern novelist-social critic (once a Confederate soldier), "The Negro Question" analyzes the major problems and conflicts with which the South is confronted today. On the basis of religious, political, moral, and social considerations, the author concludes that the treatment of the Negro has been immoral, unjust, and impractical, thereby soundly arguing the case for extending unrestricted civil rights to all people.

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Traces the economic gains made by Negroes between 1940 and 1956 and the challenges yet to be faced before the Negro can fully share in the country's economic opportunities and before the country can fully utilize the latent potential of the Negro race. An analysis of the utilization of the Negro in the Armed Services serves as an example. The study further considers the deficiencies of the present Negro educational system.

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An account and appraisal of desegregation in the city schools of St. Louis, Missouri, describing preparation and planning, as well as the roles played by community agencies, administrators, teachers, and students.

10. SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL (Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915), Louis R. Harlan. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1958. 290 pages, $6.00.

From the fly leaf: "Here is told, in a successful blend of warm interest and cold statistics, the story of public education in the four Southern seaboard states under the impact of two powerful forces - the wave of racism that swept the South in the early 1900's and the

efforts during the same period of a group of Northern philanthropists to help the crusading school men of the South toward their goal of 'universal' education. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia swung...toward a slowly expanding public school system - and toward an ever widening inequality of education between whites and Negroes." Although, as Mr. Harlan states, this study is only indirectly related to the desegregation movement, it is of particular interest in these times of threat to the South's painfully constructed public school system.

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12. STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM, Martin Luther King, Jr. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1958. $2.95.

The leader of Montgomery, Alabama's protest movement against bus segregation in 1955-56 tells the story of that protest from his personal point of perspective and submits a suasive argument for non-violent resistance as a method of combating racial oppression.

13. WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED, edited by Don Shoemaker. Harper and Brothers 1957. 239 pages, $3.50.

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   Chronicles "the changing South in print," with information and analysis of Southern problems and progress. Published monthly, except for August.

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   Presents, in six volumes each year, texts of legislation, orders, regulations, and decisions in court cases involving race relations.

3. SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, Southern Education Reporting Service, P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tennessee, $2.00 per year.

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No. 11.	**"Christianity and Racial Adjustment,"** prepared for use on Race Relations Sunday, 5-page folder. Published December, 1940.	Free
No. 12.	**"Justice in Race Relations,"** discussion of certain phases of discrimination in the South, 4-page folder.	Free
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No. 50.	**"White Women in a Biracial Society,"** by Edwin L. Clarke, Professor of Sociology, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida. Published January, 1942.	Free
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collection of signed articles and cartoons from The Southern Frontier concerning elementary and higher education in the South. 24 pages with cover. Published January, 1942. — 60c a dozen (Sample copy free.)

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THE CENSUS OF 1947

The Census of Manufactures, taken for the first time in 1810, has been throughout its history the basic source of industrial statistics for the United States. Publishing detailed information on employment, pay rolls, man-hours, inventories, capital expenditures, and products of American industry, the Census has become an increasingly more important tool for Government and business use.

Although conducted biennially since 1921, the Census was not taken in the years 1941, 1943, and 1945, because of the war. Since the present gap of 8 years in the series is the longest in recent history, the 1947 Census is of exceptional significance. It will serve to point up the vast changes which have taken place in the pattern of American industry during the war and reconversion periods; the great increases in manufacturing output, plant facilities, and employment; the appearance of new plants, new commodities, and new industrial areas.

Typical of the interest of business and industry in the Census of Manufactures is the following statement recently issued by the United States Chamber of Commerce to its members: "Manufacturing enterprises—small and large, young and old—will find the 1947 Census of Manufactures the most valuable ever taken by the Federal Bureau of the Census. It will furnish up-to-date benchmarks for a comprehensive study of your industry's position in this greatly changed postwar world . . . The 1947 Census of Manufactures will, for the first time in 8 momentous years, provide trade associations, chambers of commerce, and all other organizations which serve business, as well as manufacturers, advertisers, and marketing organizations, with an up-to-date body of detailed information on which to base intelligent business planning. Facts will take the place of guesswork, knowledge will supplant hunches."

Description of the Census Publications

The statistics of the 1947 Census of Manufactures are published according to three basic classifications: Industries, States, and Subjects. Following this basic framework, the Census publishes: (1) 82 Industry pamphlets, (2) 49 State pamphlets, and (3) a summary volume by subjects. The statistics presented in the two series of pamphlets are also collected in convenient reference volumes. The full list of volumes and pamphlets appears on the reverse side.

STATISTICS BY INDUSTRIES

These statistics are published in 82 separate pamphlets and assembled in one complete volume. Detailed statistics on employment, pay rolls, value added by manufacture, value of shipments, cost of materials, expenditures for plant and equipment, and products manufactured are published for each of the approximately 460 industries covered by the Census.

STATISTICS BY STATES

These statistics are published in 49 separate pamphlets and assembled in one complete volume. For each State and the District of Columbia, detailed statistics are published on employment, pay rolls, value added by manufacture, and expenditures for plant and equipment.

STATISTICS BY SUBJECTS

These statistics are published in one complete volume. Separate chapters present detailed comparative statistics for industries and geographic areas on the following subjects: Employment and pay rolls, size of establishments, inventories, capital expenditures, highway motor vehicles, and fuel consumption.

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Charles Sawyer, *Secretary* J. C. Capt, *Director*

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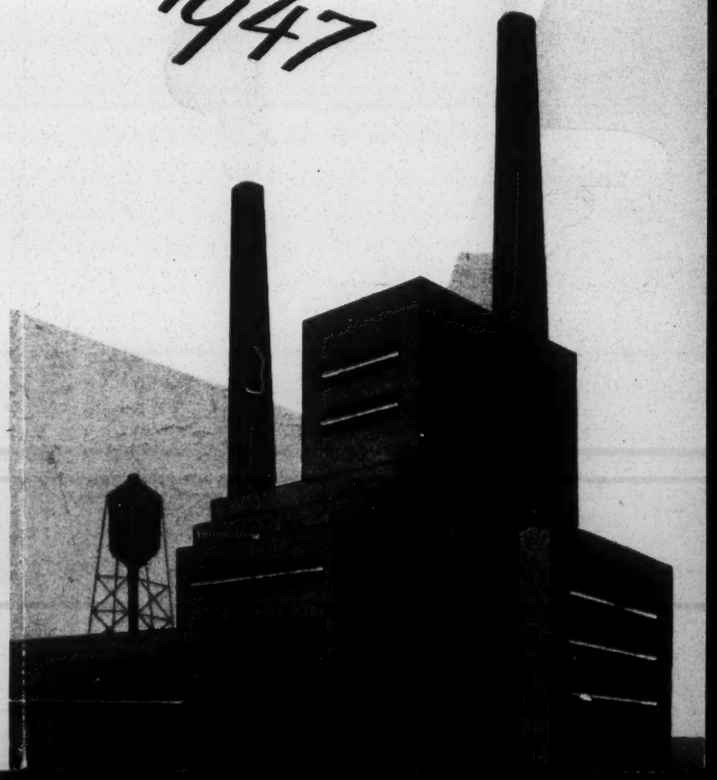

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ANNOUNCEMENT OF 1948 CENSUS OF BUSINESS AREA BULLETINS

A series of Area Bulletins containing data from the 1948 Census of Business is to be issued during the summer of 1950. The 1948 Census of Business, the first taken since 1939, was conducted during 1949 and was an enumeration of the retail, wholesale, and service establishments in continental United States, Alaska, and Hawaii.

The Area Bulletins will provide final figures replacing those in the recently issued Preliminary County releases. Plans are being made for the issuance of two additional bulletin series, *Subject Bulletins* and *Trade Bulletins,* in the latter part of 1950. The various 1948 Census of Business bulletins subsequently will be consolidated to form part of the final printed Census of Business volumes.

This announcement describes the content of the Area Bulletins and the procedure for ordering them. A complete list of bulletins in the Subject and Trade Bulletin series will be contained in an announcement to be issued in the future.

The accompanying order form may be used for ordering bulletins in the Area series. A post card also is provided to request the complete list and order form for Subject and Trade Bulletins.

AREA BULLETINS

This series of 1948 Census of Business reports will include separate United States summary bulletins for the three major trade divisions—retail, wholesale, and service—covered by the Census. Separate bulletins for each of the three trade divisions also will be provided for each State and for the District of Columbia. A single bulletin covering all three trade divisions will be issued for Alaska and a similar one also will be issued for Hawaii.

Each of the United States summary bulletins, retail, wholesale, and service, will include two tables—the one containing information by detailed kinds of business, the other containing information by States for all trades combined. The items of information for which data will be reported will correspond with those provided in table 101 of the corresponding State table. Comparative 1939 data as well as 1948 Census data will be shown.

The Area Bulletins for each State will include the following tables:

Retail Trade Bulletin

TABLE 101. State summary—89 kinds of business—data on number of establishments, sales for the year, payroll for the year, number of active proprietors and number of unpaid family workers in unincorporated businesses, and total number of paid employees and number of full workweek employees for the workweek ended nearest November 15.

TABLE 102. Each standard metropolitan area in the State—89 kinds of business—same data as in table 101.

TABLE 103. Each county and each city of 2,500 inhabitants or more (based on estimated 1950 population)—same data as in table 101 for total establishments; also number of stores and sales for the year for each of ten major kind-of-business groups.

TABLE 104. Each county with 200 establishments or more—kind-of-business detail varies, depending on number of establishments in the county—same data as in table 101.

TABLE 105. Each city with 200 establishments or more—kind-of-business detail varies, depending on number of establishments in the city—same data as in table 101.

Selected Services Bulletin

TABLE 101. State summary—as many as 85 kinds of business in the personal, business, and repair services trades; as many as 29 kinds of business in the amusement trades; hotels; and tourist courts—data on number of establishments, receipts for the year, payroll for the year, number of active proprietors and number of unpaid family workers in unincorporated businesses, total paid employees and payroll for each of the workweeks ended nearest March 15, July 15, and November 15.

TABLE 102. Each metropolitan area in the State—kind-of-business detail varies, depending on number of establishments in the metropolitan area—data on number of establishments, receipts for the year, payroll for the year, number of active proprietors and number of unpaid family workers in unincorporated businesses, number of paid employees and payroll for the workweek ended nearest November 15, separately for all employees and for full workweek employees.

TABLE 103. Each county and each city of 2,500 inhabitants or more—the four major service categories (personal, business, and repair services; amusements; hotels; and tourist courts)—same data as in table 102 (for amusements, hotels, and tourist courts the employment and payroll data follow the table 101 rather than table 102 pattern); also number of establishments and receipts for the year for the following four trade groups: personal services, business services, automotive repair services, and other repair services.

TABLE 104. Each county with 400 establishments or more—kind-of-business detail varies, depending on number of establishments in the county—same data as in table 102.

TABLE 105. Each city with 400 establishments or more—kind-of-business detail varies, depending on number of establishments in the city—same data as in table 102.

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Wholesale Trade Bulletin

TABLE 101. State summary—maximum detail for 10 types of operation, and as many as 70 kinds of business within the five major operating types—data on number of establishments, sales for the year, operating expense—amount and percent of sales, payroll for the year, number of active proprietors of unincorporated businesses, number of paid employees and payroll for the workweek ended nearest March 15, July 15, and November 15, and stocks on hand end of year at cost.

TABLE 102. For each standard metropolitan area in the State—kind-of-business detail classified by the five major operating types varies with size of metropolitan area—data on number of establishments, sales for the year, number of active proprietors of unincorporated businesses, and paid employees and payroll for the workweek ended nearest November 15.

TABLE 103. Each county and each city of 5,000 inhabitants or more—same data for all wholesale establishments as in table 102; also number of establishments and sales for the year for merchant wholesalers and for all other wholesale types combined.

TABLE 104. Each county with 50 establishments or more—kind-of-business detail, classified by the five major operating types, varies with number of establishments in the county—data the same as in table 102.

SUBJECT AND TRADE BULLETINS

Plans for the issuance of a number of special Census of Business bulletins during the latter part of 1950 are now being reviewed. The accompanying post card can be used to request the announcement for these bulletins. This announcement will be transmitted as soon as the final list of special bulletins becomes available.

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815 AND 874

First Annual Report
of the
Commissioner of Education
(June 30, 1951)

Under Public Laws 815 and 874, two separate provisions for granting Federal funds to overburdened schools were extended.

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SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

SEPTEMBER 1951

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SELECTED UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Issued Biweekly by the Superintendent of Documents,
Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

1951 No. 24 • DEC. 7, 1951

☐ **Automobile Transportation in Defense or War.** Study, undertaken at the request of the Defense Transport Administration, which analyzes the problems involved in maintaining essential automobile transportation during the current mobilization period and also in the event of a possible full-scale war. The report reviews briefly the role of the automobile in modern American life, our experience during the last war, the extent to which this form of transportation is indispensable to the effective functioning of the economy, the desirable level of automobile production under assumed conditions of national emergency, and the operating requirements which must be met if essential services are to be maintained. 1951. 68 p. il.
25¢. Catalog No. IC 1 Def.2:Au 8

☐ **Bert the Turtle Says Duck and Cover.** A graphic presentation for the instruction of school children and the general public on various phases of self-protection against atomic attack. 1951. [16] p. il.
5¢ each, or $2.00 per 100 copies.
Catalog No. FCD 1.2:B 95

☐ **Boys and Girls Study Homemaking and Family Living, Developing Courses for 11th- and 12th-Grade Pupils.** A report intended especially for high-school teachers whose students have been asking for information that will help them with their everyday living problems. The material presented is intended only to furnish suggestions. Selec-

tion and organization of the material to fit the individual school situation are best done by teachers working with their students—teachers who have first-hand knowledge of needs, aptitudes, abilities of the boys and girls and the local resources available. 1951. 58 p. il.

20¢. **Catalog No. FS 5.123:245**

☐ **Budget for an Elderly Couple, Estimated Cost, October 1950.** A modest budget for elderly couples 65 years of age and living in large cities. Thirty-four cities were studied. 1951. 4 p.

5¢. **Catalog No. L 2.6/a:B 859/4**

☐ **Bureau of Ships Manual, Chapter 38.** This chapter entitled "Ventilation and Heating" is a revision of Chapter 38, dated April 1, 1947. The revised chapter becomes effective immediately and may be inserted in its proper place in your Manual binder. 1951. 38 p. il.

25¢. **Catalog No. D 211.7:38/951**

☐ **Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930** (as amended to December 28, 1950). A codification of all amendments to the original act up to December 1950. Each amended section is dated when changed, providing an accurate source of information on the Federal retirement program. 1951. 27 p.

10¢. **Catalog No. CS 1.7/2:R 31/8/950**

☐ **Classification in a Nutshell.** The pay you get as a Federal employee is one of the most important incentives you have for doing your job well. But even more important for your morale is the fact that your pay compares fairly with the pay of other employees who do related work. Most of us know that our pay is determined by a system of position classification. But the principles and operations of this classification system may not be so well known. This pamphlet has been designed to meet this need—to explain briefly how classification affects you and your job. 1951. 28 p. il.

20¢. **Catalog No. CS 1.2:C 56/5**

☐ **The Conflict in Korea, Events Prior to the Attack on June 25, 1950.** A discussion of the issues and events preceding the armed aggression

of North Korean forces against the Republic of Korea. It recounts the efforts of the United States and United Nations to secure the peace and independence of all of Korea following World War II. 1951. 36 p.
15¢. **Catalog No. S 1.38:45**

☐ **Directory of Full-Time Local Health Units, 1951.** This directory, revised as of July 1951, presents a listing of full-time health units serving local areas, together with the name of the health officer of each unit or other designated administrative head. All units with control vested in local authority are arranged alphabetically by type of organization under "Local Unit." Those with control vested in the State are shown under "State District." 1951. 55 p.
20¢. **Catalog No. FS 2.2:L 78**

☐ **Education Unlimited, a Community High School in Action.** The most common problem and characteristic associated with secondary education in the small and rural communities is its limitations—low financial resources, inadequate plant and equipment, small enrollments, restricted curriculum offerings, small and overworked staffs. The purpose of this report is to show that these limitations need not dominate the services of the small and middle-sized high schools. Indeed, the developments here briefly described demonstrate that such schools can provide "education unlimited." 1951. 36 p. il.
15¢. **Catalog No. FS 5.3:951/5**

☐ **Highways in the United States.** Pamphlet presents a brief history of United States highways from the time of foot and horseback trails to our modern highway system and interesting articles on roads in use, regulation and safety, paying for our roads, and highways in economy. 1951. 22 p. il.
15¢. **Catalog No. C 37.2:H 53/3**

☐ **Housing Research No. 1, Fall 1951.** Contains the following articles: Techniques for conservation in home construction; Small city mortgage market, Hagerstown; Metropolitan mortgage market, San Francisco; Building self-help homes; Surveying materials used in house construction; Notes on new Housing and Home Finance Agency housing research contracts. 1951. 51 p. il.
30¢. **Catalog No. HH 1.9/2:1**

IN QUEST OF PEACE AND SECURITY (Selected Documents on American Foreign Policy, 1941–1951).

The role of the United States in helping to establish peace and security in the world is one of outstanding accomplishment. This role can easily be seen, and appreciated, in this excellent collection of famous documents on American foreign policy from 1941 through 1951. Such outstanding papers as the Atlantic Charter, Cairo Conference, Potsdam Agreement, Axis Surrender Treaties, North Atlantic Treaty, and many others are included in this compilation of documents in which the United States did so much to formulate. Each of the history-making documents included, themselves a step toward international peace, is reproduced here in its entirety so the role of America during these critical years can be understood by her people everywhere.
Catalog No. S 1.71:53 **55¢.**

☐ **Laws Relating to Veterans and Their Dependents, Enacted on and After June 27, 1950, and Through November 1, 1951.** Since the enactment of the Selective Service and Training Act on September 16, 1940, the Veterans' Administration has maintained a list of all laws enacted subsequent to that date which in any way affected veterans or their dependents. This list has been published from time to time by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs and is now brought up to date to cover actions since 1940 through the first session of the Eighty-second Congress. 1951. 34 p.
15¢. **Catalog No. Y 4.V 64/3:L 41/950**

☐ **Price Stabilization to October 1951.** Summary of operations of the Office of Price Stabilization from its origin to October 1, 1951. Gives authority from which the agency derives its powers, the price stabilization program, major price actions, and effectiveness of program. 1951. 17 p. il.
10¢. **Catalog No. ES 3.2:Op 2**

☐ **Proceedings of First Conference on Cancer Diagnostic Tests, 1950.** The National Cancer Institute has felt it desirable to take an active interest in the field of cancer diagnostic tests. A program has been organized in which investigative groups interested in this field have been supported financially by grant funds and have been furnished a point for liaison and exchange of ideas within the Institute. As this program has progressed it has become apparent that many of the general cancer diagnostic tests that have been proposed will fall short of the performance requirements of a truly useful test. On the other hand, it is felt that further developmental research in the cancer diagnostic test field should be stimulated. Such was the purpose of the Conference on Cancer Diagnostic Tests, the results of which are reproduced in this publication. 1951. 91 p. il.
30¢. **Catalog No. FS 2.22:C 16/9**

☐ **School Fire Safety.** Stresses the importance of safe conditions in school plants, lists various hazards, and outlines certain procedures for avoiding or eliminating some of these hazards. It is designed as a guide for those interested in and responsible for school safety. However, the various sections should be of value to teachers as source material for class instruction in fire safety. 1951. 58 p. il.
20¢. **Catalog No. FS 5.3:951/13**

☐ **Suggestions for Control of Turnover and Absenteeism.** This brochure is designed to assist employers in reducing manpower wastage resulting from turnover and absenteeism by the application of proven techniques developed by management and labor, research and management organizations, and the Government. 1951. 30+[6] p.
25¢. **Catalog No. L 7.2:T 86**

☐ **United States Official Postal Guide, July 1951, Part I, Domestic Postal Service, Including International Money Order Business.** The purpose of Part I of the Postal Guide is to show a complete listing of all post offices in the United States, including Territories and insular possessions, and to acquaint the public with the numerous and varied services rendered by the Post Office, the conditions under which these services are available, and the organization which has been established to carry on the work. 1951. 784 p.
Cloth, $2.00. **Catalog No. P 1.10:951/pt.1**

☐ **United States Statutes at Large, Volume 62, Part 2, 80th Congress, 2d Session, 1948.** Contains private laws, concurrent resolutions, proclamations, treaties, and international agreements other than treaties. 1949. 1295–2609+clxi–cci p.
Cloth, $7.75. **Catalog No. S 7.9:62/pt.2**

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An Analysis Of Rank and File Attitudes Of St. Louis Teamsters Local 688 Based On A Study by Dr. Arnold Rose

THE UNION MAKES USE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST

By Annetta Dieckmann
Labor Standards Inspector
Illinois Department of Labor

Reprinted By Permission From the February, 1952 Issue of the JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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SELECTED UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Issued Biweekly by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

1952 No. 8 • APRIL 11, 1952

☐ **Buying Sweaters for the Family.** A publication designed to help the buyer of sweaters know what can be expected in terms of service and appearance from sweaters made of wool, of man-made fibers, or of blends of fibers. The bulletin is particularly timely in view of the limited wool supply and the present high prices of wool clothing. It presents information to help the consumer choose a sweater to suit the purpose and give maximum wear for money spent. 1952. 16 p. il.

10¢. **Catalog No. A 1.77:16**

☐ **Cancer of the Breast.** This pamphlet has been prepared to give important facts about breast cancer, and how to protect yourself against cancer. Revised 1951 [issued 1952]. 20 p. il.

10¢ each, $4.50 per 100.

Catalog No. FS 2.57:2/3

☐ **Composition of Foods Used in Far Eastern Countries.** Publication brings together data on refuse, food energy, proximate composition, three minerals, and five vitamins in many foods commonly consumed in countries of the Far East. It has been prepared in response to repeated requests from administrators wanting the data for estimating adequacy of food supplies, from research workers engaged in making dietary surveys or related studies, and from nutritionists, teachers, dietitians, doctors, agricultural missionaries, and others who are concerned with the nutritive values of indigenous and imported food supplies. 1952. 62 p.

30¢. **Catalog No. A 1.76:34**

☐ **Constitutional Limitation on Federal Income, Estate, and Gift Tax Rates.** Materials assembled for the Joint Committee on the Economic Report and the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives by the Committee Staffs, assisted by the Treasury Department and the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. 1952. 48 p.

15¢. **Catalog No. Y 4.Ec 7:In 2**

☐ **Consumers' Cooperatives, Operations in 1950.** A report on membership, business, and operating results. Contains general estimates of membership and business of the various types of associations, local and federated, and detailed data on the operations of the central organizations which carry on manufactures of numerous kinds. 1952. 16 p.

20¢. **Catalog No. L 2.3:1049**

☐ **Costs of and Reasons for Rewrapping Prepackaged Meats, Poultry, and Cheese.** A study was undertaken to measure the amount and cost of rewrapping required for prepackaged meats, poultry, and cheese and to find the reasons why rewrapping was necessary. The study is designed to aid retail store operators in the handling of prepackaged foods. 1951 [issued 1952]. 34 p.

15¢. **Catalog No. A 1.75:77**

☐ **Department of Defense, Semiannual Reports.** The semiannual report of the Secretary of Defense, together with those of the Secretaries of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, for the 6-month period from July 1 to December 31, 1951. 1952. 38 p.

20¢. **Catalog No. D 1.1:951–2**

☐ **Drought in Southwestern United States as of October 1951.** The present drought in the southwestern United States is one of the eight most severe droughts that have occurred since the thirteenth century. Certain recommendations are made in this report for investigations, plans, and proposals which, if undertaken immediately, will tend to alleviate present conditions in some areas. Other recommendations are included to become a part of a long-range program which must eventually be undertaken if the next drought is not to find a greatly ex-

panded Southwest again sucking at the bottom of reservoirs and wells. 1952. 65 p. il. map.

30¢. Catalog No. I 1.2:D 83

☐ **Emergency Welfare Services, United States Civil Defense.** A guide for State civil defense directors, and an aid to local civil defense directors, directors of emergency welfare services, managers of mass care and welfare service centers, and others concerned in developing a program to meet the multiple welfare problems that would arise from enemy attack. The emergency welfare organization suggested in the manual can be adapted to meet circumstances peculiar to each State and community. 1952. 62 p. il.

20¢. Catalog No. FCD 1.6/2:12–1

☐ **Farmers' Mutual Windstorm Insurance.** Describes windstorm hazards and covers types and location of farmers' mutual windstorm insurance companies, the hazards covered, costs, deductible and minimum-loss clauses, prevention of loss, and other operating practices. 1952. 51 p. map.

30¢. Catalog No. A 1.75:70

☐ **Federal Trade Commission, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1951.** The maintenance of free competitive enterprise as the keystone of the American economic system is the objective of the work of the Federal Trade Commission. This report presents information relating to the maintaining of free competitive enterprise, the Commission and its staff, economic reports, antimonopoly work, antideceptive practice work, industry cooperation, and the Commission's work in the mobilization program. 1952. 162 p. il.

40¢. Catalog No. FT 1.1:951

☐ **The 5th Plate.** Our population is growing by more than 2 million persons a year. The number of our productive acres to feed the people is not keeping up with this growth. What does this mean for the next 25, 50, to 100 years? This is a graphic story of the land, people, and food for the next 25 years. 1952. 42 p. il.

25¢. Catalog No. A 1.68:191

☐ **Fire Resistance of Shutters for Moving-Stairway Openings.** A report dealing with the fire resistance of building materials and constructions. It indicates the results obtained in the tests of a fire-resistant shutter for the closure of moving-stairway openings. As moving stairways are used extensively in commercial buildings in which unprotected openings through floors might permit the passage of fire with disastrous results, the information contained in this report will be of interest to architects, the building industry, and regulatory bodies concerned with specifications or building-code requirements pertaining to moving-stairway installations. 1952. 9 p. il.

10¢. Catalog No. C 13.29:129

MARINE AVIATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

☐ This is the story, told in historical detail for the first time, of an almost unknown side of World War II—the brilliant part played by Marine aviation in General MacArthur's return to the Philippines. The participation of the flying Leathernecks in Army and Navy operations is vividly described, all the way from advance planning to hard-hitting close air support. (1951) 166 pages, hardback cover, with maps and illustrations.

Catalog No. D 214.2:Av 5 $2.50

☐ **Looking Forward to the Later Years.** A discussion of the mental adjustment of men and women to the problems of aging. 1952. 13 p.

5¢. Catalog No. FS 2.22:L 34

☐ **Loran (Long Range Aid to Navigation), Airways Operations Training Bulletin 7.** Loran is a long-range navigation system which was developed primarily for maritime use. However, it has been found equally well adapted to transoceanic air navigation. This bulletin presents Loran transmitting stations, and receivers, and navigation procedures. Second edition, January 1952. 11 p. il.

10¢. Catalog No. C 31.141:7/2

☐ **Military Standard, Definitions of and Basic Requirements for Enclosures for Electric and Electronic Equipment, MIL–STD–108.** Approved by the Departments of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force and establishes definitions and basic requirements for the commonly used enclosures for electric and electronic equipment. 1952. 12 p.

15¢. Catalog No. D 3.7:108

☐ **Petersburg Battlefields, Petersburg National Military Park, Virginia.** Designated as Historical Handbook Series No. 13, this bulletin presents descriptive and informational material relating to the Petersburg Battlefields. 1951 [issued 1952]. 56 p. il.

35¢. Catalog No. I 29.58:13

☐ **School Housing for Physically Handicapped Children.** School systems as never before are attempting to provide for physically handicapped children. Much has been accomplished, but an even larger task is still before us. This bulletin includes some guiding principles and suggestions and sources of information. The publication will be helpful to school systems planning special day schools, centers, or units in regular schools, single multi-grade classes, or on the other hand for adjustments for handicapped pupils who are able, with assistance, to progress in regular classes. 1952. 26 p. il.

15¢. Catalog No. FS 5.3:951/17

☐ **Small Sawmill Operator's Manual.** Intended to serve as a handbook for operators of small mills, this publication deals mainly with the types and variations of equipment available, installation of equipment, and operational techniques, especially for mills of the circular head-saw type. The purpose is to furnish operators with a reasonably complete and detailed evaluation of various types of machinery and handling equipment, so that the general standard of operation may be raised by reducing costs, preventing wastes, and improving the quality of the lumber. 1952. 121 p. il.

65¢. Catalog No. A 1.76:27

☐ **Urban Redevelopment.** Comparative digest of the principal provisions of State planning laws relating to housing, slum clearance, and urban redevelopment, as of January 1, 1951. Represents a comprehensive study of the basic legal powers relating to community planning problems that have been recognized and set forth in State statutes. The publication is valuable to Federal, State, and local public agencies, and also to the home-building industry and to interested private persons. 1952. 80 p.

55¢. Catalog No. HH 1.5:Ur 1

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1952 No. 9 • APRIL 25, 1952

☐ **After Teen-Agers Quit School, Seven Community Programs Help Would-Be Workers.** Brief reviews of programs in seven cities that are helping boys and girls who have left school before high school graduation to make their way into suitable and satisfactory employment. What these communities have done will be suggestive to other communities of ways through which they can reach school drop-outs with services that will help them to bridge the gap between school and work. 1952. 30 p. il.

25¢. Catalog No. L 16.3:150

☐ **Air Force Register, January 1, 1952.** Presents the active list, USAF promotion lists, the warrant officer list, regular air force retired list, the USAF retired list, and the warrant officer retired list. 1952. 573 p.

$2.50. Catalog No. D 303.7:952

☐ **Annual Report of Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1951.** The functions of the Accounts and Collections Unit, Employment Tax Unit, Income Tax Unit, Excise Tax Unit, Alcohol Tax Unit, and Technical Staff are given. 1952. 252 p.

55¢. Catalog No. T 22.1:951

☐ **Antarctic Bibliography.** With the ever-increasing naval activity in the polar regions, the need for more substantial research and the necessity for obtaining the full benefit from the explorations and research performed in the past becomes self-evident. This bibliography is intended as a research aid for naval officers assigned to polar operations, photographic interpreters, naval research analysts, intelligence personnel, geographers, explorers, and members of the medical, biological, engineering, and earth science professions interested in research concerned with ice and the polar areas in general and the Antarctic in particular. 1951 [issued 1952]. 147 p., 3 maps in separate pocket.

$1.25. Catalog No. D 202.2:An 8

☐ **Commercial Standard CS 77–51, Enameled Cast-Iron Plumbing Fixtures.** A recorded voluntary standard of the trade. The purpose of this commercial standard is to establish minimum standard specifications, definitions, inspection rules, types, and sizes of standard items, and methods of test for enameled cast-iron plumbing fixtures for the guidance of manufacturers, distributors, and users of these products. 1952. 39 p. il.

15¢. Catalog No. C 18.276:77–51

☐ **County Outline Map of United States, County Boundaries as of April 1, 1950.** State and county outlines in black ink. Scale 100 m.=1.3 in. 1952. 24 x 38 in.

30¢. Catalog No. C 3.62/2:Un 3/9

☐ **County Outline Map of United States, County Boundaries as of April 1, 1950.** State outlines in black, county outlines in blue ink. Scale 100 m.=1.3 in. 1952. 24 x 38 in.

30¢. Catalog No. C 3.62/2:Un 3/8

☐ **Federal and State Weights and Measures Laws Through 1949 Enactments.** A compilation of weights and measures laws, not elsewhere available in a single volume, comprising a collection of Federal and State laws, and certain Federal regulations, dealing with the regulatory control of commercial weighing and measuring equipment and practices. The publication will be useful to weights and measures officials, lawyers, equipment manufacturers, and shippers. 1951. 1,182 p.

Cloth, $5.75. Catalog No. C 13.4:501

☐ **Export Control.** Eighteenth Quarterly Report by the Secretary of Commerce to the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives required under the Export Control Act of 1949. 1952. 33 p.

15¢. Catalog No. C 1.26:18

✓ ☐ **Federal Educational Activities and Educational Issues Before Congress, Volume 3, Part 4, Analysis and Classification of the Programs.** Presents interpretation of the findings from the study, methods of administration, levels of education concerned, geographical areas affected, types and numbers of persons affected, and analysis of the programs by agencies. 1952. 210 p.

45¢. Catalog No. Y 4.Ed 8/1:Ed 8/5/v. 3

☐ **First Annual Report of Commissioner of Education Concerning the Administration of Public Laws 874 and 815.** The first annual report of United States Commissioner of Education dealing with the programs for providing financial assistance under Public Laws 874 and 815 to schools in Federally affected areas. There is set forth briefly the background of the legislation, some of the problems which arose and how they were handled, a complete summary of receipts and disbursements, and statistical tables reflecting the allotments to the various school districts. 1952. 83 p.

25¢. Catalog No. FS 5.1/2:1

☐ **Highway Statistics, 1950.** Presents the 1950 statistical and analytical tables of general interest on motor fuel, motor vehicles, highway-user taxation, financing of State highways, highway mileage, and Federal aid for highways. Data for the financing of highways by county and local rural governments is included, and information concerning local street financing is shown for the first time. 1952. 140 p.

60¢. Catalog No. C 37.2:H 53/950

☐ **Index of Federal Specifications and Standards, January 1, 1952.** Contains an alphabetical list of Federal specifications and standards, a group list of Federal specifications, and an alphabetical list, and numerical list of General Services Administration specifications. 1952. 77 p.

40¢. Catalog No. GS 2.8/2:952

OUR FOREIGN POLICY, 1952

☐ Prepared by the Department of State, in brief, easy-to-read style, *Our Foreign Policy, 1952,* answers your questions about the basic principles of our foreign policy, the application of these principles in troubled areas, the way foreign policy is made and who makes it.

This booklet gives a perspective on complex international issues, shows how the American Government is moving to protect and advance the best interests of the United States, and contributes much toward an understanding of our Nation's vital objectives in the world today.

25¢. Catalog No. S 1.71:56

☐ **Life Adjustment Education in the American Culture.** Proceedings of a national conference sponsored by the Office of Education and the Commission on Life Adjustment Education for Youth, held in Washington, D. C., Oct. 8–10, 1951. This report represents the viewpoints of the speakers, panel members, and work group participants of the conference. 1952. 95 p.

30¢. Catalog No. FS 5.4:335

☐ **Motion Pictures on Child Life, List of 16-mm. Films.** A list of motion pictures compiled by the Children's Bureau for the use of people and organizations working in some field concerned with children. When planning to show a movie to interest parents and others in your community in the health and social welfare of children, you will find helpful suggestions among the titles brought together here. The pictures are not meant to furnish entertainment as such but to give information that will help people to think about what can be done for children. Most of the films are for adults. A few are for children, to give them facts and ideas, but they are not planned for classroom use. 1952. 61 p.

40¢. Catalog No. FS 3.202:M 85/2

☐ **Outlook for Women in Social Work, General Summary.** Describes the outlook for women in the entire field of social work, comparing the specializations within the field, and in specific instances showing the relation of social work to other professions of women. 1952. 93 p. il.

30¢. Catalog No. L 13.3:235–8

SELECTED UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

U.S. Department of Commerce
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Issued Biweekly by the Superintendent of Documents,
Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

1952 No. 11 • May 23, 1952

☐ **Canal Linings and Methods of Reducing Costs.** Describes in semitechnical language the methods used by the Bureau of Reclamation in its lower cost canal-lining program. It will be of value to Government agencies, private organizations, and individuals concerned with reclamation, conservation, engineering, and water and land resource development. 1952. 69 p. il.
25¢. Catalog No. I 27.2:C 16

☐ **Civil Defense in Schools.** Intended as a guide and reference primarily for local and State superintendents of schools in organizing and operating programs for the self-protection of schools, their physical facilities, their staffs, and students. While the manual is written largely in terms of the individual school, it is directed to local and State administrators rather than to school principals. 1952. 31 p.
15¢. Catalog No. FCD 1.6/3:16–1

☐ **Civil Defense Nursing Needs.** Statements by national groups, the proposed plan, and American Red Cross cooperation. 1952. 17 p. il.
15¢. Catalog No. FCD 1.10:1

☐ **Clean Water in the Missouri?** A booklet of important facts concerning water pollution in the Missouri River Valley as revealed by a State-Federal survey of water pollution under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (Public Law 845, 80th Congress). 1952. 8 p. il.
5¢. Catalog No. FS 2.2:W 29/4

☐ **Distribution of Health Services in the Structure of State Government, 1950, Part 1.** All State governments consider public health one of their major functions. However, the States differ in the way they provide services. This publication presents an attempt to bring together information regarding health services currently rendered by State governments and differences in their public health organization, methods of administration, scope of activities, policies, and resources. 1952. 64 p.
40¢. Catalog No. FS 2.2:H 34/6/950/pt.1

☐ **Education in the United States of America.** Designed to give visitors from other lands a general background of our educational system which will help them interpret what they see and hear as they visit our schools and talk to teachers, parents, and children. It will also provide a source to which they may turn to find answers to questions which arise after they have returned to their own countries. 1951 [issued 1952]. 62 p. il.
35¢. Catalog No. FS 5.41:3

☐ **First Aid for Flooded Homes and Farms.** To those who are returning to homes and farms that have been flooded, to clear and rebuild and try to retrieve their losses, this booklet will bring important help. Bureaus of the United States Department of Agriculture and those State agricultural colleges experienced in rehabilitation work following floods have contributed information. Suggestions by the U. S. Public Health Service and other Federal agencies, and safety organizations are also included. Rev. 1952. 28 p. il.
10¢. Catalog No. A 1.76:38

☐ **Handbook of Emergency Defense Activities.** A guide to Federal agencies whose activities are primarily devoted to mobilizations or to other related phases of the defense program. The handbook includes brief organizational outlines and the names and addresses of officials of emergency defense agencies, the Department of Defense, and the United States Coast Guard. It also includes a separate list of officials from whom information may be obtained concerning other Federal agencies. It is designed to assist the public in reaching the services it needs in connection with the defense program. 1952. 119 p.
30¢. Catalog No. GS 4.109/2:D 36/952

☐ **Collective Bargaining in the Meat-Packing Industry.** Report on labor-management agreement provisions and practices in the meat-packing industry which is based primarily upon an analysis of 50 agreements negotiated by unions and employers in the industry. 1952. 49 p. il.
30¢. Catalog No. L 2.3:1063

Occupational Wage Survey. Important industrial centers in which the Bureau of Labor Statistics conducted occupational wage surveys during early 1951. Occupations that are common to a variety of manufacturing and nonmanufacturing industries were studied on a commodity-wide basis. Cross-industry methods of sampling were thus utilized in compiling earnings data for the following types of occupations: *(a)* Office clerical; *(b)* professional and technical; *(c)* maintenance and power plant; *(d)* custodial, warehousing, and shipping.

☐ Kansas City, Missouri, October 1951. 1952. 29 p.
20¢. Catalog No. L 2.3:1064

☐ Richmond, Virginia, October 1951. 1952. 19 p.
15¢. Catalog No. L 2.3:1058

☐ **Old-Age and Survivors Insurance For You and Your Family Under the Federal Social Security Law.** A leaflet containing valuable information for all those who work for a living, either in industry or in self-employment. 1952. [16] p.
5¢. Catalog No. FS 3.2:In 7/2

☐ **Polluted Water Is Almost As Bad As No Water.** A colored poster, 37 x 48.8 inches, advising the public to clean up water for our homes, our industry, fishing and recreation, agriculture, America's future, and to help fight pollution now.
25¢. Catalog No. FS 2.26:P 76

☐ **Postmaster General, Annual Report for Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1951.** Describes the work of the various bureaus under the Post Office Department, lists the officials of the Department from 1775 to 1951, and presents tables relating to the revenues and accrued expenditures of the Postal Establishment. 1952. 242 p. il.
55¢. Catalog No. P 1.1:951

CONSTRUCTION AND ANALYSIS OF ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

☐ Although this book was prepared primarily for use in the Federal service, it can be used to advantage by persons in private industry charged with the responsibility of analyzing positions and constructing achievement tests.

It covers in detail test construction and measurement, and includes specific instruction in statistical analysis of tests and job requirements.

Everyone concerned with this important phase of industrial relations should make a thorough study of this instructive book.

Buckram-Bound $1.50. Catalog No. CS1.2:Ac4

☐ **Radiological Decontamination in Civil Defense.** Provides information for all radiological defense personnel and serves as an operations manual for decontamination crews. The manual describes the various methods to be used by civil defense crews in decontamination operations. 1952. 31 p. il.
15¢. Catalog No. FCD 1.6/3:11–6

☐ **Uniform System of Accounts for Class I Common and Contract Motor Carriers of Property.** Prescribed by the Interstate Commerce Commission in accordance with part II of the Interstate Commerce Act, issue of 1952; revised to January 1, 1952. 1952. 67 p.
25¢. Catalog No. IC 1 mot. 6:P 94/2/952

☐ **United States Navy Hydrographic Office.** Since the establishment of the United States Navy Hydrographic Office, its accomplishments in improving the means of safe navigation have in great measure depended upon the contributions of countless individuals and groups throughout the world. By acquainting the reader with the major efforts, accomplishments, and organization of the Hydrographic Office, new means of adding to the already growing funds of knowledge may be discovered. This publication contains numerous reproductions of photographs, and the text consists of information relating to navigational science, oceanography, maritime security, chart construction, air navigation, and lithography. 1952. 46 p. il.
30¢. Catalog No. D 203.2:H 99/2

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1952 No. 12 • JUNE 6, 1952

☐ **JUST OFF THE PRESS!**
Katyn Forest Massacre Hearings. Part 3 of Committee Hearings covering latest developments in this important inquiry. Limited supply. About 520 pp.

$1.50. Catalog No. Y 4.K 15:M 38/pt. 3

☐ **Annual Survey of Manufactures: 1949 and 1950.** The annual survey is an integral part of a program of industrial statistics which reached its present development following legislation that shifted the Census of Manufactures from a biennial to a quinquennial basis. The final results of the annual survey of manufactures are shown in this publication for 1949 and 1950, the first 2 years for which it was conducted. 1952. 182 p.

Cloth, $2.00.
Catalog No. C 3.24/2:M 31/4/949–50

☐ **Communications Act of 1934.** The Communications Act of 1934 with amendments and index thereto, published by the Federal Communications Commission, revised to January 1952. 1952. 85 p.

25¢. Catalog No. CC 1.5:C 73/952

☐ **Education Directory, 1951–52, Part 2, Counties and Cities.** A list of superintendents of county, supervisory district or union, and urban schools, by States; also a list of superintendents of Catholic parochial schools. 1952. 89 p.

25¢. Catalog No. FS 5.25:951–52/pt. 2

☐ **Complete List of Lights and Other Marine Aids, Pacific Coast of United States, Volumes I–V.** Lights and other marine aids to navigations maintained by or under authority of the U. S. Coast Guard on the Pacific Coast of the United States, Alaska, and the Pacific islands, listed in five volumes, one for each of the Coast Guard districts. For the convenience of mariners, there are also included the lighted aids, fog signals, and radiobeacons maintained by British Columbia which may be used by vessels proceeding directly from the United States to Alaska. These lists are intended to furnish more complete information concerning aids to navigation than can be conveniently shown on charts. They are not intended to be used in the place of charts and coast pilots and should not be so used. 1952. 288 p. il.

$1.50. Catalog No. T 47.25:952

☐ **Facts for Your Future.** For those who may be separated from the Armed Forces with physical disabilities. The booklet is for YOU as a physically disabled member of the Armed Forces or a member whose disability may eventually be established. Its purpose is to acquaint you with the steps of processing that are ahead of you, and to answer some of the most frequently asked questions about retirement or discharge for physical disability. 1952. 75 p. il.

25¢. Catalog No. D 101.22:21–48

☐ **Federal Civil Defense Administration, Annual Report for 1951.** The first annual report to the President and the Congress, by the Administrator of Federal Civil Defense Administration. Discusses why we need civil defense, organization of civil defense, volunteer recruitment, cooperation of Federal agencies, training and education, pertinent facts on progress by the States, and how civil defense funds were spent during 1951. 1952. 108 p. il.

30¢. Catalog No. FCD 1.1:951

Federal Creed of Service. The Federal Council has approved the Federal Creed of Service which has been endorsed by the Civil Service Commission, Federal departments and agencies generally, employee organizations, and others.

☐ Wall motto size. 10½ x 8 inches.

5¢ each, $1 per 100. Catalog No. CS 1.2:C 86

☐ Wallet card size. 3½ x 2¼ inches.

5¢ each, 50¢ per 100. Catalog No. CS 1.2:C 86/2

☐ **Guide to Federal Aids for Housing and Community Facilities for Critical Defense Housing Areas.** Because of the paramount importance of the defense program, the Federal Government has made available to certain defense-crowded communities a number of aids for obtaining housing and community facilities. This booklet is designed to explain such aids and under what circumstances a community may be eligible to obtain them. 1952. 22 p.

10¢. Catalog No. HH 1.2:H 81/19

☐ **Instructor's Guide To Be Used for Training Food Service Personnel, Sanitary Food Service.** The manual will serve a great variety of purposes. It can be used by State and local health departments as a basis for training food service personnel. Local and State distributive education specialists will find it useful in conducting classes in food service and sanitation. Divisions of the Armed Services concerned with the prevention of food-borne disease will find it a valuable guide in organizing and conducting classes for military food-service personnel. Owners and managers of various eating and drinking establishments may wish to use it as a basis of their own in-service training programs. 1952. 209 p. il.

$1.50. Catalog No. FS 2.6:F 73/2

☐ **Isotopes, Five-Year Summary of U. S. Distribution.** A detailed account mainly, of isotope utilization during the first 5 years of the Atomic Energy Commission's distribution program. The report has been prepared with two purposes in mind: First, as a useful reference to investigators using or contemplating the use of isotopes; second, as documentary evidence of the value of radioactive and concentrated stable isotopes to modern research and technology in science, medicine, agriculture, and industry. 1951 [issued 1952]. 451 p.

$1.00. Catalog No. Y 3.At 7:2 Is 7/3/951

☐ **Renegotiation Regulations Under the Renegotiation Act of 1951.** The regulations are sold on a subscription basis only. The subscription includes the basic manual and supplements or revisions, as issued, for an indefinite period.

Price, $1.50; 40¢ additional for foreign mailing.
Catalog No. RnB 1.6/2:951

SOIL SURVEY MANUAL

☐ Recently revised, this book is an up-to-date guide for those persons engaged in soil classification and mapping.

It is a complete text, written primarily for the working soil scientist, but its easy-to-read style makes the manual useful to beginning and advanced students of agriculture.

In its 500 pages, the manual covers such pertinent topics as soil mapping and reports, identification of soil horizons, soil colors and textures, collection of soil samples, yield estimations, and many, many other soil subjects used in agricultural surveys. (1951) 503 pages, with illustrations.

Buckram-Bound $3.00. Catalog No. A 1.76:18

☐ **Specimen Questions From U. S. Civil Service Examinations.** Samples of the kinds of questions that have been used by the Civil Service Commission in written tests within the past few years are presented. By studying them, you will have some idea of the nature of the questions used in an actual examination for the job in which you are interested. You should understand however, that the actual examination, when next given, may not include all the kinds of questions of which samples are given, and it may include other kinds. 1952. 35 p. il.

20¢. Catalog No. CS 1.48:11/3

☐ **Students and the Armed Forces.** A source book of information about the Armed Forces for the students, teachers, counselors, and administrators of the Nation's secondary schools and colleges. 1952. 88 p. il.

45¢. Catalog No. D 2.2:St 9

☐ **—— Counseling College Students During the Defense Period.** Designed for college administrators, teachers, and counselors who carry some responsibility for the counseling of students, and should be used with the publication, *Students and the Armed Forces.* 1952. 23 p.

25¢. Catalog No. FS 5.2:C 83/4

☐ **—— Counseling High-School Students During the Defense Period.** Designed for secondary school administrators, teachers, and counselors who carry some responsibility for the counseling of students, and should be used with the publication, *Students and the Armed Forces.* 1952. 34 p.

25¢. Catalog No. FS 5.2:C 83/3

☐ **Total Eclipse of the Sun, June 30, 1954.** A supplement to the *American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac* for 1954, and designed primarily for use along the path of the total phase of the eclipse of June 30, 1954, in the United States, Canada, and Greenland, although data are also given for the Atlantic Ocean and Europe. 1952. 42 p. maps.

40¢. Catalog No. D 213.8:954/supp.

☐ **United States Navy Uniform Regulations, 1951.** Presents uniform regulations for male and women commissioned officers and warrant officers, Naval Academy midshipmen, Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps midshipmen, aviation midshipmen, male and women reserve officer candidates, and male chief petty officers. Information relating to insignia, and special bands is also presented. 1952.

$1.50. Catalog No. D 208.6:Un 3/951

☐ **What and Why, Low-Rent Public Housing.** Answers such questions as: What is low-rent public housing? What are local housing authorities? How does the Federal Government help? What is the purpose of low-rent public housing? Who is eligible to live in low-rent housing? 1952.

5¢ each, $2.50 per 100.
Catalog No. HH 3.2:H 81/952

☐ **Women Workers and Their Dependents.** A report indicating the considerable share women's earnings furnish in the support of the American home. Part I is the report of a new study of union women and their dependents conducted by the Women's Bureau in cooperation with 7 union groups and based on questionnaires returned by over 9,000 women workers. Part II analyzes and compares the findings of various studies of women's economic responsibilities made by the Women's Bureau and other agencies over a period of 30 years. 1952. 117 p.

30¢. Catalog No. L 13.3:239

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1952 No. 25 • December 5, 1952

☐ **ANNUAL REPORT OF CHIEF OF ENGINEERS, U. S. ARMY, 1951, PART 1, VOLUME 3.** A comprehensive report on the Federal Civil Works Program as administered by the Corps of Engineers. It is a compilation of factual information. It will provide the information on which the Congress can arrive at a fair and reasonable appraisal of the manner in which the Corps of Engineers is carrying out the largest Civil Works Program ever undertaken. 1952. 531 p. Map.

Cloth, $2.00 **Catalog No. D 103.1:951/pt. 1/v. 3**

☐ **ARMED SERVICES PROCUREMENT REGULATION, APPENDIX D.** Rules for notice and hearing under gratuities clause in Armed Services Procurement Regulation 7–104.16. 1952. 9 p.

15¢ **Catalog No. M 1.8:app. D**

☐ **ARMED SERVICES PROCUREMENT REGULATION, REVISION NO. 6.** Revision 6, October 25, 1952, consists of revised pages for section 13. Also contains notes and filing instructions. 1952. 25 p.

15¢ **Catalog No. M 1.8/2:6**

☐ **AUTOMOTIVE ANTIFREEZES.** A circular intended primarily for the average automobile owner. It should also prove helpful to manufacturers and businessmen interested in entering the field of antifreeze production. Common types of antifreezes are discussed, with a presentation of their properties, and information has been provided on the cooling systems of automobiles. 1952. 31 p. il.

15¢ **Catalog No. C 13.4:506**

☐ **BETTER HEALTH FOR SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN.** To help States and communities examine their present health programs for school-age children, and to increase these services where desired, the Office of Education, the Public Health Service, and the Children's Bureau have created a committee on the school-age child. Through this committee, these three offices of the Federal Security Agency are working together to help build better health for all school-age children. One result of this cooperative effort is this publication which grew out of a conference recently held by the committee. 1952. 12 p.

10¢ **Catalog No. FS 3.202:H 34/2**

☐ **BETTER POPULATION FORECASTING FOR AREAS AND COMMUNITIES.** A guidebook for those who make or use population projections. It suggests procedures and techniques that should tend to produce better-founded and more reliable figures. 1952. 80 p. il.

25¢ **Catalog No. C 18.271:32**

☐ **COMMERCIAL STANDARD CS 31–52, WOOD SHINGLES (RED CEDAR, TIDEWATER RED CYPRESS, CALIFORNIA REDWOOD).** A recorded voluntary standard of the trade. The purpose of the commercial standard is to establish standard methods of test, rating, certification, and labeling of commodities, and to provide uniform bases for fair competition. 1952. 14 p. il.

5¢ **Catalog No. C 18.276:31–52**

☐ **DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY PAMPHLET 21–53, FACTS FOR ARMY VETERANS.** This pamphlet is designed for Army personnel now being separated from active service. Its purpose is to present a summary of rights, benefits, and obligations which have accrued as a result of military service. 1952. 51 p.

20¢ **Catalog No. D 101.22:21–53**

☐ **DISEASES OF CULTIVATED LUPINES IN THE SOUTHEAST.** Discusses briefly the appearance, or symptoms, of diseased plants, the cause of the disease, and, if known, the control measures for disease. 1952. 18 p. il.

10¢ **Catalog No. A 1.9:2053**

☐ **DRYING EAR CORN WITH HEATED AIR.** Provides drawings of equipment and type of cribs needed to dry crop and discusses the best methods for efficient use of equipment. 1952. 16 p. il.

10¢ **Catalog No. A 1.35:333**

☐ **DRYING SHELLED CORN AND SMALL GRAIN WITH UNHEATED AIR.** Provides drawings of equipment and type of cribs needed to dry crops and discusses the best methods for efficient use of equipment. 1952. 10 p. il.

10¢ **Catalog No. A 1.35:332**

☐ **FARM DRAINAGE.** Describes the part drainage plays in a farm enterprise, and tells how to plan and do the construction work for both surface and tile drainage. It is a practical guide for both farmers and engineers who deal with the problem. 1952. 37 p. il.

15¢ **Catalog No. A 1.9:2046**

☐ **FEDERAL CONTRIBUTIONS, FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION MANUAL M25–1.** The first four chapters of the manual give general information applicable to the entire program, including over-all program guidance, legal and policy limitations, and the procedures involved in requesting contributions, effecting procurement, and settling accounts. Chapters five through eleven provide objectives, criteria, procedures, and lists of eligible items for various civil-defense programs. 1952. Issued in loose-leaf form.

$1.00 **Catalog No. FCD 1.6:C 76**

☐ **FEDERAL ITEM IDENTIFICATION GUIDES FOR SUPPLY CATALOGING, PART 1.** The publication, issued in loose-leaf form, and sold on a subscription basis, consists of three sections, namely—Section A, alphabetic index of names to descriptive patterns; Section B, numeric index of descriptive patterns to item names and reference drawing groups; Section C, abbreviations and symbols. The purchaser receives the basic manual and biweekly cumulative supplements for an indefinite period.

$3.75 **Catalog No. D 7.8:1**

☐ **INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION REPORTS, VOLUME 283.** Decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States, August–December 1951, including opinions 26042–26143. 1952. 869 p.

Cloth, $3.25 **Catalog No. IC 1.6:283**

☐ **KATYN FOREST MASSACRE, HEARINGS, 82D CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION, PART 6.** Material contained in this part of the Katyn Forest Massacre Committee's record of hearings consists of facts and documents compiled by the Polish Government in Exile in London as its "white paper" on the Katyn massacre. This material was introduced as exhibits 32 and 33 during this committee's hearings held in London. Because of the volume of material contained in the two exhibits, they are being published separately. 1952. Pages 1623–1823, il. map.

45¢ **Catalog No. Y 4.K 15:M 38/pt. 6**

☐ **LAND-GRANT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, A FEDERAL–STATE PARTNERSHIP.** The Federal Security Agency through the Office of Education administers the Federal funds for campus instruction. This bulletin is one of the series issued periodically to make available texts of the laws and rulings under which the agency operates. It is a slight revision of Bulletin 1951, No. 15. 1952. 27 p.

15¢ **Catalog No. FS 5.3:952/21**

☐ **LITERACY EDUCATION.** A series of reprints from School Life entitled: Illiteracy and Manpower Mobilization; Manpower Through Literacy Education; Community Responsibility for Literacy Education; Literacy and the National Welfare; High Cost of Illiteracy; and Educational Attainment of the Adult Population. 1952. 16 p. il.

15¢ **Catalog No. FS 5.7/a:L 712**

☐ **LOW-TEMPERATURE PHYSICS.** Proceedings of the National Bureau of Standards semicentennial symposium on low-temperature physics held at the National Bureau of Standards on March 27, 28, and 29, 1951. 1952. 291 p. il.

Cloth, $1.75 **Catalog No. C 13.4:519**

THE INTRACOASTAL WATERWAY, PARTS I AND II

Boating enthusiasts will certainly want to add these two booklets to their nautical libraries. They include the charts and brief descriptions of the full length of the Intracoastal Waterway from its beginning at Trenton, N. J., to its end at the Gulf port of Brownsville, Tex. Part I consists of the charts showing the Atlantic section from New Jersey to the east coast of Florida; Part II contains the charts of the Gulf route from Florida to Texas.

Catalog No. D 103.2:In 8

☐ **Part I, Atlantic Section.** (1951) 21 pages, 10 charts. **60 Cents**

☐ **Part II, Gulf Section.** (1951) 21 pages, 8 charts. **65 Cents**

☐ **MAKING RADIO WORK FOR YOU—HANDBOOK FOR EXTENSION AGENTS.** A handbook designed to help you use radio. It brings together some ideas on planning and preparing broadcasts so that you can reach many people in a hurry and with little effort. 1952. 24 p. il.

15¢ **Catalog No. A 1.76:42**

☐ **MARKETING AND MANUFACTURING SERVICES AND MARGINS FOR TEXTILES.** Intended as a guide to the orientation of the problems of marketing textiles and its improvement. It will be useful in teaching marketing and in other educational work in colleges and universities. It will also be useful as a guide in adjusting prices and margins in connection with price controls. 1952. 294 p. il.

60¢ **Catalog No. A 1.36:1062**

☐ **PATENT LAWS, JANUARY 1, 1953.** A publication containing the text of the U. S. Code, Title 35, Patents; and sections of other titles of the Code relating to patents or the Patent Office. 1952. 87 p.

25¢ **Catalog No. C 21.7/1:953**

☐ **PRESERVATIVE TREATMENT OF FENCE POSTS AND FARM TIMBERS.** This bulletin advises the farmer on various treatments that may be used and contains information on the value and limitations of each treatment to help him make a choice. 1952. 33 p. il.

15¢ **Catalog No. A 1.9:2049**

☐ **PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND RESEARCH CONFERENCE ON PSYCHOSURGERY, NEW YORK, N. Y., JUNE 2 AND 3, 1950.** The program of the conference included the following discussions: Design of rating scales for psychotic patients; base line data and psychiatric categories; evaluating the environmental situation of the mentally ill patient; analysis of schizophrenia; affectivity and psychosurgery; deterioration and regression; and creativity in psychosurgery patients. 1952. 116 p. il.

75¢ **Catalog No. FS 2.22:P 95/2**

☐ **SMALL PLANT HEALTH AND MEDICAL PROGRAMS.** A report concerned primarily with the services provided in industry by physicians and nurses. In addition to a general discussion of industrial health and medical services and the type and extent of programs now existing in small plants, the report also includes detailed descriptions of several small plant programs. It does not cover the technical aspects of industrial hygiene engineering and chemistry or the clinical aspects of occupational medicine. The report was prepared on the basis of published material, correspondence, and personal interviews. 1952. 213 p. il.

50¢ **Catalog No. FS 2.2:H 34/9**

☐ **3D SET REVISED PAGES TO MEASUREMENT OF VESSELS, JANUARY 1951.** Revised pages to Measurement of Vessels should be substituted for the pages bearing corresponding numbers in that publication. These pages of the 3d set include amendments made by Treasury Decisions, 52982 through 53089. 1952. 4 p.

5¢ **Catalog No. T 17.9/2:V 63/rev. Pages 3**

☐ **UNITED STATES IMPORT DUTIES (1952).** Schedules of articles subject to duty and of articles free of duty as of July 1, 1952, and special and administrative provisions of Tariff Act, as amended, as of July 1, 1952. The publication, issued in loose-leaf form, is sold on a subscription basis. The purchaser receives the basic book and supplemental pages for a period of at least 1 year.

$3.25 **Catalog No. TC 1.10:Im 7/4/952**

☐ **THE UNITED STATES NAVY, A DESCRIPTION OF ITS FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION.** Prepared in order to provide the personnel of the Navy with information concerning its basic organization and is recommended to all who are interested in the direction of its management and operation. 1952. 86 p. il.

50¢ **Catalog No. D 201.2:N 22/952**

☐ **UNITED STATES STATUTES AT LARGE, 1951, VOLUME 65 (IN ONE PART).** Laws and concurrent resolutions enacted during the first session of the Eighty-Second Congress of the United States of America, and reorganization plan No. 1 of 1951, amendment to the Constitution, and proclamations. 1952. xxxiii+778 +A3–A151+B3–B107 +C3–C45+clxvi p.

Cloth, $7.25 **Catalog No. GS 4.111:65**

☐ **WHAT YOU CAN DO NOW.** A folder on family civil defense—preparing the home and family against enemy attack; and training for regular civil defense services, such as warden, fire, police, health, welfare, rescue, staff, communications, engineering, and transportation, plus the Air Force Ground Observer Corps in many States. 1952. 8 p. il.

5¢ **Catalog No. FCD 1.2:W 55**

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1953 No. 3 • January 30, 1953

☐ **ANNUAL REPORT OF TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY, 1952.** The nineteenth annual report covering the activities of the Authority during the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1951, and ending June 30, 1952. Contents—Progress and problems; power for national defense; power system operations; water control operations; chemical engineering development; TVA fertilizers and better land use; problems of local flood control; world significance of TVA. 1952. ix+76+A99 p. pl. map. tab.

35¢ **Catalog No. Y 3.T 25:1/952**

☐ **BUILDING AMERICA'S HEALTH.** A report to the President by the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, Volume 1, Findings and Recommendations, which includes the Commission's principles, major findings, and recommendations. 1952. 80 p. il.

50¢ **Catalog No. Pr 33.19:B 86/v. 1**

☐ **CENSUS OF POPULATION, 1950: VOLUME 1, NUMBER OF INHABITANTS.** A report of the seventeenth decennial census of the United States, presenting statistics on the number of inhabitants for States, counties, and minor civil divisions, with separate figures for cities and other incorporated places, for unincorporated places, for wards of cities of 5,000 inhabitants or more, and for urbanized areas. 1952. [1,384] p. il. maps.

Cloth, $7.00 **Catalog No. C 3.950–7/5:1**

CIVIL DEFENSE TECHNICAL BULLETINS. Present digests of technical information on various subjects.

☐ TB–11–8. Permissible emergency levels of radioactivity in water and food. 1952. 2 p.

5¢ **Catalog No. FCD 1.3:11–8**

☐ TB–11–9. Emergency measurements of radioactivity in food and water. 1952. 2 p.

5¢ **Catalog No. FCD 1.3:11–9**

☐ TB–14–1. Construction and adaptation of structures for rescue training. 1952. 4 p.

5¢ **Catalog No. FCD 1.3:14–1**

☐ **DIRECTORY OF COMMODITIES AND SERVICES EXEMPTED OR SUSPENDED FROM PRICE CONTROL.** Covers all regulations issued through December 18, 1952, and contains an alphabetical index of commodities and services which have been exempted or suspended from price control. Also included is a list of OPS regulations which contain exemption or suspension provisions. The listing should not be considered as a legal source of information on items removed from price control but as a guide to information which is current to date of issuance only, since it may be altered or superseded by subsequent actions. 3d edition. 1952. 71 p.

35¢ **Catalog No. ES 3.10/2:952–3**

☐ **DRAFT ACT GOVERNING HOSPITALIZATION OF THE MENTALLY ILL, REVISED SEPTEMBER 1952.** The provisions of this Draft Act can be sincerely recommended as a forward step in the handling of the mentally ill and in the maximum utilization of our mental hospital facilities. 1952. 36 p.

15¢ **Catalog No. FS 2.22:M 52/2/952**

☐ **EDUCATION IN TURKEY.** A study based on data gathered in Turkey in June 1951 and supplemented since then through documentation. While data include necessary information needed by the school officials who deal with student transfers, the scope of the material presented is wide enough to be useful to scholars in the field of comparative education, particularly those who are interested in knowing the role that education plays in the life of the New Republic. 1952. 96 p. il.

30¢ **Catalog No. FS 5.3:952/10**

☐ **EFFECTIVE COMPETITION.** Report to the Secretary of Commerce by his Business Advisory Council with a letter of comment from the Secretary of Commerce. The objective of the report is to state the problems and to provide a practical approach for improving the administration and interpretation of the various antitrust laws. 1952. 21 p.

15¢ **Catalog No. C 1.2:C 73/11**

☐ **HEARINGS BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION.** The Commission held 30 sessions of hearings in 11 cities scattered across the entire country. These hearings, held on September 30, and October 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 27, 28, 29, 1952, were scheduled as a means of obtaining some appraisal of representative and responsible views on this subject. This volume includes some very valuable information, a goodly proportion of which has not hitherto been available in discussions of immigration and naturalization. 1952. 2,089 p.

$4.50 **Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/1:Im 6**

☐ **THE JOB AHEAD FOR DEFENSE MOBILIZATION.** The eighth quarterly report, and the final one of Henry H. Fowler, Director of Defense Mobilization, January 1, 1953. Describes defense mobilization in mid-passage, producing military equipment, industrial expansion and the relief of shortages, completing and maintaining the mobilization base, meeting the needs for manpower, and stabilizing prices and wages. 1952. 51 p. il.

30¢ **Catalog No. Pr 33.1008:8**

☐ **KATYN FOREST MASSACRE.** Final report of the Select Committee to Conduct an Investigation and Study of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre, pursuant to H. Res. 390 and H. Res. 539, 82d Congress, a resolution to authorize the investigation of the mass murder of Polish officers in the Katyn Forest near Smolensk, Russia. 1952. 45 p. maps.

15¢ **Catalog No. 82–2:H.rp.2505**

☐ **KATYN FOREST MASSACRE, HEARINGS, 82D CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION, PART 7.** Hearings held in Washington, D. C., June 3, 4, and November 11, 12, 13, 14, 1952, on the investigation of the murder of thousands of Polish officers in the Katyn Forest near Smolensk, Russia. 1952. p. 1825–2362.

$1.25 **Catalog No. Y 4.K 15:M 38/pt.7**

☐ **MAP OF UNITED STATES SHOWING LOCATION OF DRAINED AGRICULTURAL LANDS, 1950.** Issued by the Census Bureau, as part of the 17th Census of the United States, 1950. Scale 300 m.=2.7 in. 1952. 18 x 28 in.

30¢ **Catalog No. C 3.62/2:D 78**

☐ **MARKETS AFTER THE DEFENSE EXPANSION.** This document is the most authentic and detailed appraisal of business prospects for the next few years which has been presented to the American businessman. Its object is to be helpful. It attempts only to present the facts with ample words of caution as to the fallibility of human judgment and the shortcomings of powers of prophecy. 1952. 90 p. il.

55¢ **Catalog No. C 18.2:M 34/15**

☐ **OBJECTIVES OF UNITED STATES MATERIALS RESOURCES POLICY AND SUGGESTED INITIAL STEPS IN THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENT.** Report by the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board based on the report of the President's Materials Policy Commission and Federal Agency comments thereon. The report is divided into two parts. The first part discusses briefly some of the important objectives in regard to the management of our natural resources that could be sought through the development of national materials policies and programs. Part two goes into some detail to show in relation to each formal recommendation of the Commission: (a) the proposal of the Resources Board; (b) the position of agencies directly concerned with the recommendation; and (c) the reasons supporting the Resources Board proposal. 1952. 101 p.

50¢ **Catalog No. Pr 33.702:M 41**

ATOMIC POWER AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

☐ As our atomic energy program progresses, private industry becomes more and more interested in harnessing its power for peacetime use. The recent start of construction on an atomic powered submarine has even further increased industry's interest.

Prepared by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, this 409-page report contains numerous statements, proposals, and recommendations of private enterprise for the production and use of atomic energy in various fields of endeavor. Many statements of the Atomic Energy Commission dealing with this subject are included, so that a "pro" and "con" basis exists.

For those in private industry working on atomic power, this book is indispensable. (1952) 409 pages.

Paper, $1.00 **Catalog No. Y4.At7/2:En8**

☐ **OFFICIAL REGISTER OF THE UNITED STATES, 1952.** A list, compiled by the U. S. Civil Service Commission, of persons occupying administrative and supervisory positions in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Federal Government, and in the District of Columbia Government, as of May 1, 1952. 1952. 804 p.

Cloth, $2.50 **Catalog No. CS 1.31:952**

☐ **PENSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.** Study prepared for the Joint Committee on the Economic Report by the National Planning Association. It covers existing pension arrangements, an area of agreement, the economics of pensions, and major questions of public policy. 1952. 106 p.

30¢ **Catalog No. Y 4.Ec 7:P 38**

☐ **RADIO AND TELEVISION BIBLIOGRAPHY.** A wide variety of books on both radio and television as well as published studies which have contributed to the rapid advancement of radio and the electronic arts in the past few years are included in this bibliography. It will be of great value to all those who are carrying on the work of radio and television in education and particularly to those who are contemplating such work at this time. 1952. 48 p.

20¢ **Catalog No. FS 5.3:952/18**

☐ **RUBBER, FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT BY THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE.** The fourth report to the President and to the Congress covering operations under the Rubber Act of 1948, which establishes the general policy of the United States on rubber matters. This report covers principal developments in the rubber program and the rubber operations of the Department of Commerce from July 1, 1951, through June 30, 1952. 48 p.

20¢ **Catalog No. C 1.28:951–52**

☐ **RULES OF PRACTICE OF UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE IN PATENT CASES, JANUARY 1, 1953.** Rules governing the practice and procedure in the Patent Office with respect to applications for patent and related matters, and the recognition of attorneys and agents, adopted and promulgated, effective March 1, 1949, after publication of proposed rules and a public hearing, and consideration of the material and arguments submitted, and have been amended from time to time since that date. The present edition contains the amendments effective January 1, 1953, which were made in view of the new patent law, Public Law 593, 82d Congress, 2d Session. 1952. 147 p.

40¢ **Catalog No. C 21.14:P 27/953**

☐ **SCHOOL FACILITIES SURVEY, SECOND PROGRESS REPORT.** The School Facilities Survey, which the 81st Congress authorized by Title I of Public Law 815, is organized as a series of State surveys of public elementary and secondary school facilities. This, the Second Progress Report, provides information on the current needs for additional school plant facilities and on the State and local resources currently available for meeting these needs. 1952. 63 p. il.

35¢ **Catalog No. FS 5.46:2**

☐ **SCIENCE FACILITIES FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS.** Guiding principles and suggestions for planning and developing instructional facilities for science teaching. The suggestions will be helpful not only to science supervisors and teachers, but also to school administrators, architects, boards of education, and school housing specialists, who share the responsibility for planning and developing school facilities for science instruction. 1952. 39 p. il.

25¢ **Catalog No. FS 5.30:17**

☐ **16TH SET REVISED PAGES TO CUSTOMS REGULATIONS OF 1943.** Revised pages to the Customs Regulations of 1943 are printed every two months and should be substituted for the pages bearing corresponding numbers in that publication. These pages of the 16th Set include amendments made by Treasury Decisions 53090 through 53131. 1952. [30] p.

25¢ **Catalog No. T 17.9:943/rev.2/rev.pages 16**

☐ **WHOM WE SHALL WELCOME.** A report of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, presenting the result of the Commission's study, and containing the recommendations for an immigration policy best suited, in its judgment, to the interests, needs, and security of the United States. This study and recommendations will contribute to public understanding of this vital matter, and assist the Congress in the consideration of legislation to improve the immigration and naturalization laws and policies of the United States. 1952. 319 p. il.

75¢ **Catalog No. Pr 33.18:R 29**

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1953 No. 6 • March 13, 1953

☐ **ANNUAL REPORT OF CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, 1952.** A report of the activities of the Board for the period of July 1, 1951, to June 30, 1952, with statistical data presented for the same period. An introduction to the report discusses certain of the principal problems facing the civil aviation industry and the Board as of October 15, 1952. This discussion is based in part on developments subsequent to the close of fiscal year 1952. 1953. 61 p. il. maps.

50¢ **Catalog No. C 31.201:952**

☐ **ANNUAL REPORT OF FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION, 1952.** The 38th annual report of the Federal Trade Commission, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1952. Describes a vital Commission problem, gives economic reports, and information relating to antimonopoly work, antideceptive practices work, industry cooperation, work in defense mobilization program, and appropriations and obligations. 1953. 146 p.

40¢ **Catalog No. FT 1.1:952**

☐ **ARMED SERVICES PROCUREMENT REGULATION, REVISION NO. 9.** Revision 9, January 16, 1953, consists of revised pages for sections 7 and 9. Also contains notes and filing instructions. 1953. [16] p.

15¢ **Catalog No. M 1.8/2:9**

☐ **ARMED SERVICES PROCUREMENT REGULATION, REVISION NO. 10.** Revision 10, January 23, 1953, consists of revised pages for sections 12 and 13. Also contains notes and filing instructions. 1953. [13] p.

10¢ **Catalog No. M 1.8/2:10**

☐ **ASSURING PUBLIC SAFETY IN CONTINENTAL WEAPONS TESTS.** Major activities in atomic energy programs, July–December 1952, condensed AEC annual financial report, fiscal year 1952, and public safety in continental weapons tests 1953. 210 p. il.

50¢ **Catalog No. Y 3.At 7:2Sa 1**

☐ **BUILDING AMERICA'S HEALTH: VOL. 4, FINANCING HEALTH PROGRAM FOR AMERICA.** A report to the President by the President's Commission on Health Needs of the Nation. Facts and ideas in regard to financing a health program for America are presented in this volume. This part of the report of the Commission was prepared in order to bring together in one volume some of the basic facts on health expenditures and to include the excellent statements presented to the Commission by the participants in the Panel on Financing a Health Program. These participants represented many different points of view as well as a wide diversity of experience. 1953. 363 p. il.

$1.50 **Catalog No. Pr 33.19:B 86/v. 4**

☐ **BUILDING AMERICA'S HEALTH: VOL. 5, THE PEOPLE SPEAK, EXCERPTS FROM REGIONAL PUBLIC HEARINGS ON HEALTH.** A report to the President by the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. This volume is composed of selections from the testimony of the nearly 400 witnesses who appeared at the eight public hearings held by the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. During August and September, public hearings were held in Philadelphia, Dallas, Raleigh, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland, and San Francisco. 1953. 521 p.

$2.50 **Catalog No. Pr 33.19:B 86/v. 5**

☐ **CAMPAIGN ON NEW BRITAIN.** A monograph prepared by the Historical Branch, Headquarters U. S. Marine Corps, and designed to give both a casual reader and the military student an accurate and complete account of the operations in which Marine units participated during World War II. While the campaign on New Britain was conducted under the aegis of the Southwest Pacific commander, and the first assault landing was made at Arawe by an Army regimental combat team, Army activities are treated herein only as necessary to lend perspective and substance to the over-all account. This was done in the belief that Army agencies are better qualified to deal with Army operations, and would prefer to tell the Army story themselves. The volume contains many reproductions of photographs, and several maps. 1952. 220 p. il. maps.

Stiff back, $3.75 **Catalog No. D 214.2:N 42b**

☐ **CONSTITUTION, JEFFERSON'S MANUAL, AND RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.** Consists of the text of the Constitution of the United States, Jefferson's manual of parliamentary practice, and rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, 83d Congress, with notes and annotations. 1953. 719 p.

$1.75 **Catalog No. 82–2:H. doc. 564**

☐ **EDUCATION DIRECTORY, 1952–53, PART 1, FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND STATES.** Lists principal State school officers, by States, executive officers of State library extension agencies, by States, and principal education officers in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. 1953. 56 p.

20¢ **Catalog No. FS 5.25:952–53/pt. 1**

☐ **18TH ANNUAL REPORT OF SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION, FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1952.** Presents administration of the Securities Act of 1933, Securities Exchange Act of 1934, and Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, participation of the Commission in corporate reorganizations under chapter 10 of the Bankruptcy Act, as amended, administration of the Trust Indenture Act of 1939, and administration of the Investment Company Act of 1940. 1953. 253 p.

75¢ **Catalog No. SE 1.1:952**

☐ **ENGINEERING EQUIPMENT STOCKPILED FOR EMERGENCY WATER SUPPLY USE, CIVIL DEFENSE TECHNICAL BULLETIN 13–1.** This bulletin briefly describes the types of engineering equipment and material which FCDA recommends for use in emergency water supply systems. 1952. 4 p. il.

15¢ **Catalog No. FCD 1.6/3:13–1**

☐ **FOREIGN TRADE ZONES.** Text of the Foreign Trade Zones Act, as amended, Foreign-Trade Zones Board regulations, governing the establishment, operation, maintenance and administration of foreign-trade zones in the United States, with rules of procedure, and forms, and Bureau of Customs regulations relating to foreign-trade zones, effective July 11, 1952. The booklet is issued as an aid to foreign traders and other prospective users of the facilities at United States foreign-trade zones, currently in operation at the following ports of entry: New York, New Orleans, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and San Antonio. 1952. 58 p.

20¢ **Catalog No. FTZ 1.2:R 26/952**

☐ **INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION REPORTS, VOLUME 284.** Decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States, December 1951–May 1952, opinions 26144–26241. 1952. 875 p.

Cloth, $3.25 **Catalog No. IC 1.6:284**

☐ **MARINES IN THE CENTRAL SOLOMONS.** An historical monograph treating Marine operations during the recent war with Japan. The study concerns those Solomon Islands actions fought between the Guadalcanal and Bougainville areas. It deals primarily with Marine units in the belief that the activities of other services are more properly covered by their own historical studies. It contains many reproductions of photographs, and several maps. 1952. 186 p. il. maps.

Stiff back, $2.75 **Catalog No. D 214.2:So 4**

Important Immigration and Nationality Regulations in the December 19, 1952 issue of the Federal Register!

LATEST IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY REGULATIONS

☐ The latest rules amending the Immigration and Nationality Act are set forth in this December 19, 1952 issue of the *Federal Register*. In the 96 pages devoted to this subject are listed all of the current amendments to Chapter I, Title 8 of the Code of Federal Regulations. *As this is the only form in which these regulations have been published by the Department of Justice,* it is a "must" for individuals and organizations having an interest in the immigration laws of this country.

25¢ **Catalog No. GS 4.107:17/247**

☐ **MILITARY STANDARD, PREPARATION FOR DELIVERY OF MATERIALS HANDLING EQUIPMENT AND SPECIAL PURPOSE VEHICLES FOR DOMESTIC AND OVERSEAS SHIPMENT AND STORAGE, MIL–STD–162.** This standard provides general instructions for the preparation of warehouse materials handling equipment for shipment or extended immobile storage. 1953. 11 p.

15¢ **Catalog No. D 7.10:162**

☐ **NATIONAL HEART INSTITUTE.** On June 16, 1948, the President signed into law a measure unanimously passed by Congress called the "National Heart Act," which authorized the Public Health Service to launch the first comprehensive Government attack on diseases of the heart and circulation. It created the National Heart Institute as a special agency to carry out the special job. This little booklet presents information on the National Heart Institute. 1953. 24 p. il.

15¢ **Catalog No. FS 2.22:H 35/3**

☐ **SOCIAL SECURITY IN THE UNITED STATES, NEW EDITION 1952.** People often ask the Social Security Administration for a brief description of social security in the United States. This pamphlet, which revises and brings up to date an earlier publication of the same title, is an effort to provide a reply to these requests. 1953. 65 p. il.

25¢ **Catalog No. FS 3.2:So 13/11/952**

☐ **SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD, SECOND ANNUAL REPORT.** The Board functions in the field of subversive activities. Upon petitions filed by the Attorney General against organizations alleged by him to be of Communist-action or Communist-front character, the Board determines whether a preponderance of the evidence proves them to be such. The report is presented in five parts—The Internal Security Act of 1950; Membership of the Board; Proceedings before the Board; Court proceedings; and Fiscal personnel data. 1953. 13 p.

15¢ **Catalog No. Y 3.Su 1:1/952**

☐ **SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS, JULY 1, 1947, TO JUNE 30, 1952.** Lists the publications of the National Bureau of Standards from July 1, 1947, to June 30, 1952. A brief abstract for each publication is given. Subject and author indexes are included, and general publication information is furnished. 1952 [issued 1953]. 223 p.

75¢ **Catalog No. C 13.4:460/supp. 4**

☐ **TABLES OF COMPUTED ALTITUDE AND AZIMUTH, LATITUDES 60°—69°, INCLUSIVE.** These tables consist of tabulated solutions of the navigational triangle, so arranged as to yield computed altitude and azimuth angle by inspection. The tables are applicable equally to observations of the sun, moon, planets, and navigational stars, whether observed in north or south latitude. For convenience, the values for only 10 degrees of latitude are included in each volume. 1952. 265 p. il.

Cloth, $3.00 **Catalog No. D 203.22:214/v. 7**

☐ **UNITED STATES ARMY IN WORLD WAR II, CHINA-BURMA-INDIA THEATER—STILWELL'S MISSION TO CHINA.** Reading the history of the China-Burma-India Theater will be an eye opener and a lesson to those who, in the future, have to deal with allies in far distant lands about whom so much should be known and so little is. A careful reading of the volume will emphasize the necessity on the part of the leading participants in a combined venture to understand the characteristics and over-all objectives of the nations as well as the individuals concerned in the endeavor. If such an understanding is present, and if due weight is given by those involved in negotiations as well as in the execution of the plans, the better will be the result. 1953. 441 p. il., maps in pocket.

Cloth, $5.00 **Catalog No. D 114.7:C 44/v. 1**

☐ **VEGETABLE GARDENERS' HANDBOOK ON INSECTS AND DISEASES.** This publication formerly issued as Miscellaneous Publication 605, was prepared to aid the gardener in identifying the more common insects and related forms and the more common diseases that attack vegetable gardens in the United States and to provide him with simple directions for the control of these pests. 1953. 30 p. il.

20¢ **Catalog No. A 1.77:23**

☐ **YOUTH—THE NATION'S RICHEST RESOURCE, THEIR EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT NEEDS.** A report prepared by the Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth of the Federal Government. This report shows the ways in which our young people in their teens are being helped to get the kind of education and employment opportunities that prepare them for their adult responsibilities. It also shows the many wide gaps between the services that are in fact made available to young people and the services that we know should be given them if they are to meet these responsibilities successfully. 1953. 54 p. il.

20¢ **Catalog No. Y 3.In 8/6:2 Y 8**

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☐ **AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS, 1952.** A volume which brings together the more important series of statistics concerning agriculture and closely related subjects. A particular effort has been made to meet the diverse interests and needs of the general public for a reliable reference book on agricultural production, supplies, consumption, facilities, costs, and returns. The tables presented cover a wide variety of facts in forms suited to most common uses. 1952 [issued 1953]. 876 p.

$2.00 **Catalog No. A 1.47:952**

☐ **AIR FORCE REGISTER, JANUARY 1, 1953.** Presents the active list of the United States Air Force, losses and changes on the active list, promotion lists, warrant officer list, regular Air Force retired list, retired list of those Air Force officers of other than the Regular Air Force, warrant officer retired list, and temporary disability retired list. 1953. 599 p.

$3.25 **Catalog No. D 303.7:953**

☐ **ANC PROCEDURES FOR THE CONTROL OF AIR TRAFFIC.** A manual of air traffic control procedures officially adopted by the United States Navy Department, the United States Air Force, the United States Coast Guard, and the Civil Aeronautics Administration to standardize the operation of the air traffic control services. The manual is sold on a subscription basis. The purchaser receives the basic book and supplementary service for an indefinite period.

$1.00 **Catalog No. C 31.106/2:953**

☐ **ARMED SERVICES PROCUREMENT REGULATION, REVISION NO. 15.** Revision 15, March 6, 1953, consists of revised pages for sections 1, 2, and 9. Also contains notes and filing instructions. 1953. [9] p.

10¢ **Catalog No. M 1.8/2:15**

☐ **ARMED SERVICES PROCUREMENT REGULATION, REVISION NO. 16.** Revision 16, March 16, 1953, consists of revised pages for section 1. Also contains notes and filing instructions. 1953. [12] p.

10¢ **Catalog No. M 1.8/2:16**

☐ **BACKGROUND—MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO LATIN AMERICA.** There has been some criticism of the military assistance program in Latin America on the grounds that it violates the best interests of the Latin American countries themselves. Is this charge valid? Pamphlet provides the answer to this and other questions relating to cooperative military assistance arrangements in the Western Hemisphere. 1953. 7 p. il. map.

5¢ **Catalog No. S 1.26:44**

☐ **COMPLETE LIST OF LIGHTS AND OTHER MARINE AIDS, PACIFIC COAST OF THE UNITED STATES, VOLUMES I–V, CORRECTED TO JANUARY 1, 1953.** Lights and other marine aids to navigation maintained by or under authority of the United States Coast Guard on the Pacific Coast of the United States, Alaska, and the Pacific islands. For the convenience of mariners, there are also included the lighted aids, fog signals, and radiobeacons maintained by British Columbia which may be used by vessels proceedings directly from the United States to Alaska. 1953. xv+288+11 p. il. pl.

$1.75 **Catalog No. T 47.25:953**

☐ **CROSS INDEX OF CHEMICALLY EQUIVALENT SPECIFICATIONS AND IDENTIFICATION CODE (FERROUS AND NONFERROUS ALLOYS), OCTOBER 29, 1952.** The information included in this publication, which is designated as Handbook DSMA H 1, has been obtained from the various organizations whose specifications are included and is up to date to the best of the knowledge of the preparing agency. However, using agencies should review their specifications listed herein to assure that changes in their specifications effected since the cutoff date for publication in this document are not overlooked. 1953. 320 p.

$1.00 **Catalog No. D 7.6/2:1**

☐ **DIGEST OF RADIO REGULATIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR RESTRICTED RADIOTELEPHONE OPERATORS, JANUARY 1953.** A brief digest of some of the most essential provisions of treaty, law, and regulation which pertain to the operation of radio stations of restricted radiotelephone operator permits. 1953. 4 p.

5¢ **Catalog No. CC 1.6:R 11/2/953**

☐ **DIRECTORY OF METALWORKING MACHINERY (1951 REVISION), FIRST ADDENDUM, DECEMBER 1952.** Supplements the list of manufacturers of metalworking machinery contained in the 1951 revision of the *Directory of Metalworking Machinery*. It lists new (or previously unlisted) manufacturers and their metalworking machinery product reported since publication of the 1951 revision, as well as manufacturers shown in that revision who have reported new machines not previously listed. 1953. 75 p.

45¢ **Catalog No. D 3.2:M 56/951/Add. 1**

249466–p

☐ **HOUSING RESEARCH NO. 5, MARCH 1953.** Contains the following articles: Is your roof construction leaking dollars? Selection of durable exterior white house paint; New home price shifts, 1951–52 under credit controls as amended in 1951; The fully insulated house; Better building codes through better administration. 1953. 75 p. il.

40¢ **Catalog No. HH 1.9/2:5**

☐ **INDEX OF FEDERAL SPECIFICATIONS AND STANDARDS, JANUARY 1, 1953.** The index is sold on a subscription basis only. The purchaser receives the basic book and 11 monthly cumulative supplements as issued.

$1.75 **Catalog No. GS 2.8/2:953**

☐ **INDEX OF TRADE-MARKS ISSUED FROM UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE, 1952.** A list of trade-mark applicants published for opposition, list of trade-mark registrants, classified list of trade-mark registrations, decisions published in the Official Gazette. 1953. 815 p.

$3.25 **Catalog No. C 21.5/3:952**

☐ **MAXIMUM PERMISSIBLE AMOUNTS OF RADIOISOTOPES IN THE HUMAN BODY AND MAXIMUM PERMISSIBLE CONCENTRATIONS IN AIR AND WATER.** With the increasing use of radioactive isotopes by industry, the medical profession, and research laboratories, it is essential that certain minimal precautions be taken to protect the users and the public. The recommendations contained in this Handbook represent what is believed to be the best available opinions on the subject as of this date. 1953. 45 p.

20¢ **Catalog No. C 13.11:52**

☐ **POINT 4, WHAT IT IS, HOW IT WORKS.** The hopes of hundreds of millions of people in the economically underdeveloped countries for a higher standard of living can become a reality only with the development of the resources of these countries. The main effort in developing their resources must come from the people themselves. Some assistance from the outside, however, is essential. Such assistance may be in the form of technical training needed by these countries. In the total program of the United States Government for the economic development of these countries, the provision of technical knowledge plays a vitally important part. This booklet deals with this part of our Government's total program. 1953. 12 p.

5¢ **Catalog No. S 1.65:39**

☐ **RADIO FREQUENCY POWER MEASUREMENTS.** The increasing use of radio frequency power underlines the need for accurate methods of measurement. This circular presents a brief delineation, including theoretical background, practical limitations, and advantages of the methods currently in use. 1953. 16 p. il.

15¢ **Catalog No. C 13.4:536**

MERCHANT MARINE STATISTICS, 1952

☐ This publication should be of interest to persons in many fields of business. It contains a statistical breakdown, in numerous categories, of data regarding documented vessels of the United States merchant marine, including yachts, as of January 1, 1952. Several of these categories list documented vessels under types of rigs, kind of documents, materials of build, age, services, tonnage, horsepower groupings, laid-up vessels, and those removed from documentation. (1953) 85 pages.

25¢ **Catalog No. T 17.10:952**

☐ **REPORT WITH RESPECT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS TO CONDUCT AN INVESTIGATION OF BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, PURSUANT TO H. RES. 698 (82D CONGRESS).** A compilation of material relating to the Indians of the United States and the Territory of Alaska, including certain laws and treaties affecting such Indians. 1953. 1594+xlvii p., 157 pages of maps, pl.

$4.25 **Catalog No. 82–2:H. rp. 2503**

☐ **RESIDENTIAL MORTGAGE FINANCING, JACKSONVILLE, FLA., FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1950.** A study by Bureau of Economic and Business Research, College of Business Administration, University of Florida. The study is centered on mortgages arranged and completed for the financing of home purchases. The main purpose is to determine the facility and describe the operations whereby such financing may be obtained within the Jacksonville mortgage market. A secondary purpose is to develop methods or techniques which might be applied in conducting similar studies in other cities. 1953. 97 p. il.

45¢ **Catalog No. HH 1.8:23**

☐ **ROAD TO INDUSTRIAL PEACE.** A meeting place for management, labor, and citizen is here conceived and dedicated to the legislative bodies of the United States of America which shall be known as the Consultative Technical Assembly and provide the functional groups of this Nation with a more direct voice in the development of policy, a 10-year study by Carlton Koepge. 1953. 31 p., 3 charts.

35¢ **Catalog No. 82–2:H. doc. 563**

☐ **SEMIANNUAL REPORT OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, AND SEMIANNUAL REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, THE ARMY, AND THE AIR FORCE, JULY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1952.** The mid-fiscal year reports present the activities of the Military Establishment mainly in statistical form, with the understanding that a comprehensive report, covering the activities for the entire fiscal year 1953, will be submitted after June 30, 1953. 1953. 36 p.

20¢ **Catalog No. D 1.1:952–2**

☐ **SHORT-TERM TRAINING PROGRAM IN AN AIRCRAFT-ENGINE PLANT—TRAINING FOR WOMEN REPORTS.** Describes a recently organized training program for machine-tool operators, conducted by an aircraft-engine plant, showing how large numbers of inexperienced workers can be added to a plant's work force in a very short time. A high proportion of the trainees are women, and women as well as men act as instructors. 1953. 11 p. il.

10¢ **Catalog No. L 13.3:245**

☐ **TABLES OF COMPUTED ALTITUDE AND AZIMUTH LATITUDES 50°–59°, INCLUSIVE.** These tables consist of tabulated solutions of the navigational triangle, so arranged as to yield computed altitude and azimuth angle by inspection. The tables are applicable equally to observations of the sun, moon, planets, and navigational stars, whether observed in north or south latitude. 1952 [issued 1953]. 263 p.

Cloth, $3.00 **Catalog No. D 203.22:214/v. 6**

☐ **UNITED STATES ARMY IN WORLD WAR II, THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC—APPROACH TO THE PHILIPPINES.** Deals principally with highly interesting amphibious and ground operations along the New Guinea coast during 1944 and also relates the Army's part in the conquest of the southern Palau Islands. While primarily a story of ground combat action, the volume describes the activities of the Army's supporting services in sufficient detail to complete the history of the ground operations. 1953. 623 p. il. maps.

Cloth, $5.50 **Catalog No. D 114.7:P 11/v. 3**

☐ **WHEAT STRAWWORM AND ITS CONTROL.** Presents economic importance of control of this pest, distribution, character of injury, life history of the wheat strawworm, natural enemies, and control measures. Revised 1953. 6 p. il.

5¢ **Catalog No. A 1.9:1323/3**

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Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Director of the Human Resources Project, is Professor of Economics at Columbia University. He is the author of several important books on human resources including OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE. Dr. Douglas W. Bray is Research Associate with the Project. He has been with the Study of Education at Princeton University and was Psychologist in the Air Force during World War II.

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Dear Friend:

Every once in a long, long while, a painting, a composition or a book appears which, by its very conception and execution, immediately and inexorably captures the imagination of its potential market.

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Its contributors, as you will note on the enclosure, include: John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State; Henry Steele Commager, American historian emeritus; Supreme Court Justice William O. Duglas; Michigan's own Dr. Virgil Rogers, Superintendent of Schools in Battle Creek; and continues with a gold star roster of the finest minds in our country.

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April 27, 1953

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Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

Your request of April 22 for a copy of the Study on Human Rights has been received. We do not have copies of it for distribution. If you will write to Mrs. Rebecca Barton, Commission on Human Rights, State Capitol, Madison 2, she may be able to provide a copy.

Sincerely yours,

M. G. Toepel, Chief.

MGT:jt

Spring 1953

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THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

New York Inter-Office Memorandum

To: The Files

From: Ruth Morton Date: August 4, 1953

Subject: Bibliography - Ashmore Study

The following bibliography has been compiled under the subject headings being used for the Ashmore study, e. g., states, the non-south, legal, etc. There is a wealth of background material on attitudes, general progress, and expected outcomes of court decisions. No attempt has been made to list this except in a few instances in which the general borders on the specific. There is a very limited amount of material relating specific stories about desegregation where it has occurred.

Materials have been gathered from the following sources:

I. New York Public Library

1. Main Branch, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street

Education Index: lists articles appearing in educational journals, and elsewhere; checked back to 1945.

New York Times Index: detailed index of the newspaper; checked 1945-1953.

Public Affairs Information Service: Index of articles, books, etc. from all periodicals and magazines; checked 1945-53.

Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature: largely repetitive of Education Index and Public Affairs Information Service.

Journal of Negro Education: articles checked from 1939.

2. New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch.

Clip file on each state; this file is very incomplete; is not scientifically built up. Information available has been woven into descriptions of segregation and/or integration statement.

The Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature and History. This collection while of little value for this study should be kept in mind because of its wealth of background material. It includes such items as the field notes and memoranda collected for Gunnar Mrydal's "An American Dilemma;" microfilm files of about 50 newspapers; source materials in Haitian history, etc.

3. Teacher's Library, 127 East 58th St. This library has a compilation of all the school laws of all the states, including laws on segregation.

II. Howard University Library.

This library has very little material on segregation status in the public schools; it does have the Arthur Spingarn Library of books by and about Negroes. Very valuable for background material.

III. Teacher's College Library, Columbia University.

Materials lists compiled by Miss Thompson.

IV. Time Magazine Library.

Time Magazine keeps only a clip service from New York newspapers (mostly the New York Times and the Herald-Tribune) dating back three years; older clips are destroyed. Background material gathered by their field research staff is not available to us unless clearance can be secured "at the top."

V. Reference and Research Library, Board of Education, New York City; 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn; Room 736.

This library has many "sample" reports from cities and states from all over the country. Atlanta Georgia's 1952 report gives an excellent summary (with spot maps) of location of white and Negro schools, statistical data, etc. Philadelphia's 1952 report gives the number of Negro children and white children attending the public schools, but indicates no other data by race. Indianapolis reports, for several years back, list schools by number indicating pupil transfers from one to another "to relieve overcrowding" or "to facilitate better use of equipment." No mention is made of race, or of integration of races in the schools. None of the other reports available, many of which were from the south, mentioned race, nor did they give a breakdown of separate schools showing enrollment, per capita costs, etc.

VI. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Clipping File.

VII. American Jewish Committee Library.

Little material on specific places where integration has occurred.

VIII. New York Times Library.

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Dickerson, Earl B., "Negro Rights and the Supreme Court," The Nation, July 12, 1952, p. 26. General statement on rights of Negroes.

Editorial Research Reports, Vol. II, No. 19, Nov. 21, 1947;
Contents of Report:
a) Segregation and Civil Rights of the Negro.
b) Development and Spread of Negro Segregation.
c) High Cost of Bi-Racialism in America.
d) Prospects of Change in Segregation Pattern.
Attitude forming material; general statements; no specific information.

Journal of Negro Education
Yearbook Number XVI, Summer 1947, gives a state by state summary of available educational facilities for Negroes in the Southeast.

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Jans, Ralph T., "Racial Integration at Berea College, 1950-52," Vol. XXII, #1, Winter 1953, p. 26.

"The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation: A Social Science Statement," Vol. XXII, #1, Winter 1953; statement on psychological effects of segregation on both white and Negro children; signed by 32 authorities in the fields of anthropology, sociology, psychology, and psychiatry.

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Contents of Report:
a) Postwar changes in segregation pattern (political power, housing, recreation, public facilities; difficult problems.)
b) Retreat of separateness in education; opening of southern universities to Negroes; moves against segregation in lower schools; race practices in public schools in the North; by-product gains for Negroes in separate systems.
c) Effects of rise in Negroe's economic status.
d) Differences on anti-segregation strategy. Brief statements mentioning general gains made: no specific information.

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Fierst, Edith Udell, "Constitutionality of Educational Segregation," George Washington Law Review, Vol. 17, No.2, February 1949, p.208. Summary of court decisions; excellent footnotes listing all lawsuits and dates, with background material such as, "why Negroes have been slow to bring action"; why cases have been lost in the courts; why success in the courts has not always meant success in fact, etc.

"Grade School Segregation: The Latest Attack on Racial Discrimination," The Yale Law Journal, Vol. 61, No. 5, May 1952, p. 730. Excellent summary of grade school cases; very valuable footnotes, giving a summary of college cases and background for all cases.

Hobbs, E. H. "Negro Education and the Equal Protection of the Laws," The Journal of Politics, Vol. 14, No.3, August 1952, p. 488. A summary of lawsuits and a plea to go slow from a professor at the University of Mississippi.

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New York Times, Feb. 4, 1948. Mr. Bustard sent a questionnaire to all county school supts. to measure segregation and to ascertain the status of Negro teachers.

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Schermer, G., "Race Relations in St. Louis," New York Times, August 2, 1949, p. 14, c.3. Twenty-two recommendations for ending segregation are outlined.

Tipton, James H. "Mass Truancy in Gary," Intercultural Education News, Vol. 9, No. 1, Fall 1947. Available Room 300, N.Y. Public Library, 42nd Street.

Tipton, James H. (Former School Consultant, Detroit, for Intercultural Education), "The Negro Enters the All-White School, A Survey", Intercultural Education News, Vol. 8, No. 1, Fall 1946, p.4-6. Pamphlet available Room 300, N.Y. Public Library, 42nd St. Article valuable for its suggestions of procedure rather than specific information. Mr. Tipton circulated a questionnaire among 40 cities in 16 states. Among the questions asked were: Do you have schools with mixed student bodies? Mixed faculties? How was this brought about? How did you introduce Negro students into an all-white school? How did you introduce Negro teachers into an all-white faculty? Did you have similar problems integrating Jews,

The Non-South: (cont.)

Catholics, Protestants, or persons of differing nationality backgrounds? Were there objections to integration? If so, what was the nature of the objections, and how were they handled? There were 24 replies, from which only three or four examples are given.

Toward Equality in Education, Progress Report of Workshop on Education. Sixth Annual Conference, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, November 13, 1952.

Ohio:

New York Times, October 14, 1952. Segregation was ruled out in Glendale, Ohio on the basis that assignment to public schools cannot be limited by considerations of race, color or creed. Negro children had been assigned to the Eckstein School and all others to the Congress Avenue school.

Cleveland Heights. Miss Grace Miller, Principal of the Taylor School, has reputedly moved to stop segregation of Jews in Cleveland Heights schools.

Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

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SEP 23
Regional Council

September 16, 1953

To: Community Relations Councils
Group Relations Agencies

Subject: Civil Rights Bibliography

The enclosed bibliography was originally prepared for a 15-lecture course on civil rights at the New School for Social Research in New York City. Because it may have a wider interest, I am sending it to you.

Will Maslow

Enc.

September, 1953

CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES
A selected reading list

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II. Federal civil rights laws: the post-Civil War failure

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III. Security of the person - mob rule and Southern mores

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IV. Negro disenfranchisement - keystone of white supremacy

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V. Segregation - the separate but equal fallacy

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Will Maslow

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D.C.

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OCT 26
Southern Regional Council

NEW OFFICE OF EDUCATION PUBLICATION

CURRENT EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL IN CITY SCHOOL SYSTEMS, 1951-52. By Lester B. Herlihy. Office of Education Circular No. 371, July 1953. 39 pages. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. 25 cents.

This circular continues the series of annual reports which the Office of Education has prepared since 1918 on per pupil expenditures in city school systems.

Included in this report are 299 city school systems of all sizes and in all States. They are classified geographically according to the four main United States Census divisions -- Northeast, North Central, South, and West -- as well as by State. All historical figures on expenditures are expressed in terms of a dollar with the same purchasing power as in the school year 1951-52.

"Current Expenditures" include all day-to-day or operational costs, such as salaries and pensions, instructional materials, administrative costs, fuel, repairs and replacements, and pupil transportation. Excluded from current expenditures are capital outlay (school construction) and interest.

This new publication gives a detailed analysis of the instruction account, according to expenditures reported by educational level (elementary vs. secondary school), and also according to type of secondary school (junior high school, senior high school, regular 4-year high school, and junior-senior high school), based on 242 city school systems which furnished the necessary data.

Reports and Technical Services
October 12, 1953

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SPECIAL ASSESSMENT
INDEX

INCLUDES 1950 CENSUS FIGURES FOR 2529 CITIES IN U.S.

THE 1953 MUNICI

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SOME REGULAR FEATURES BROUGHT UP TO DATE

- Number of employees, amount of payroll, extent of civil service, hours worked per week, employee organizations, retirement system, vacations, and organization of personnel agency — for each city over 10,000.
- General revenues, expenditures, and debt data for each city in detail, with summaries by population groups and by purpose. Also expenditures for capital outlay.
- Annual salaries of 21 chief municipal officials by population groups — average, median, and quartiles. Also pay rates for 14 typical positions in 90 cities.
- For each of the 2,529 cities over 5,000 —population, form of government, number of councilmen, term of office and salary, type of election, utilities owned, etc.
- Number of policemen and salary data, police chief's salary, work hours per week, use of one-man cars, and police department expenditures — for cities above 10,000.
- Sources of information, selected standard references, complete list of new books and pamphlets issued in 1952, other sources of statistics, and catalog of model ordinances.
- Fire personnel and salary data, hours worked per week, hours on day shift, fire department expenditures in 1952, fire losses, fire insurance classification for each city.
- Names of chief municipal officials in cities over 10,000—over 8,000 names, by states. Also names of mayors and city clerks in cities of 5,000 to 10,000.
- Cities issuing annual reports and leaflets, important 1952 court decisions affecting cities, summaries of 1952 developments in city activities, and charts showing trends in various fields.

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Revenues, Expenditures, and Debt for Cities over 25,000
Trends in Local Nonproperty Taxes
Use of Special Assessment Financing

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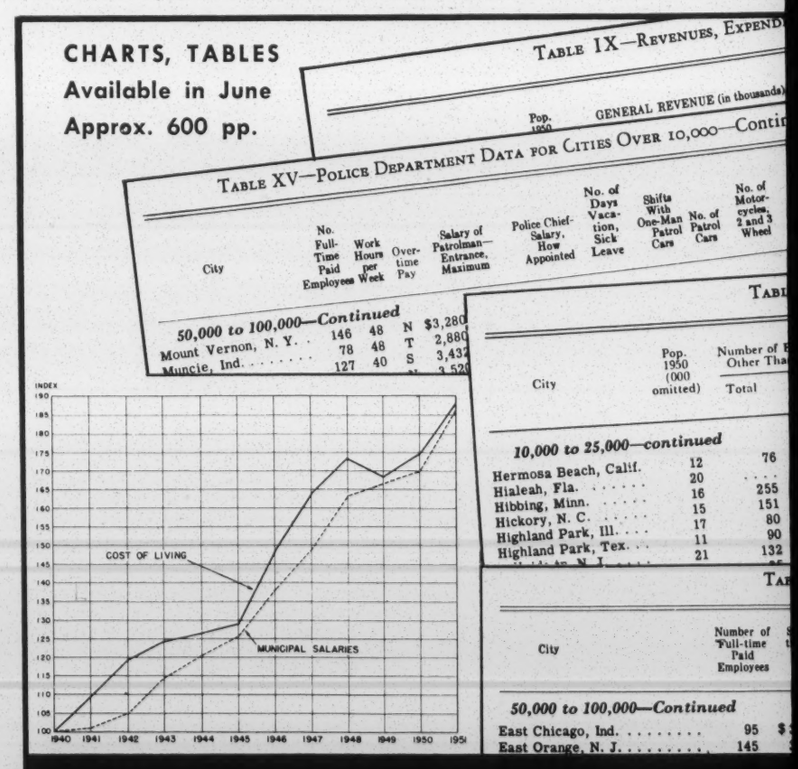

THE BOOK OF THE YEAR

ICIPAL YEAR BOOK

y The International City Managers' Association

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(Condensed)

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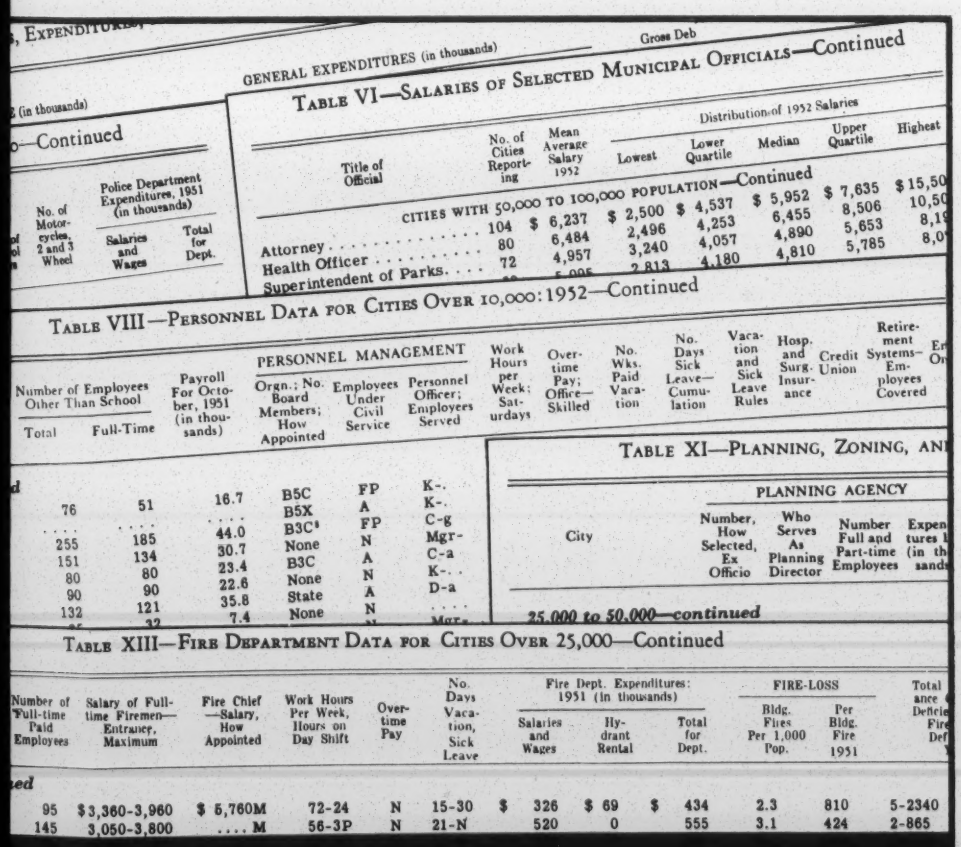

TABLE VI—SALARIES OF SELECTED MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS—Continued

Title of Official	No. of Cities Reporting	Mean Average Salary 1952	Distribution of 1952 Salaries: Lowest	Lower Quartile	Median	Upper Quartile	Highest
CITIES WITH 50,000 TO 100,000 POPULATION—Continued							
Attorney	104	$ 6,237	$ 2,500	$ 4,537	$ 5,952	$ 7,635	$ 15,50
Health Officer	80	6,484	2,496	4,253	6,455	8,506	10,50
Superintendent of Parks	72	4,957	3,240	4,057	4,890	5,653	8,19
		5,095	2,813	4,180	4,810	5,785	8,0

TABLE VIII—PERSONNEL DATA FOR CITIES OVER 10,000: 1952—Continued

Number of Employees Other Than School: Total	Full-Time	Payroll For October, 1951 (in thousands)	Personnel Management: Orgn.; No. Board Members; How Appointed	Employees Under Civil Service	Personnel Officer; Employees Served	Work Hours per Week; Saturdays	Overtime Pay; Office—Skilled	No. Wks. Paid Vacation	No. Days Sick Leave—Cumulation	Vacation and Sick Leave Rules	Hosp. and Surg. Insurance	Credit Union	Retirement Systems—Employees Covered
76	51	16.7	B5C	FP	K-.								
....	....	....	B5X	A	K-.								
255	185	44.0	B3C[3]	FP	C-g								
151	134	30.7	None	N	Mgr-								
80	80	23.4	B3C	A	C-a								
90	90	22.6	None	N	K-. .								
132	121	35.8	State	A	D-a								
	32	7.4	None	N	....								

TABLE XI—PLANNING, ZONING, AN

City	Planning Agency: Number, How Selected, Ex Officio	Who Serves As Planning Director	Number Full and Part-time Employees	Expenditures (in thousands)
25,000 to 50,000—continued				

TABLE XIII—FIRE DEPARTMENT DATA FOR CITIES OVER 25,000—Continued

Number of Full-time Paid Employees	Salary of Full-time Firemen—Entrance, Maximum	Fire Chief—Salary, How Appointed	Work Hours Per Week, Hours on Day Shift	Overtime Pay	No. Days Vacation, Sick Leave	Fire Dept. Expenditures: 1951 (in thousands): Salaries and Wages	Hydrant Rental	Total for Dept.	Fire-Loss: Bldg. Fires Per 1,000 Pop.	Per Bldg. Fire 1951	Total Insurance Defiele Fire Def
95	$3,360-3,960	$ 5,760M	72-24	N	15-30	$ 326	$ 69	$ 434	2.3	810	5-2340
145	3,050-3,800	.... M	56-3P	N	21-N	520	0	555	3.1	424	2-865

AR FOR MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS

SELECTED NEW FEATURES OF THE 1953 ISSUE

Economic Base of Cities

Gives employment-residence rates for each city over 10,000, and shows economic base — manufacturing, retail or wholesale trade, education, government, transportation, etc. Also shows whether a city is an independent city, central city in a metropolitan area, or a suburb — also whether a city is an employing city, a dormitory, or a balanced city. Rent levels also are given and per cent of dwellings built between 1940 and 1950.

Special Assessments

Extent of use of special assessments in financing public improvements, types of improvements financed, kinds of financing used, whether bonds are issued, how costs are divided, number of years property owner has to pay, city's share of cost — for cities over 10,000.

City Planning and Zoning

Controls that have been adopted by each city over 10,000 — a master street plan, capital improvement budget, zoning ordinance, subdivision regulations, types of improvements city requires real estate developers to install in subdivisions, whether city has airport zoning ordinance, whether city furnishes water and sewer service outside the city and amount of charges.

Off-Street Parking

Number of off-street city-owned parking lots, methods of financing lots, amount of municipal investment in parking lots, capacity of lots and facilities, whether equipped with parking meters, charge made for parking, etc. — for each city over 10,000.

Municipal Hospitals

Data on all city-owned hospitals — how hospital is managed, method of selecting superintendent and his salary, number of employees, expenditures, method of financing care of indigent cases, etc.

Fire and Police Data

Summary data on firemen assigned to fire inspection activities and company stations sent out on regular inspection tours, mutual aid and fire protection service outside the city, and extent of box fire alarm systems.

Practices of cities in paying police who testify in court outside regular duty hours, extent of use of women for regular police and traffic work; also trends in use of one-man patrol cars and whether used in commercial and industrial areas, and extent to which uniformed men are assigned to foot patrol.

Small City Data

For cities of 5,000 to 10,000 — special assessment data, nonproperty taxes adopted in 1951 and 1952, city-owned off-street parking lots, and municipal hospital data.

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- **Supplies data on economic base, type of city, rent level, per cent of dwelling units built in 1940-50 decade, and other social and economic data about each city.**
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- **Gives for the first time detailed information on various aspects of special assessment financing of public improvements in cities.**
- *Indicates whether city hall work week is in line with the general practice in the country, region, state.*
- **Helps determine policy on paying overtime to city hall administrative and clerical employees.**
- *Lists hundreds of model or typical ordinances and where they may be obtained.*
- **Helps decide types of planning and zoning controls a city should have.**
- *Furnishes details on how city plan agency is organized, number of employees, expenditures, etc.*
- **Supplies yardstick data in comparing local organization, operating costs, methods with other cities.**
- *Gives up-to-date information on the management and financing of all city-owned hospitals in the U. S.*
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WORKING TOGETHER:

INTEGRATION OF WASHINGTON SCHOOLS

The enclosed AFSC pamphlet is designed to meet the growing need for information about school integration. It considers some of the questions most often asked about integration of the District of Columbia Schools. We invite you to give attention to the pamphlet and to consider its uses with your organization. Additional copies may be obtained from our Washington office.

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Southern Regional Council

EDITOR & PUBLISHER

1884 The Oldest Publishers' and Advertisers Newspaper in America 1952

December 2nd 1954

Anna Holden,
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.,
63 Alburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta-3, Georgia

Thank you, Miss Holden .....
.
..... for your letter of November 29.

Our stock room advises that we are unable to supply a copy of the issue bearing the date of December 13, 1952, that particular edition being one of a series that we do not have for 1952.

May we commend for your consideration the fact that we do make photostats on any page or article if that would suffice in the absence of our not being able to supply you with the issue itself. The charge for such an arrangement is nominal, about $1.00.

Sincerely yours,

John Johnson

for EDITOR & PUBLISHER

SUITE 1700 TIMES TOWER, TIMES SQUARE, NEW YORK 18, N.Y.
TELEPHONES, BRYANT 9-3052-3053-3054-3055-3056

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D.C.

NEW OFFICE OF EDUCATION PUBLICATION

Education Associations, 1953-54, Part 4 of the Education Directory. Prepared by Margaret M. Butler, Office of Education. 54 pages. FOR SALE BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. 30 cents.

Part 4, Education Associations, of the Education Directory, is the authoritative and up-to-date source for the specific names of various organizations, as well as the names of their officers.

This directory lists name and address of headquarters, if maintained; name and address of the president, chairman, or director; name and address of the secretary; names of official publications and frequency of issue. The listing covers national and regional organizations, State associations, foundations, religious organizations, and international organizations, as ascertained from replies to inquiries.

Reports and Technical Services
January 7, 1955

February, 1955

SEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOLS

A PARTIAL RESOURCE LIST

NOTE: The following material has been hastily gathered with the help of Professor Mary Beauchamp of New York University and Miss Gertrude Noar of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. We are confident that we have omitted valuable items and have included others of dated value. However, we hope that this hastily-gathered and rather contrived collection will have some value for you. John J. Brooks, Director, The New Lincoln School, 31 West 110th Street, New York City.

In order to save space, the addresses of many agencies, publishing houses, and organizations have been listed once at the end.

BOOKS

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE SERIES
Prepared under the general direction of Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, published by Harpers, and Sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO
by Otto Klineberg, 1944 - $4.00

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA; THE NEGRO PROBLEM AND MODERN DEMOCRACY
by Gunnar Myrdal - 1944, 2 volumes - $4.50

THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS
by Harry S. Ashmore, University of North Carolina -- Press 1954

SCHOOLS IN TRANSITION
by Robin Williams and Margaret W. Ryan, University of North Carolina Press

INTEGRATION: PROMISE-PROCESS-PROBLEMS
by Margaret C. McCulloch, Nashville, Tenn., Fisk University Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association

RACE RELATIONS IN A DEMOCRACY
by Ina C. Brown, Harper and Brothers, New York

INTERGROUP EDUCATION IN KINDERGARTEN-PRIMARY GRADES
by Celia Burns Stendler and William Martin, The MacMillan Company, New York

MINORITY PROBLEMS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
by Theodore Brameld, Harper and Brothers, New York

INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN TEACHER EDUCATION
by American Council on Education

PAMPHLETS

OVERCOMING PREJUDICE
by Bruno Bettelheim -- Science Research Associates, 57 West Grand Avenue, Chicago, Ill. - $.40

FEELINGS ARE FACTS
by Margaret M. Heaton -- Commission on Educational Organization, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 4th Avenue, New York 16, New York - $.25

GROWTH IN HUMAN RELATIONS
by Bernice Baxter -- Harr Wagner Publishing Co., 609 Mission Street, San Francisco 5, Calif. - $1.50

SECURING OUR CHILDREN AGAINST PREJUDICE -- TWO VIEWS
by Bruno Bettelheim and Kurt Lewin -- American Jewish Committee, 386 4th Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.-$.20

HOW CHILDREN LEARN ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS
by Wilhelmina Hill and Helen K. Mackintosh -- Bulletin 1951, #9, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, U. S. Government Printing Office - $.15

SENSE AND NONSENSE ABOUT RACE
by Ethel J. Alpenfels -- Friendship Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. - $.25

DIGEST OF THE FACT FINDING REPORT TO THE MID-CENTURY WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH
by Health Publications Institute, 216 North Dawson Street, Raleigh, North Carolina - $.75

PAMPHLETS (cont.)

THE RACES OF MANKIND
by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish -- Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 85, Revised Edition 1951 - $.20

RELIGION AND RACE: BARRIERS TO COLLEGE?
by A. C. Ivy and Irwin Ross -- Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 153

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA
by Maxwell S. Stewart -- Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 95

PREJUDICE IN TEXTBOOKS
by Maxwell S. Stewart -- Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 160

IN THESE TEN CITIES -- THE STORY OF DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
by Alexander L. Crosby with photographs by Marion Palfi -- Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 170 - $.30

ANSWERS FOR ACTION: SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH, ATLANTA, GA.
by Southern Regional Council, 1954

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS * THE SCHOOLS AND THE COURTS, ATLANTA, GA.
by Southern Regional Council, 1953

SEGREGATION AND THE SCHOOLS
New York, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 209

INTEGRATION OF WASHINGTON SCHOOLS
Washington, D. C., American Friends Service Committee 1954

EDUCATION IN A TRANSITION COMMUNITY
NCCJ (An Intergroup Education Pamphlet) - $.25

COMMUNITY IN CRISIS: THE ELIMINATION OF SEGREGATION FROM A PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM
Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953

THE HIGH COST OF BAD HOUSING
National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 35 West 32nd Street, New York City

NEW NEIGHBORS IN OLD NEIGHBORHOODS
American Jewish Committee, 34 West 33rd Street, New York City

MORTGAGE FINANCING FOR PROPERTIES AVAILABLE TO NEGRO OCCUPANY
National Urban League

DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING IN THESE 10 CITIES
Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th Street, New York City

TEXT OF SUPREME COURT DECISION ON SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS WITH SELECTED COMMENTS FROM THE NATIONS' PRESS
State of New Jersey, Department of Education, Division against Discrimination, 1060 Broad St., Newark, N.J.

COMMUNITY INTRANSITION
by Jean Grambs, NCCJ, 1954 - $.25

JOURNAL AND PERIODICALS

PREJUDICIAL FEARS REFUTED
by Raymond S. J. Bernard -- Interracial Review, Vol. XXIV, February, 1951

THE NEW JERSEY STORY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF RACIALLY INTEGRATED SCHOOLS
Journal of Negro Education, Vol. XXI, Summer, 1952

DESEGREGATION: AN APPRAISAL OF THE EVIDENCE
The Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 9 No. 4, May, 1953

THE EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS OF NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH WHICH ARE RELATED TO SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN A SOUTHERN URBAN COMMUNITY
by Baker M. Hinoman, Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. XXVII, November, 1953

AN EXPERIMENT IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
by Dorothy Inghram, California Journal of Elementary Education.

JOURNALS AND PERIODICALS (cont.)

ST. LOUIS GROUP URGES STEP-BY-STEP PLANNING FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS
New South, Vol. VII, No. 6 and 7, June-July, 1952

NEW JERSEY LEADS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR EDUCATIONAL INTEGRATION
by Marion T. Wright, Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. XXVI, May, 1953

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
Issued periodically by the Southern Educational Reporting Service

NOW IS THE TIME (Desegregation in Washington)
Editorial in Herald Tribune, February 14, 1955

THIS IS PREJUDICE
Reprinted from the Baltimore Sun by Weldon Wallace

THE SUPREME COURT DECISION AND OUR RESPONSIBILITIES
Board of Education, New York City, Strengthening Democracy, Vol. 7 No. 1, October, 1954

A SOUTHERN CITY DEBATES NON-SEGREGATION
New York Times magazine, September 26, 1954

RACIAL INTEGRATION, SOME PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURES
Journal of Educational Sociology, October, 1954

A SOUTHERNER LOOKS AT THE SUPREME COURT
by Dowdey, Saturday Review, October 9, 1954

SCHOOL KIDS ARE COLOR BLIND
by Rodell, Saturday Review, October 16, 1954

DESEGREGATION ALONG THE MASON-DIXON LINE
Commentary, December, 1954

ELIMINATING RACIAL SEGREGATION IN THE BALTIMORE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Educational Leadership, November, 1954; December, 1954

CHURCHES, SCHOOLS AND RACE
April, 1954, Interracial Review, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL INTEGRATION
Interracial Review, May, 1954

FILMS

AMERICANS ALL
Two reels; produced by March of Time; distributed by Association Films

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN
One reel; produced by United Productions of America; distributed by Association Films; Brandon Films

THE CITY
Produced by American Documentary Films -- two reels -- distributed by Religious Film Association

THE HIGH WALL
Two reels; produced by A. D. L.; distributed by McGraw-Hill

THE HOUSE I LIVE IN
One real; produced by R.K.O.; distributed by Association Films; Brandon Films

ONE PEOPLE
One reel; produced and distributed by A. D. L.

PREJUDICE
Six reels; produced by Protestant Film Commission and A. D. L.; distributed by Association Films

SKIPPER LEARNS A LESSON
One reel, color; produced by Paul Burnford; distributed by Encyclopedia Britannica Films

FILMS (cont.)

SYDENHAM PLAN
One reel; produced by World Today; distributed by Film Publishers

TO LIVE TOGETHER
Two reels; produced by Anti-Defamation League; distributed by Association Films

ROLE-PLAYING IN HUMAN RELATIONS TRAINING
Three reels; sponsored by National Training Laboratory in Group Development; distributed by N.E.A., 120 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

PALMOUR STREET
Two reels; produced by Georgia Department of Public Health; distributed by Health Public Health; distributed by Health Publication Institute, 216 North Dawson Street, Raleigh, N. C.

PEOPLE ALONG THE MISSISSIPPI
Two reels; produced and distributed by Encyclopedia Britannica Films, 202 East 44th Street, N. Y. C.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA?
One reel; produced by Coronet Films; distributed by Ideal Pictures, Inc., 207 East 37th St., N.Y.C.

OUR TOWN IS THE WORLD
One reel; produced by National Film Board of Canada; distributed by Sterling Educational Films, 18 East 41st Street, New York City

WHISPERS
One reel, produced by Teaching Film Custodians, 25 West 43rd Street, N.Y.C. (for nearest distributor check with local film library)

BOUNDRY LINES
One reel, color; produced and distributed by International Film Foundation, 1600 Broadway, N.Y.C.

MAKE WAY FOR YOUTH
Two reels; produced by National Social Welfare Assembly; distributed by Association Films, Broad at Elm Street, Ridgefield, New Jersey

ONE GOD
Four reels; produced by Nicholas Farkas; distributed by Association Films

THIS IS THE CHALLENGE
One reel; produced and distributed by United Nations, Film Distribution Unit

WORLD WITHOUT END
Four reels; produced by United Nations; distributed by Brandon Films

AN EQUAL CHANCE
10 minutes, black and white, A.D.L.; Freedom Film Library; available only in New York State

BORN EQUAL
10 minutes, black and white; A.D.L., Film Library

SOME COOPERATING AGENCIES

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE ... Richard K. Bennett, Sec'ty., Community Relations Program, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Penna.
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE ..... Mrs. Dorothy M. Nathan, American Jewish Committee, 386 4 Ave., N.Y.C.
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS ..... David W. Petergorsky, Exec. Director, 15 East 84 St., N.Y.C. 28
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI BRITH. Oscar Cohen Director, Program Division, 212 5 Ave., N.Y.C. 10
ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE AND HISTORY, INC. ..... Albert N. D. Brooks, Sec'ty.-Treas., 1538 9 St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH..... Very Rev. Maurice Shean, c/o The Oratory, Rock Hill, South Carolina
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCILS..... George K. Hunton, Exec. Sec'ty., 20 Vesey Street, N. Y. 7
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS.. (Civil Rights Committee) George L. P. Weaver, Director, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D. C.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE..... Henry Lee Moon, Dir. of Public Relations, 20 West 40 St., N.Y.C. 18
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTER-GROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS..... John Field, Exec. Sec'ty., 565 North Erie St., Toledo 2, Ohio
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN..... Mrs. Wm. Thomas Mason, Nat'l. Pres., NCNW, 1318 Vermont Ave.NW, Wash. 5
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF Y.M.C.A.'S ..... Leo B. Marsh, 291 Broadway, N. Y. C. 7
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION ..... William G. Carr, Exec. Sec'ty., 1201-16th St. N.W., Washington 6
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE ..... Lester B. Granger, Exec. Director, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. ..... Dr. George S. Mitchner, Exec. Director, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

From
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APR 18 1955

4.14.55 -- FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

"Don't property values go down when Negroes move in?" "Aren't Negroes happier by themselves?" "If Negroes and whites work and go to school together, won't this lead to interracial marriage?" FACTS IN BLACK AND WHITE, just published by Ave Maria Press, written and edited by Friendship House, answers 65 such questions. The pamphlet explores in bold, realistic strokes the areas of tension and misunderstanding between races.

In the introduction the editors say: "We hope that this pamphlet will scatter some of the haze that makes Negroes seem 'strange' to white people, and vice versa. We dedicate it to the truth, believing that the truth alone can make us free, free with the freedom of the children of God, free to love God and to love all men as He loves them."

Copies of FACTS IN BLACK AND WHITE may be obtained from Friendship House, 1525 Milam street, Shreveport, La. (25 cents each, 25 copies for $5, 100 for $18.50.)

# # # # #

THE
COLOR
OF
MAN

THE COLOR OF MAN

A 16MM MOTION PICTURE AND A 35MM FILMSTRIP IN FULL COLOR

Why is one person's skin a different color from another? There has been much speculation about the causes but little scientific discussion. This film, with the aid of animation and live action, goes back in time to examine conditions which could be responsible for the development of color differences among primitive men.

Chief among these conditions were mountain barriers and lack of transportation which for long periods of time isolated groups of people from each other. Those living in the equatorial areas where ultra-violet rays are intense were able to survive only if they had the capacity to develope *melanin,* tiny particles in the skin which gave it a dark color and at the same time provided needed protection from burning and disease.

In contrast, during the same period of 100,000 years or more, there were people isolated in the northern rain forests where full trees and heavy clouds protected the people from the intensity of the sun's ultra-violet rays.

At first there were both light and dark skinned people in these regions, but those with dark skins suffered from a deficiency of Vitamin D because the *melanin* in their skins absorbed the ultra-violet rays which otherwise would have passed into their bodies and by chemical processes would have manufactured this fortifying vitamin.

So the dark-skinned became poor competitors with the light skinned people of the northern forests and, in time, tended to disappear as a color group.

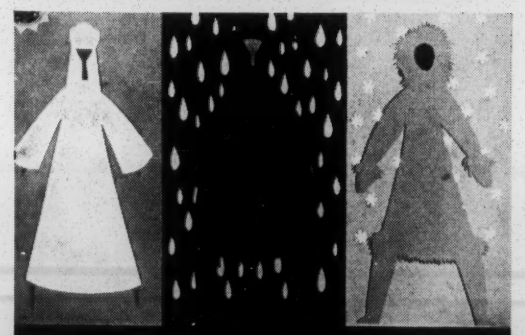
The concepts discussed in THE COLOR OF MAN are of practical value to classes in Anthropology, Sociology, Biology, Social Studies, Physiology, International Relations and the Life Sciences in general. Because of its dramatic use of the elements of design and color it will be of particular interest to Art and related courses as well.

THE COLOR OF MAN won the Award of Merit from the Fifth Annual Film Festival held by the Film Council of Greater Boston.

It is suitable for use by science instructors on both the secondary and university levels—as well as cultural and general interest discussion groups.

Because of the Earth's curvature . . . 12

The color-latitude relationship still exists. 32



The selective power of the environment is weakening.

Consultants for the film: Joseph B. Birdsell, Ph.D. of the U.C.L.A. Anthropology Department, Walter Goldschmidt, Ph.D. of the Sociology Department, Kenneth Macgowan of the Theater Arts Department, and Martin Asch, M.D. of the Wadsworth Hospital in West Los Angeles. The film was written-directed by Robert Carl Cohen.

FACTS ABOUT THE FILM:

EF-5503 – a 16mm sound film in color available for non-theatrical use.

LENGTH: 1 reel.

RUNNING TIME: 10 minutes.

SALES PRICE: $100, including reel, can and vapor processing.

RENTAL PRICE: $3. Ask your film library or request prints from the Department of Visual Instruction, University of California either at Los Angeles 24, or Berkeley 4, California.

Preview prints are available to organizations interested in considering purchase. The only charge for such previews is for transportation. Also available filmstrip 50 frames $6.00 which is available on an approval for purchase basis only, no previews.

HAROLD C FLEMING, EDITOR
NEW SOUTH
63 AUBURN AVE N E
ATLANTA 3, GA
S20 B

LIFELONG LEARNING

Vol. XI **Los Angeles, April 15, 1957** **No. 15**

Published weekly by University Extension, University of California, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles 24. Entered as second class matter January 6, 1947, at the Post Office in Los Angeles, California, under the Act of August 24, 1912. Sent free to those desiring information of University Extension activities.

Preview prints are available to organizations interested in purchasing. The only charge is for transportation.

Sale and preview copies are available from: EDUCATIONAL FILM SALES DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

Rental copies may be secured through the DEPARTMENT OF VISUAL INSTRUCTION, UNIVERSITY EXTENSION. A list of other rental libraries stocking the films will be sent on request.

Descriptive lists of other films produced and distributed by the University are available as follows:

LIST #1 *"Films about the Theater and the Arts."*

LIST #2 *"Films about California and the West, Sports and Safety Films."*

LIST #3 *"Films for Science and Engineering."*

LIST #4 *"Films about and for Children and Films for Teachers."*

15 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

SUGGESTED SOURCE MATERIALS

To: State Staff
From: Anna Holden

NEWSPAPERS

In addition to a local daily newspaper you will want to subscribe to at least one Negro newspaper. Among the Negro papers published in the South the Journal and Guide, 719 Olney Rd., Norfolk, Va., has particularly broad coverage. Subscription, $5.00 per year.

Other Negro newspapers to which you might subscribe in addition to, or instead of the Journal and Guide: Afro-American, Atlanta (Ga.) Daily World, Birmingham (Ala.) World, Black Dispatch (Oklahoma City, Okla.), Dallas (Tex.) Informer, Houston (Tex.) Informer, Lighthouse and Informer (Columbia, S. C.), Louisiana Weekly, Pittsburgh (Pa.) Courier.

OTHER PERIODICALS

Adult Leadership. Published monthly by Adult Education Association, 743 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago 11, Ill. $5.00 per year. Techniques of group leadership.

Interracial News Service. Published bi-monthly by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., Dept. of Racial and Cultural Relations, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. $2.00 for two years. Digest news in human relations; emphasis on news from churches affiliated with the National Council.

Interracial Review. Published monthly by the Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. $1.00 per year. Articles of general interest, news of Catholic Interracial Councils; emphasis on Catholic programs and progress.

Journal of Negro Education. Published quarterly by Howard University, Washington 1, D. C. $4.00 per year. Covers various aspects of Negro education, problems of desegregation; yearly subscription covers summer Yearbook which concentrates on a specific area of Negro education or Negro problems.

NAIRO Reporter. Published monthly except August and September by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, P. O. Box 163, Cathedral Station, New York 25, N. Y. $3.00 per year. Summaries and newsnotes of events and trends in intergroup relations, notices of publications.

Southern School News. Published monthly by the Southern Education Reporting Service, P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tenn. Copies available on request to individuals and organizations. State-by-state summaries of developments arising from the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation. (Note: SRC has requested that all state staff be placed on mailing list of SSN)

STATE REPORTS AND DOCUMENTS

Official annual reports of state departments of education, health, welfare, park divisions, and other state agencies provide useful information on agency expenditures, program and personnel. Expenditures and services are often reported by race.

Directories of state and county school officials are usually available from the State Department of Education. The Secretary of State's office generally publishes a directory of appointed and elected state officials. (Where the state does not publish such a directory, the state League of Women Voters organization often performs this service.) Other departments maintain directories of their personnel.

State offices and officials can supply much useful information. The Secretary of State's office, for example, often has information as to voting registration by race.

U. S. CENSUS

Reports of the U. S. Bureau of the Census provide a wealth of material, particularly the 1950 Census of Population and the 1950 Census of Housing.

1950 Census of Population. Includes data by race on number of inhabitants, characteristics of the population, employment and income. State reports include breakdowns by county and for cities of certain sizes. Paper-bound state reports cost from $.65 to $1.50, depending on the size of the state.

1950 Census of Housing. Includes information by race on ownership, condition of housing, plumbing and heating facilities, and value or rental cost of housing. State reports include breakdowns by county and for cities of certain sizes. Paper-bound state reports cost from $.65 to $1.75, depending on the size of the state.

1950 Census of Agriculture. Also contains helpful information. Data by race for farm ownership and value, hired farm labor, wage rates and perquisites furnished farm workers. State reports contain breakdowns for counties and for economic areas. Paper-bound state reports run higher than the Population and Housing reports, ranging from $1.40 to $5.20.

All reports issued by the U. S.Bureau of the Census are available from the U. S. Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office,Washington 25, D.C. Price lists and descriptions of reports available on request.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Ashmore, Harry S. The Negro and the Schools. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954. Cloth, $2.75; paper, $1.50. Brief history of bi-racial education, legal action to end segregated schools; present status of bi-racial education, outlook for integration. Detailed tables in appendix showing statistics on schools, population.

Clark, Kenneth B. (ed.) "Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence," Journal of Social Issues, IX (No. 4, 1953). $1.25 Special issue devoted to desegregation. Available from Association Press, 291 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

"Courts and Racial Integration," Journal of Negro Education Yearbook, XXI, No. 3 (Summer, 1952). $2.50 Special issue with articles on problems related to racial integration, court action and other means of achieving integration. Available from Howard University, Washington 1, D. C.

Emerson, Thomas I. and David Haber, Political and Civil Rights in the U. S.: A Collection of Legal and Related Materials. Buffalo: Dennis, 1952. Includes decisions [illegible] of major cases concerning individual religious freedom, academic freedom, racial discrimination and segregation. Probably about $10.00.

Guzman, Jessie P. (ed.) 1952 Negro Year Book. New York: Wm. H. Wise & Co., 1952. $4.00 Handbook of facts and statistics covering all phases of Negro life, Negro progress and achievement. Available from Tuskegee Institute, Dept. of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Murray, Pauli. States' Laws on Race and Color. Cincinnati, Ohio: Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church, 1950. $4.00 Most comprehensive compilation of state laws related to race and color available; includes segregation and anti-discrimination laws in each state, segregation and anti-discrimination laws in sample cities, international documents, executive orders, and digests of major cases related to race and color.

Myrdal, Gunnar. An American Dilemma. New York: Harper, 1944. About $8.00 or $10.00 "Bible" of students of America's "Negro problem."

National Planning Association, Committee of the South. Case Studies of Negro Employment in the South. Available from the Association, 1606 New Hampshire Ave. NW, Washington 9, D. C. Series includes:

No. 1 Hope, John II. "Three Southern Plants of International Harvester Company." September, 1953 $1.75

No. 2 Dewey, Donald. "Four Studies of Negro Employment in the Upper South." October, 1953. $1.25

No. 3 Hawley, Langston T. "Negro Employment in the Birmingham Metropolitan Area." April, 1954 $1.50

No. 4 Eckard, E. W. and B. U. Ratchford. "Two Plants — Little Rock and Three Companies — New Orleans Area." May, 1954 $1.25

No. 5 Wesson, William H. "Negro Employment Practices in the Chattanooga Area." Scheduled for publication, 1954 $1.50

"Segregation in the Public Schools: A Symposium," Journal of Public Law, III, No. 1 (Spring, 1954). $1.00 Special issue on Supreme Court school decision. Available from Emory University School of Law, Emory University, Ga.

Simpson, George E. and J. Milton Yinger. Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination. New York: Harper, 1953. $6.00 Place of minorities in the social and institutional structure; causes and consequences of prejudice and discrimination.

Tipton, James H. Community in Crisis: The Elimination of Segregation from a Public School System. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953. $3.75 Account of the elimination of segregation in the public schools of Gary, Ind.

AGENCY NEWS RELEASES, NOTICES AND REPORTS

The following agencies maintain helpful mailings of news releases, notices of programs and publications and current reports on intergroup relations:

American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Ave.
New York 16, N. Y.

American Jewish Congress
15 E. 84th St.
New York 28, N. Y.

Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Ave.
New York 10, N. Y.

Housing and Home Finance Agency
Public Housing Administration
Racial Relations Service
Washington 25, D. C.

National Assn. for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

National Catholic Welfare Conference
Social Action Department
1312 Mass. Ave. NW
Washington 5, D. C.

National Council of Churches of Christ
in the U. S. A., Dept. of Racial and
Cultural Relations
297 Fourth Ave.
New York 10, N. Y.

National Conference of Christians & Jews
381 Fourth Ave.
New York 16, N. Y.

National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N. Y.

Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Brown, Francis J. and J. S. Roucek, ONE AMERICA: THE HISTORY, CONTRIBUTIONS, AND PRESENT PROBLEMS OF OUR RACIAL AND NATIONAL MINORITIES. New York, 1946

Brown, Ina C., RACE RELATIONS IN A DEMOCRACY. New York, 1949

Cash, W. J., MIND OF THE SOUTH. New York, 1941

Davie, Maurice, NEGROES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY. New York, 1949

Davis, Allison, B. B. Gardner, and Mary Gardner, DEEP SOUTH. Chicago, 1941

Dollard, John, CASTE AND CLASS IN A SOUTHERN TOWN. New Haven, 1937

Drake, St. Clair and Horace R. Cayton, BLACK METROPOLIS. New York, 1945

Frazier, E. F., THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES, New York, 1949

Johnson, Charles S., INTO THE MAINSTREAM. Chapel Hill, 1947

_____, PATTERNS OF NEGRO SEGREGATION. New York, 1943

Konvitz, Milton R., CONSTITUTION AND CIVIL RIGHTS. New York, 1947

LaFarge, John, RACE QUESTION AND THE NEGRO. New York, 1943

Logan, Rayford W. (ed.), WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS. Chapel Hill, 1939

McIver, R. M., THE MORE PERFECT UNION, New York

McWilliams, Carey, BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN. Boston, 1943

Myrdal, Gunnar, AN AMERICAN DILEMMA. New York, 1944

NEGRO HANDBOOK, 1949. New York, 1949

NEGRO YEARBOOK, 1947. Tuskegee, Alabama, 1947

Powdermaker, Hortense, AFTER FREEDOM. New York, 1939

Rose, Arnold and Carolina, AMERICA DIVIDED. New York, 1949

_____, THE NEGRO'S MORALE. Minneapolis, 1950

Schermerhorn, R. A., THESE OUR PEOPLE: MINORITIES IN AMERICAN CULTURE. Boston, 1949

Tannenbaum, Frank, SLAVE AND CITIZEN. New York, 1947

Thompson, Edgar T. (ed), RACE RELATIONS AND THE RACE PROBLEM, Durham, NC, 1939

_____, RACE AND REGION. A Descriptive Bibliography with Special Reference to Relations between Whites and Negroes in the U. S. Chapel Hill, 1947

Weaver, Robert C., THE NEGRO GHETTO. New York, 1948

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COMMUNITY SELF-DEVELOPMENT
(Recent Publications)

Biddle, William W, CULTIVATION OF COMMUNITY LEADERS. UP FROM THE GRASS ROOTS. New York: Harperx, 1953

Dahir, James, COMMUNITIES FOR BETTER LIVING: CITIZEN ACHIEVEMENT IN ORGANIZATION, DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT. New York: Harper, 1950

Dillick, Sidney, COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT, PAST, PRESENT. Women's Press, 1953

King, Clarence, YOUR COMMITTEE IN COMMUNITY ACTION. New York: Harper, 1952

Poston, Richard W. DEMOCRACY IS YOU. New York: Harper, 1953

Sanders, Irwin T., MAKING GOOD COMMUNITIES BETTER. A HANDBOOK FOR CIVIC-MINDED MEN AND WOMEN. Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1950

Warburton, Amber A. GUIDANCE IN A RURAL COMMUNITY. A SOUTH CAROLINA SCHOOL DISTRICT PLANS WITH AND FOR ITS BOYS AND GIRLS. Department of Rural Education, National Education Association, 1201 16th St. NW, Washington 6, D C

SELF- SURVEY REPORTS

Shreveport, La. Council of Social Agencies, Shreveport, La. THE SHREVEPORT STORY, 1953. Available from the Council, 715 Travis St., Shreveport, La. Report of Shreveport self-survey of their Negro community.

Greenville, S C "Greenville's Big Idea Grows" (August, 1953) Mimeographed report summarizing accomplishments in Greenville stemming from the community self-survey of the Negro population in 1949. Available from Community Council of Greenville County, 110-A W. McBee Ave., Greenville, S. C.

GUIDE TO BIBLIOGRAPHIES ON HUMAN RELATIONS

RESOURCE AGENCIES

To acquire current bibliographies, write to the groups listed below requesting their latest publications list or catalogue of available material which they distribute:

Amercian Council on Race Relations
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Anti-Defamation League
Suite 305, 11 Pryor St., S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

National Conference of Christians and Jews
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Bureau for Intercultural Education
157 West 13th Street
New York 11, New York

Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Almost every religious denomination has a social relations committee which distributes valuable materials on human relations. Your local minister can provide this information.

COMPREHENSIVE BIBLIOGRAPHIES

"Democratic Human Relations: Promising Practices in Intergroup and Intercultural Education in the Social Studies." Hilda Taba and William Van Til (Editors). The Sixteenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, on promising practices now current. Reported and appraised are a variety of units, social studies courses, school activities, community projects, and guidance experiences. Includes comprehensive list of teaching aids by Wilbur Murra. National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, D. C., 1945. 366 pp., (paper) $2.00, (cloth) $2.30.

"One World in School," by Louella Miles. An annotated bibliography in intergroup relations, including novels and films, for teachers and students. Introductory comments and specific suggestions for use. American Teachers Association, 1946. 57 pp., 35¢.

"Race Relations," by Julia Waxman. Includes a bibliography on minorities, race, intercultural education, books for young Americans, and specialized readings on Negro-White relationships. Attractive format. Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1945. 48 pp., 15¢. (Available from Bureau for Intercultural Education.)

"Reading Ladders for Human Relations." American Council on Education. Reading ladders and annotations for eight areas which teachers consider important for developing sensitivity to the values and ways of life of others. Developed by the Advisory Committee on Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, Rev. Ed., 1949. 115 pp., $1.25.

"Intergroup Relations Bibliography." Connecticut State Inter-Racial Commission. This is a selected list of books, periodicals, and resource agencies in intergroup relations. The books are grouped as primary, intermediate, high school, and adult. Connecticut State Inter-Racial Commission, 1948. 86 pp. 50¢.

FILMS AND RECORDINGS

"Films in Intercultural Education," by James H. Tipton and Paul K. Weinandy. An annotated list of films for stimulating better group relations. An attempt was made to find films that were entertaining as well as based on sound principles. Includes bases of selection, suggestions for use, and recommendations for appropriate age levels. Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1947. 18 pp. 10¢.

"Radio and Television Bulletin of Available Pro-Democracy Scripts and Recordings." American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York. This bulletin comprises a comprehensive survey of usable scripts and recordings.

Institute for American Democracy, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. Distributes a variety of highly effective visual aids on democratic themes, such as posters, bookcovers, blotters, and bookmarks. Recommended as a basis for school and community intercultural projects.

Institute for Democratic Education, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. Produces recorded dramatic programs for radio and classroom use, designed to promote better intergroup relations.

SPECIALIZED BIBLIOGRAPHIES

On Children's Books

"Intercultural Books for Children," by Helen G. Trager. The reprint is largely devoted to a basic list of intercultural books for children based on specified criteria and edited from preceding bibliographies. Important for elementary and junior high school teachers. Bureau reprint from "Childhood Education," November, 1945. 8 pp. Single copy, free. In quantity, 8¢ each.

On Nationality and Ethnic Groups

"The Immigrant in Fiction and Biography," by Joseph S. Roucek, Alice Hero, Jean Downey. Annotated bibliography of fiction and biography about immigrants to America. Includes major national groups as well as smaller groups in a listing which ranges from Armenians to Yugoslavs. Books especially appropriate for junior high school have been marked by Lou LaBrant. An essential guide for all teaching or studying of the literature of peoples. Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1945. 32pp., 20¢.

On Negro Groups

"We Build Together," by Charlemae Rollins. A reader's guide to Negro life and literature for elementary and high school use. Criteria for judging books are described. The bibliography includes reference books, films, pictures, exhibits, slides, radio scripts, transcriptions, periodicals, pamphlets. Major space is devoted to books. The National Council of Teachers of English, 1948. 46 pp. 25¢.

On Religious Groups

"The Jews in America." Library of Jewish Information of the American Jewish Committee. A selected bibliography prepared by an authoritative source. Classifications include contemporary problems, biography, juvenile reading, etc. Rev. Ed., 1943. 11 pp., 5¢.

"Religious Book List." National Conference of Christians and Jews. Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant book lists selected by a committee of the faith under whose name each appears. Also a Good Will book list. Issued annually at nominal cost.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A MINIMUM BOOKSHELF

For Teacher Background

"Intercultural Attitudes in the Making," edited by William Heard Kilpatrick and William Van Til (9th Yearbook of the John Dewey Society; N.Y.: Harper, 1947).

"Minority Problems in the Public Schools," by Theodore Brameld (NY: Harper 1947).

"They See for Themselves," Spencer Brown (New York: Harper, 1945).

"Democratic Human Relations: Promising Practices in Intergroup and Intercultural Education in Social Studies, edited by Hilda Taba and William Van Til, (cited above).

"The Negro in America," by Arnold Rose (New York: Harper, 1948).

"Elmtown's Youth," by A. B. Hollingshead (New York: Wiley, 1949).

For Student Use (listed from younger toward older maturity levels)

"In Henry's Backyard," Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish (NY: Schuman,1948).

"One God: The Ways We Worship Him," Florence Mary Fitch (New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1944).

"Sense and Nonsense About Race," Ethel Alpenfels (NY: Friendship Press,1946).

"We Americans, The American Indians, Spanish-Speaking People, Italian Americans, issues of "Building America," (NY: Americana Corp., 1940-43).

"Peoples of the Earth," Edwin R. Embree (NY: Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge, 1948).

"Probing Our Prejudices," Hortense Powdermaker (NY: Harper, 1944).

"This Way To Unity," edited by Herbert Askwith & Arnold Herrick (New York: Oxford Book, 1945).

"Race Relations In a Democracy," Ina Corinne Brown (New York:Harper, 1949).

"To Secure These Rights," by the President's Committee on Civil Rights (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1947).

* * * *

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☐ **No. 175. National Health Insurance.** What national health insurance is and why the U. S. needs it. 16 pp., 15c each, 17 for $1, 100 for $5, 1,000 for $40.

☐ **No. 176. Films for Labor—and How to Use Them.** Handbook on the use of films in union programs with a catalogue of the 16mm movies and sound filmstrips available for rental and sale from the CIO Film Division. 25c each.

☐ **No. 177. The Steward's Job in Building Your CIO.** Shows CIO members what their stewards can do for them and gives stewards practical suggestions for doing an effective job. 15c each, 8 for $1, 100 for $11, 1,000 for $100.

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☐ **No. 182. Why Taft-Hartley Should Be Repealed.** A statement of some of the ways in which the Taft-Hartley Act weakens unions. 15c a copy, 20 for $1, 100 for $4.50, 1,000 for $30.

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☐ **No. 188. The CIO and World Affairs (1952 edition).** A new summary of CIO policy statements on labor's position and role in international affairs. 10c each, 50 for $4.50, 100 for $8.

☐ **No. 192. The Housing Fiasco.** Dramatizes the need for expanding low-cost housing and public housing during the present emergency period. 15c each; 20 copies, $1; 100 copies, $4.50.

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☐ **No. 201. The CIO NEWS 1951 Voting Record.** 5c each, 100 for $4, 500 for $17, 1,000 for $24; rates for larger quantities on request.

☐ **No. 202. Workmen's Compensation: A Story of Failure.** Case for federal law to establish decent uniform standards across the country. Charts state laws of January 1952. 15c each, 20 for $1, 100 for $4.50.

☐ **No. 203. How Should Productivity Increases Be Shared.** Defines "productivity" and discusses labor and consumers share in rising productivity. 15c each, 20 for $1, 100 for $4.50.

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☐ **CIO Songbook**—forty-six popular union songs for group singing with a musical key indicated. 10c each, 25 or more, 7c each.

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☐ **Wage Policy in an Expanding Economy.** CIO's complete statement on wage policy for 1952. Text and charts presented to Wage Stabilization Board hearings on Steelworkers case for 1952. 50c each, 3 for $1.

☐ **Rules for Union Meetings**—based on Roberts Rules of Order as used by one CIO union. Generally applicable to other union meetings. 15c each; 100 or more, 12c each.

☐ **Services of the CIO Department of Education and Research.** Lists services and suggestions for informing membership of CIO's program and policy. 15c a copy, 100 for $10.

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☐ **The Labor Story.** Best popular history of American labor movement. Covers 175 years of struggle—struggle of workers to organize unions, to bargain collectively with management, and to make life better for themselves and their families. Paper bound. $1.25 each, 25 or more $1.10 each, 100 or more $1 each.

☐ **SAGAS OF STRUGGLE.** A collection of fourteen short stories and articles on the American labor movement. Paper bound. $1 each, two or more 70c each.

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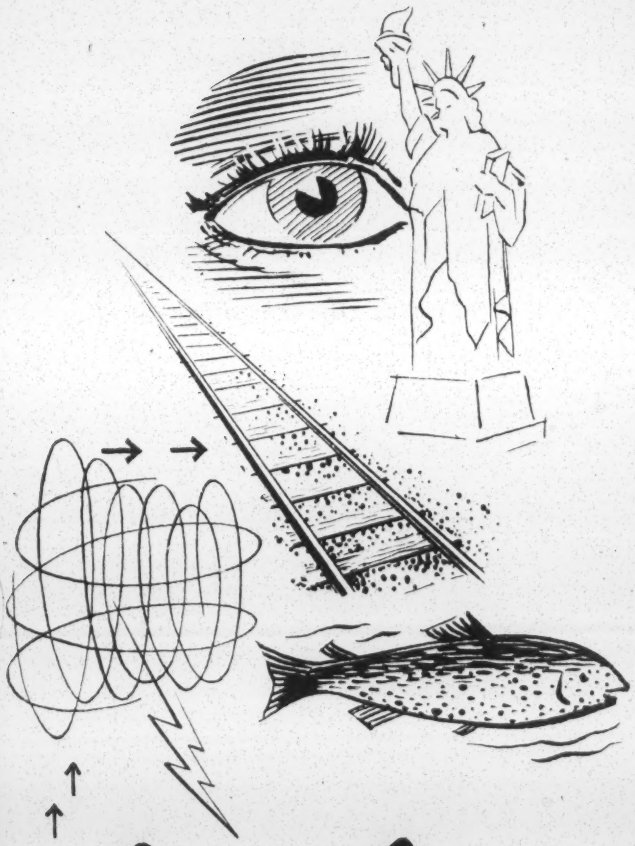

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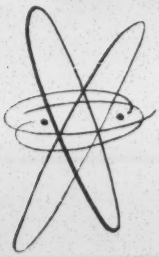

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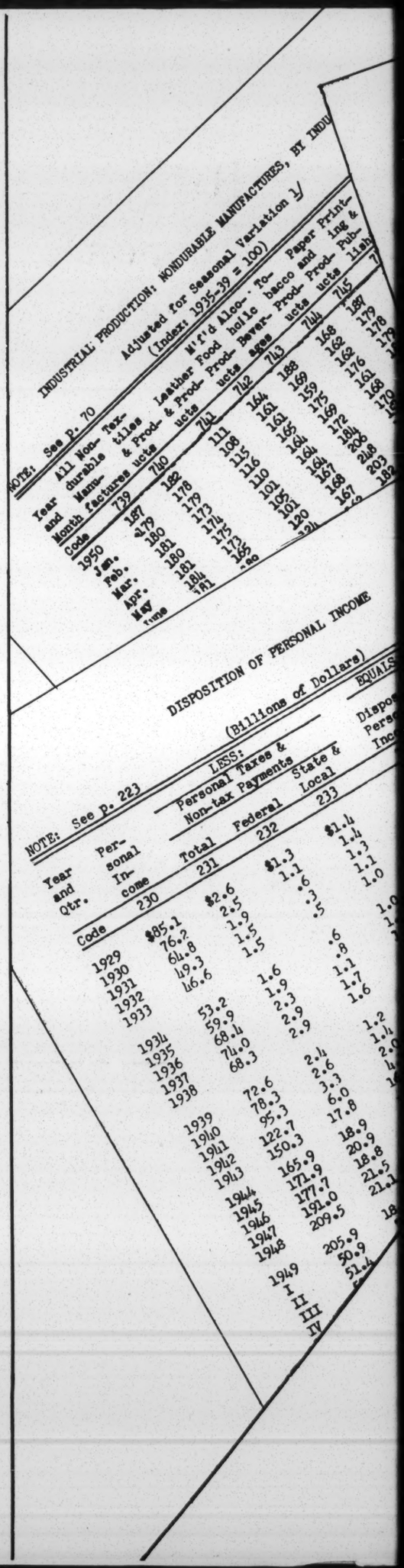

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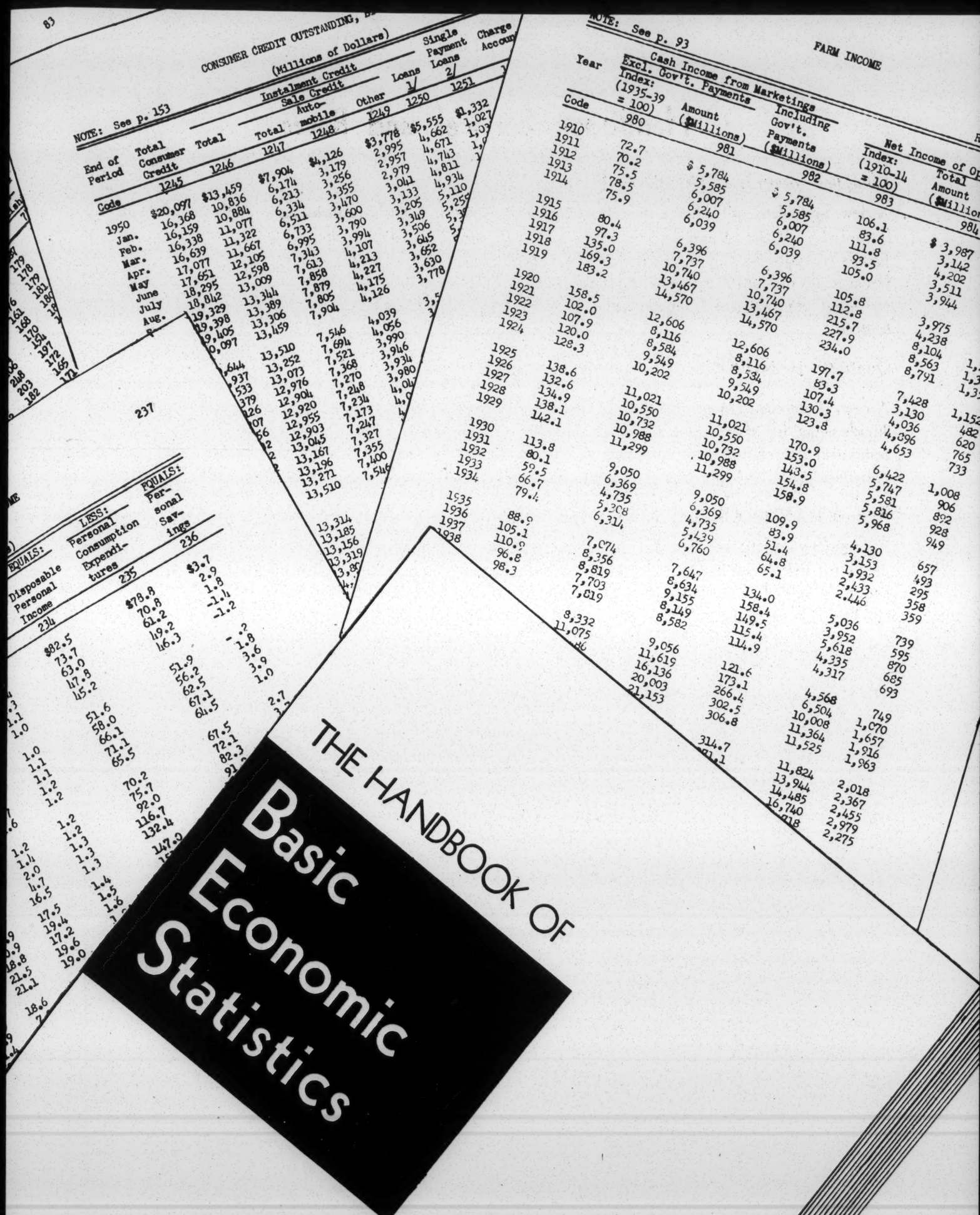

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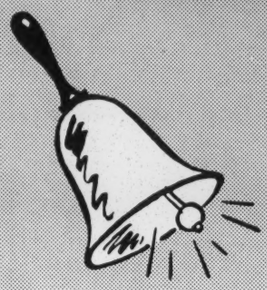

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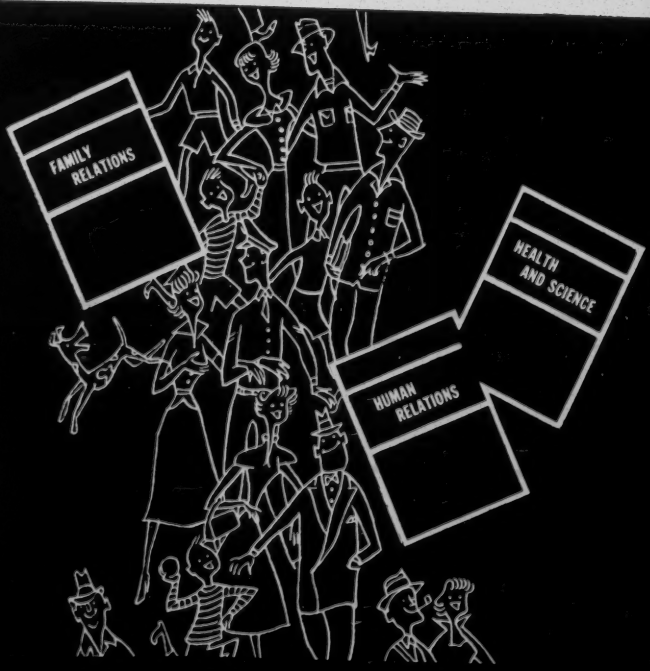

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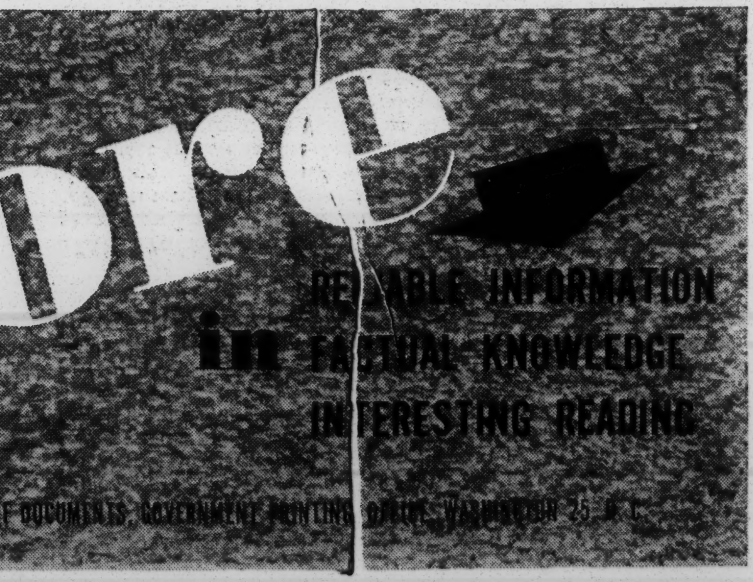

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CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION Although the purpose of this manual is to provide military police criminal investigators with the fundamental information necessary to successful criminal investigation, it will prove of great assistance to civilian police and criminologists, and even the amateur home detective reader will find it possesses a fascinating interest and a wealth of factual information. The book describes accurately the military police investigation setup and the various problems confronting the military and civilian police systems. It lists many techniques of interrogation and methods of collecting evidence; and special operations, such as surveillance and undercover techniques and methods of criminal behavior. In addition, there are articles on evidence appraisal by laboratory, specific criminal offenses, and preservation and identification of fingerprints included with many other features. Certainly, many book and department stores will want to have in stock this Department of the Army publication. (1951) 258 pages, with illustrations.

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Materials on Community Self-Surveys

Prepared by the Commission on Community Interrelations

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(C-2) Community Self-Surveys: A Form of Combating Discrimination by John Harding. Reprint from Congress Weekly, Vol. 15, No. 9, March 5, 1948. 4 pp. 5¢. Available in quantity. Describes and compares alternative ways of conducting self-surveys.

(C-3) Barometer for Bias by Claire Selltiz and Sylvia Charlow. Reprint from Congress Weekly, Vol. 15, No. 21, June 11, 1948. 3 pp. 5¢. Available in quantity. Brief summary of methods used and illustrative findings from the Northtown community self-survey.

(C-10) How to Conduct a Community Self-Survey of Civil Rights by Margot Haas Wormser and Claire Selltiz. Book, Association Press, New York, October 1951. 271 pp. Available in quantity. List price $3.75. Can be purchased through the American Jewish Congress at $2.50 if payment accompanies the order.

(C-11) How to Conduct a Community Self-Survey of Civil Rights. Supplement One: Interview Schedules and Related Material by Claire Selltiz, Margot Haas Wormser, and John Harding. Mimeographed, November 1951. 268 pp. $1.00. Available in quantity. Contains interview schedules and related materials for each area of community life which may be covered in a self-survey.

(C-12) How to Conduct a Community Self-Survey of Civil Rights. Supplement Two: Analysis Plans by Claire Selltiz, Erna Benjamin, John Harding, and Margot Haas Wormser. Mimeographed, November 1951. 163 pp. $1.00. Available in quantity. Gives detailed instructions for analysis of data gathered through each interview schedule presented in Supplement One: Interview Schedules and Related Material (C-11).

(C-7) Community Self-Surveys: An Approach to Social Change edited by Claire Selltiz and Margot Haas Wormser. Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 5, No. 2, Spring 1949. 65 pp. $1.00. Available in quantity from the Association Press, 291 Broadway, New York 7, N.Y. This journal issue contains the following articles: Introduction by Stuart W. Cook; The Northtown Self-Survey: A Case Study by Margot Haas Wormser; Some Basic Principles of Self-Surveys by John Harding; Some Technical Problems of a Self-Survey by Claire Selltiz; A Comparison of Different Types of Self-Surveys by Benjamin W. Lambert and Nathan E. Cohen; On Evaluating Self-Surveys by Isidor Chein.

(C-9) Community Self-Surveys: Principles and Procedures by Margot Haas Wormser and Claire Selltiz. Mimeographed. This material also appears as Chapter 19 in Vol. 2 of Research Methods in Social Relations by Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, published by Dryden Press, New York, 1951. 39 pp. Single copies only. Discusses crucial factors in the development and application of self-survey technique to the problem of assessing the status of civil rights within a community.

(C-4) Northtown Survey on Human Relations by Northtown Committee on Human Relations. Mimeographed, June 1948. 80 pp. 40¢ Single copies only. Reports the findings of a community self-survey of the status of civil rights of Jews and Negroes in Northtown, a typical New Jersey community.

(C-6) Northtown Report by Lewis G. Kay. Mimeographed. This article appeared in Congress Weekly, Vol. 16, No. 17, May 9, 1949. 2 pp. 5¢. Available in quantity. Brief description of action taken in Northtown following the community self survey of civil rights.

FACTS

DOMESTIC REPORT

NOV.-DEC. 1961, VOL. 14, No. 5—PUBLISHED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

The John Birch Society

On Monday night, October 9th, approximately 1600 people gathered in the main ballroom of the gracious Garden City Hotel on Long Island, New York, to hear Robert H. W. Welch, the Founder of the John Birch Society, deliver a prepared one hour and 40 minute speech.

At least 25% of the room was filled with college-age men and women, and with upper middle-class couples in their early 30's. Most of the others were people who, from their meticulous dress, their social presence, had "arrived," economically speaking. Those who came without advance reservations had to wait to buy a ticket of admission—in a line four deep, almost a block long—for more than an hour before the meeting began. The audience was in no sense an assemblage of unemployed malcontents or crackpots.

During the course of his address, Welch turned the world inside out and upside down. He "proved" (at least to the satisfaction of many in the hall) that Communism is an evil imposed upon the masses across the world by the millionaire class; a method of enslaving the poor people who inhabit the earth. (It was difficult to believe that his listeners, dressed expensively, sporting jewelry, using '61 and '62 automobiles, could swallow the story.)

He explained his so-called "principle of reversal," by example. The legal decision, he said, handed down that very day by the U.S. Supreme Court, requiring the Communist Party to register against its will—that decision is no evidence the Court understands the evil of Communism; on the contrary, it is proof that the Supreme Court secretly approves Communism. (The Principal of Reversal: if a man admits he is a Communist—of course he is. If he denies it, he is only hiding the fact.)

The Birch leader's villains that night were the Republicans, the Democrats, Earl Warren, urban renewal, the United Nations, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. His hero was the late Senator Joe McCarthy.

Not a word of anti-Semitism passed Welch's lips; certainly none that observers could detect. He even avoided the kind of innuendo which the audience could interpret as a covert expression of anti-Jewish hostility. It is a fair conclusion that Robert Welch, himself not an anti-Semite, knows full well anti-Semitism can be a kiss of death.

The same, however, cannot be said for a large number of people in his Garden City audience that night. There was a question-and-answer period during which Welch had no control either over questions posed out loud or the reaction of the listeners to the questions. When one person rose to his feet demanding to know "Who promoted Peress?"—this was a signal for knowing oohs and aahs across the room, and a sudden burst of approving applause.

During the course of his presentation, the Birch Founder had talked about the infiltration of Communist agents into the Protestant clergy, mentioning, in passing, that there was some of it too, in the Roman Catholic priesthood. This provoked, during the question-and-answer period, a query from a lady who wanted to know what the situation was among rabbis. Again, even before he could answer, the room reacted to the question with a quick, enthusiastic round of applause—applause which could only be interpreted as the audience's inarticulate way of saying, "Ah, now we are putting our finger on the real problem."

Apparently, even Welch detected it, and after saying vaguely that he supposed there was some infiltration in the rabbinate, he added that there probably was also infiltration in the Moslem priesthood. This last comment was deliberately misinterpreted by his listeners. They reacted as if he were being humorously sly. They pretended that his answer was meant to convey to them: "Yes, the Jews are the core of the problem, but if we say it that bluntly, we will be charged with anti-Semitism. So let's blame all religions and with equal absurdity include the Moslems."

What is the John Birch Society, who is its leader, Robert Welch, and where do they fit into the American political scheme in this winter of 1961?

Structure and Organization

Founded by Robert Welch in December 1958, the John Birch Society is a monolithic, centrally-directed organization with Founder Welch as its moving force.

At the start of 1961, it claimed to have chapters in 34 states and the District of Columbia. Independent research indicates this claim is probably substantially accurate, and that in any event, the John Birch Society has chapters in at least 27 states and the District of Columbia.

By far the greatest number of chapters are operating in the State of Texas. A rough count shows approximately 150 chapters there. California, Michigan, and Massachusetts appear to have 20-35 chapters each. Arkansas, Florida, Illinois, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon and Wisconsin have roughly 10-20 chapters each. Georgia, Mississippi and Tennessee have about eight or nine chapters

each. Kansas has a reported six chapters, Virginia has about five, and the rest of the states where chapters exist probably have less than five. Two major centers of strength are Greater Houston and Greater Los Angeles.

So far as can be ascertained, neither Welch nor his aides in the John Birch Society have ever made public the number of chapters they claim to have nationwide. Independent research indicates that the number of chapters may well be in the neighborhood of 500.

According to Welch and official John Birch Society publications, chapters are composed of 20 members, and when a chapter grows beyond that point, any additional members are incorporated into a new chapter which spins off from the old.

Calculating on the basis of 500 chapters and 20 members per chapter, it would appear that the John Birch Society may have a bedrock minimum of some 10,000 members. In addition, many members in states where there are no chapters belong directly to the so-called Home Chapter at Society headquarters in Belmont, Mass. It is of course impossible to estimate the number of members in the Home Chapter.

In newspaper reports, the membership goal of the John Birch Society was placed at some 100,000 by the end of 1961. The eventual goal sought by Welch, according to these stories, is 1,000,000 members.

The only figure on the total membership of the John Birch Society which has appeared in print and which has any semblance of authenticity was contained in an Associated Press dispatch from Washington, dated May 22, 1961. This item was based on remarks reportedly made by Representative Edgar W. Hiestand (Rep., Calif.) before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives. According to the AP dispatch, Rep. Hiestand—an admitted member of the John Birch Society—estimated the Society membership at about 40,000 men and 20,000 women, or a total of 60,000.

On the basis of these figures, the annual dues received by the John Birch Society headquarters in Belmont, Mass. would appear to be a minimum of $1,200,000 a year, and in all probability more, since many of the members are life members who pay dues of $1,000 a year.

Staff and Leadership

Besides Welch, who draws no salary, there are 28 full-time employees at Society headquarters in Belmont, Mass. In the field, around the country, there are some 35 full-time salaried employees serving as "area coordinators." They are responsible directly to Founder Welch. Area coordinators, generally, cover at least one state, and in some cases, a group of states.

(Welch has stated that eventually, he hoped to have so-called "major coordinators" supervising the work of the coordinators—as the society grew and "as made necessary by sufficient membership, in order to keep strict and careful control on what every chapter is doing, and even every member of every chapter so far as the effective work of the John Birch Society is concerned.")

In addition, there are approximately 100 full or part-time volunteer coordinators or workers. These appear to be responsible for organization in parts of a state—or in large cities and their environs.

Finally, there are chapter leaders, who are leaders among the Society's membership in their home towns, and who play a key role in the day-to-day operations of the Society, its chapter meetings and program activities.

Besides Founder Welch and the original incorporators, the leadership of the John Birch Society is composed of a National Council of 26. From the National Council, four individuals serve—with Welch—as an Executive Committee. In addition, a Committee of Endorsers, composed of individuals who are members of the John Birch Society in the several states, can be considered to be part of the leadership group in the John Birch Society. It should be borne in mind, however, that the John Birch Society is organized from the top down, and that the only real leader is Founder Welch.

Welch stands at the center of a group of concentric circles. The National Council of the Society is the "inner circle"—closest to Founder Welch and presumably enjoying a large measure of his confidence. The paid area and major coordinators and headquarters staff might also be included in the inner circle. It is probable that some individuals among the Committee of Endorsers from the various states would be considered by Welch to be part of the "inner circle," while others would be included in the "second circle," possible along with the full and part-time volunteer coordinators (or section leaders) in parts of states and in certain big city areas.

Chapter leaders and ordinary members of the Society in the local chapters or the Home Chapter might compose the third, or "outer circle."

It should be emphasized that, while the foregoing concept of the John Birch Society as comprising a series of concentric circles is a useful one, it has never been spelled out by Welch himself and the gradations suggested above may not be precise. However, a careful reading of the publications of the John Birch Society, such as "The Blue Book" and "The White Book", strongly suggests that the Society in fact operates according to the concept of concentric circles.

Area coordinators and major coordinators are appointed by Founder Welch. He—or they—appoint local chapter leaders, and local coordinators or section leaders.

FACTS is a periodic report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y.

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Domestic report issues of Facts are edited by Milton Ellerin, director of The Fact Finding Dept. Special acknowledgement to Jerome Bakst for research and editorial assistance in preparation of this report.

Welch himself selected the members of the National Council and the Committee of Endorsers, as well as the small Executive Committee of the Society.

There are no elections whatsoever in the entire structure of the Society. The picture that emerges is one of a tight, centrally-controlled, dedicated and efficient organization—whatever the actual membership and chapter strength of the Society may be. The rate of growth is obscured by the successful effort of Welch to hide the actual numerical strength of the Society.

Finances

Dues for membership in the John Birch Society are $24 a year for men and $12 a year for women. A so-called "life membership" in the Home Chapter—which automatically covers membership in any local chapter—costs $1,000. In addition, Founder Welch appeals for voluntary contributions from all members who can afford it—over and above their regular monthly dues. He has set up a system of "members' monthly messages"—envelopes in which members can enclose their voluntary contributions, along with any suggestions or messages they may wish to send him directly.

There are, of course, no detailed financial reports available on the operations of the John Birch Society. No one knows how much of Welch's personal resources went into the Society. Nobody knows how much the eleven wealthy men who attended the founding meeting of the Society at Indianapolis in December 1958, contributed then—or have contributed since. Presumably they—and most of the members of the National Council who number 26—are life members of the Society, and pay the $1,000 annual dues for a life member. A few persons on the Committee of Endorsers from the several states appear to have sufficient financial status to warrant life memberships. All in all, it would appear that Welch can count on at least $30,000 to $50,000 a year from life members, not including any supplementary contributions they may make.

The payroll and expenses for the nation-wide staff of approximately 63 men and women—plus his extensive printing and mailing operations—tend to support the impression that the John Birch Society today is probably a $1,000,000 a year operation, or more.

National Reaction

Hundreds of thousands of words of exposé material and editorial criticism have been lavished by the nation's press on the Birch Society and Founder Welch, and a tremendous amount of air time and film footage have been devoted by radio and television to coverage of developments involving the leader and his organization. Columnists—of all shades of political opinion—have criticized Welch and the Society. Prominent individuals, from President Kennedy down, have expressed or implied criticism of the Founder and his movement.

In general, the major points that have been made against Welch and the Society in this tremendous outpouring center around:

- Welch's view of former President Eisenhower, his brother Milton, the Dulles brothers, and some other leading Americans as Communist agents or dupes.
- Welch's call for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren.
- The secret, or semi-secret nature of the John Birch Society.
- Welch's scorn for democracy.
- The degree of Communist infiltration which Welch and his followers claim to see in American domestic life.
- The tactics which Welch advocates—such as infiltration, penetration and take-over of local civic groups like the PTAs, and the harassment of local school and library officials.

Welch, in writing his own members about the outburst of criticism directed against him and the Society, views it as a Communist-inspired smear campaign which is being aided and abetted by Communist dupes and sympathizers. The fact is that newspapers ranging from the conservative Los Angeles Times to the liberal New York Post have joined in criticizing Welch, his views and his Society. The same is true of columnists, ranging from conservatives such as George Sokolsky, Arthur Krock and Raymond Moley—to liberals such as Marquis Childs, Max Lerner, Eric Sevareid and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Among prominent national leaders, besides the President, critics have included Attorney General Kennedy, former Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, Senators Thomas Dodd of Connecticut and Milton Young of North Dakota, the National Council of Churches, the United Presbyterian Church, the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, and such leading Episcopalian clerics as Bishop James A. Pike of Los Angeles and Bishop Horace Donegan of New York.

Among Roman Catholics, critics have included Msgr. George B. Higgins, Director, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Rev. John B. Sheerin, editor, Catholic World, and such official archdiocesan papers as The Boston Pilot, New World (Chicago) and Visitor (Providence, R. I.). Commonweal has also published a critical editorial and other material, as has Ave Maria.

The Birch Society and Anti-Semitism

There is nothing in the Society's program or in its published material that espouses anti-Semitism. There is nothing in Welch's own record to suggest any personal anti-Semitism on his part. In short, anti-Semitism is not a stock in trade of Welch or of the John Birch Society.

Nevertheless, there are indications that Welch and the Society have a blind spot—which makes it possible for some anti-Semites and a certain degree of anti-Semitism to creep into the Society's activities and membership.

The best that can be said is that Welch and the Society are "non-anti-Semitic." Welch claims to be "anti-anti-Semitic" but the facts indicate that despite his protestations, he has not been alert to the presence in his organization of individuals with known records of anti-Semitism, and individuals with known records of support for—or associations with—anti-Semites or anti-Semitic organizations. Furthermore, he has himself indicated in his own actions a lack of awareness with respect to anti-semites and anti-Semitism.

What are the facts in the record of Welch and the John Birch Society so far?

- In 1952, Welch wrote a booklet called "May God Forgive Us" in which he cited a pamphlet by Joseph P. Kamp as a source.

- In 1954, Welch wrote "The Life of John Birch" and admits he paid Kamp $100.00 to check the manuscript for inaccuracies.
  (Welch contends that he did not know of the widespread allegations of anti-Semitism against Kamp as of 1952 and 1954 and that since he has learned of those allegations, he has had no further dealings with Kamp.)

- Some sections of Welch's "The Politician"—the "letter" Welch wrote for private circulation in which he claims that Dwight Eisenhower was a "dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy"—are borrowed directly from Kamp's "Headlines," issue of March 15, 1952. (This was a pre-Republican convention smear blast, replete with anti-Semitic innuendo, issued by Kamp against General Eisenhower.) Some sections of "The Politician" appear to have been taken from Kamp almost verbatim, including some tainted portions.

- "The Politician" cites Merwin K. Hart, a long-time anti-Semite, as an authority, and praises the vehement and blatant anti-Semite, Lucille Miller, of Bethel, Vt. It is clear that Welch's reference to her was written after 1955, when her record of anti-Semitism was quite public and had been clearly referred to in the public prints. Welch, however, simply refers to Mrs. Miller as "a patriotic but not too cautious Vermont woman."

- "The Politician" contains some gratuitous and snide innuendoes regarding men in public life of which the following are examples:

  a) Referring to Arthur F. Burns, President Eisenhower's economic adviser, Welch states that Burns was "born and raised in Russia." Even if true, this would be gratuitous, except that Welch was trying to make the point—as he states—that Burns' job as economic adviser was probably "a cover-up for Burns' liaison work between Eisenhower and some of his Communist bosses." (Fact: Arthur F. Burns was born in Stanislau, Austria, April 27, 1904, according to "Who's Who in America," Vol. 31, 1960-61.)
  b) Referring to Simon E. Sobeloff, former Solicitor General of the U.S., appointed by President Eisenhower to the Court of Appeals, Fourth Judicial Circuit, Welch refers to Sobeloff as having been born and raised in Russia. (According to "Current Biography," 1955, page 565, Sobeloff was born in Baltimore, Maryland).
  c) Welch refers to C. Douglas Dillon, now Secretary of the Treasury, and a former ambassador to France, as "Clarence Lapowski, alias Clarence Dillon." (Dillon's paternal grandfather, Samuel Lapowski, emigrated from Poland to Texas and changed his name to Dillon—two generations before C. Douglas was born. Mr. Dillon is an Episcopalian.)
  d) Welch writes of Edward S. Greenbaum, (an Eisenhower Alternate Delegate to the U.N.) this way: "Greenbaum is a close friend of Sam Rosenman, and a law partner of Morris Ernst. It hardly seems that anything more needs to be said."
  e) Welch describes C. D. Jackson, publisher of Life Magazine, as "C. D. Jacobson, alias C. D. Jackson." (There is no indication in "Who's Who In America," Vol. 31, 1960-61, or in "Current Biography," 1951, or in any other authoritative source that C. D. Jackson's original name was anything other than Jackson. In any case, the reference seems to be a snide irrelevancy.)

- Welch has recommended two anti-Semitic publications to his membership — Merwin K. Hart's Economic Council Letter and the "American Mercury" magazine, after it had been converted from a once great name in magazine circles to a frequent vehicle for the dissemination of anti-Semitic innuendo and worse. The recommendation of Hart's publication in the November 1960 Bulletin took place after Welch had been advised of the anti-Semitic history of Merwin K. Hart and his Economic Council Letter.

- The New York Post (issue of May 22, 1961) identified Hart as leader of John Birch Society Chapter 26 in New York. That chapter was identified, in a letter from Vice Admiral C. S. Freeman, a long-time Hart associate and a member of the Society's Committee of Endorsers for New York State, as "the oldest Chapter in the New York area." The Post article said that copies of Hart's Economic Council Letter were available at the May 9, 1961 meeting of Chapter 26, held at headquarters of Hart's National Economic Council, 156 Fifth Avenue.

- Some members of the National Council of the John Birch Society have the following records:

  a) Spruille Braden of New York, former U.S. Ambassador to Argentina, was listed in 1958 as a director of Hart's National Economic Council.
  b) Ralph E. Davis of Los Angeles. Listed as a director of Hart's National Economic Council in 1955.
  c) Prof. Revilo P. Oliver of the University of Illinois. Shared the speakers platform in February 1961 with Kenneth Goff, a notorious anti-Semite, at the so-called Midwest Christian Patriots Convention in St. Louis. In April 1961, Oliver addressed the convention of Kenneth Goff's "Soldiers of the Cross" at the Raleigh Hotel in Washington.
  d) Paul Talbert of Beverly Hills, California. Paid $120 to Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade during the calendar year 1959.

- For several months during 1959, Welch used the services of Willis Carto in an executive or organizing capacity. Carto apparently worked out of Society headquarters in Belmont, Mass. For about five years, he was executive secretary of an extreme rightist group called "Liberty and Property" which published a newsletter called "RIGHT." This periodical was an outlet for anti-Semitic propaganda and a clearing house for information about the activities of anti-Semites and anti-Semitic organizations.

- Anti-Semites and anti-Semitism are beginning to show in the John Birch Society at the local level.

  a) David Harmon, who said he was a full-time paid Society organizer covering Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, was quoted by the Minneapolis Star of May 20, 1961, as saying at a Society meeting in Bloomington—a suburb of Minneapolis—that "even if most Jews are Communists, there are still a lot of good ones."
  b) Theodore W. Miller of Chicago, an attorney with a long record of identification with anti-Semites and anti-Semitic causes, is listed as a member of the Society's Committee of Endorsers for the State of Illinois. Among the notorious anti-Semites with whom Miller hob-nobbed in the 1940s were Joe McWilliams, Elizabeth Dilling and Gerald L. K. Smith.
  c) Miss Olive Simes is listed as a member of the Society's Committee of Endorsers for Massachusetts. For a number of years, one O. Simes of Boston and/or Petersham, Mass., has been listed by Gerald L. K. Smith as a contributor to his Christian Nationalist Crusade. According to Smith's reports, O. Simes contributed $140 in 1955, $285 in 1956, $200 in 1957, $160 in 1958, $205 in 1959 and $160 in 1960.

Welch on Anti-Semitism

Welch has gone out of his way to deny—and with some vehemence—any anti-Semitism on his own part or that of the Society. The April 1961 issue of the Society "Bulletin" contains a long denial by Welch of any such anti-Semitic taint. He asserts that "the most vicious and most extensive charges ever levelled against me have been made by such notorious anti-Semites as Lyrl Clark Van Hyning (Women's Voice) and Elizabeth Dilling (The Dilling Bulletin) on the grounds that my various committees and supporters are nothing but a 'bunch of Jews and Jew-kissers'."

He then goes on to point out that some of his closest associates and advisers are Jewish: William Schlamm, a writer; Julius Epstein, an author; Morrie Ryskind, writer; the late Alfred Kohlberg, a leading figure for many years in anti-Communist causes; and Rabbi Max Merritt of Los Angeles, an active leader of the American Jewish League Against Communism.

Another point in Welch's denial of anti-Semitism refers to the fact that in his long years in the candy industry, a large percentage of his customers were Jews. He says he sold them goods, travelled with them, drank coffee with them in their kitchens at midnight, went to formal dinners with them, borrowed money from them when he needed it in the early days, and loaned them money later when he had it. He says he never stopped to think where they worshipped. And one day, he continues, when the thought occurred to him, he says he "took pride in the belief that I probably had more good friends of the Jewish faith than any other Gentile in America."

Welch then turns to the allegation of anti-Semitism against him, which—at the outset of his statement—he terms "the third stage of the attack . . . against your Founder." Let's look, he says to his readers, "at what the propagandists can bring forth to support their accusation." The accusation, he adds quickly, "has to be cut almost completely out of the whole cloth of fabrication" but he concedes that "there are three extremely tenuous threads" he has seen being used to hold the accusation together.

He then turns to the charge—as he states it—"that I quote, and use materials from Joseph Kamp, whom everybody is supposed to recognize as a notorious anti-Semite." On this point Welch avoids the direct issue, simply stating that whether or not Kamp is an anti-Semite is none of Welch's "present business." (Exactly why the question of Kamp's anti-Semitism is none of Welch's business is difficult to understand, especially in view of Welch's presumed eagerness to deny his own anti-Semitism and his concern that the John Birch Society never "become an agency or even a haven of anti-Semitic feeling so long as I am directing its policies.")

Welch then goes on to offer a series of rebuttals to the report of anti-Semitism. Typical is this: One feature of the Society is that he has the right to drop anyone from membership at any time without giving a reason. This has been used twice, he explains. One of the two instances involved a man who had taken over a certain local Society chapter and was gradually converting it into "a hotbed of anti-Semitsm"—or was at least trying to.

The final main point in Welch's "rebuttal" is "simply that I am not anti-Semitic, never could be, and could never allow the John Birch Society to become an agency or even a haven of anti-Semitic feeling as long as I am directing its policies." Welch adds that he is "often told that too large a percentage of Jews are Communists and too large a percentage of Communists are Jews. Welch answers those who complain to him about the identification of Jews with Communism by replying that too large a percentage of Methodists and Frenchmen are Communists but he doesn't blame all Methodists or Frenchmen for that. He adds: "I feel it is equally absurd and unfair to blame all Jews because some Jews are Communists."

The concluding section of Welch's statement denying anti-Semitism is, in effect, a warning. "There is only one real danger in the charge of anti-Semitism today, to the man who actually is *not* anti-Semitic. It is that the utter (and in some cases malicious) unfairness of the charge may cause him to react with anger against Jews in general, and then begin to let some of his feeling creep into his writings or his speeches."

Some Evaluations

There have been many extremist groups on the American scene over the last 25 years. Almost without exception, they have been active for a period of time and then have dwindled or disappeared. The activities of some of these groups have been confined to the publishing and circulating of radical right-wing literature with no special attempt at membership recruitment and organization at the grass-roots level.

Other ultra-reactionary groups have tried to organize a membership following nationally, but their efforts have generally been unsuccessful and they have become —almost without exception—organizations composed of a relatively small number of "leaders" scattered around the country.

Many of these groups have attracted individuals with records of anti-Semitism. The pattern has been clear enough over the years to make it likely that any new extremist right-wing organization is a potential gathering-place for anti-Semites and a potential vehicle for the dissemination of anti-Semitism—whether by word of mouth at meetings, or via printed literature which such organizations may publish and distribute, or which may be published and distributed by their members.

While the John Birch Society conforms to the pattern insofar as it has become tainted with anti-Semites, it is unique in several all-important respects:

- It is the first right-wing extremist group in many years that is well-organized and that has had any degree of success in recruiting members at the grass-roots level and on almost a nation-wide scale.
- It is adequately financed by dues on a continuing basis, unlike other extreme right-wing groups which have frequently languished, not only for lack of organization at the grass-roots, but for lack of adequate financing. In some instances, these organizations were entirely dependent for financial support on one, or a few, well-to-do individuals.
- The Birch Society has an on-going program of action and activity for its membership, with monthly instructions and assignments sent to all members, and with regular local chapter meetings.

- Welch, who is the supreme boss and who obviously has a talent for organization, has a sound business head, and a capacity for attention to detail and for hard work that distinguishes him from other ultra-reactionary leaders of the past.
- Leaders of the John Birch Society at the grass-roots level are, by and large, people of some status and financial solidity in their communities. Regardless of their extremist viewpoints, they tend to be persons who are sufficiently respectable and influential at the local level to be able to exert considerable pressure when they choose to do so in their communities.
- The Society may be benefitting from the reported wave of interest in "conservatism" that allegedly has emerged in the United States since the election of President Kennedy and may—in a sense—be riding the crest of that wave.

Anti-Democratic Structure

Because of these six factors, unique for an extremist movement, the concerns about the organization cannot lightly be brushed aside. Let's examine why:—

Mr. Welch has declared: "Democracy . . . in government or organization . . . is merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery and a perennial fraud." Mr. Welch has also declared that "the United States is not a democracy but a republic, and we ought to keep it that way."

The Birch Society regards democracy as an evil and as a sure road to Communism. It does not respect democracy, its political and ethical concepts, or the integrity of its institutions. In this connection, the Society is guilty of attempts to pressure our courts of law by threats of impeachment. Whether the target be the Chief Justice of the United States or the lowliest police magistrate, this is a fundamental violation of our constitutional concepts and harmful to the American form of government.

In our country voluntary agencies traditionally play an important role—for good or evil—and the John Birch Society is the latest voluntary negative movement in America. We have had Coughlinism, America First and the McCarthy movement—and now their successor, Birch. It is a radical right-wing organization, composed of a small band of extremists on the fringe of American political life, which sees all problems in conspiratorial terms. But this one has two features the others lack: a leader with a great capacity to organize and a technique of semi-secrecy—and secrecy of action through "front organizations."

The John Birch Society is part of a larger movement, the major section of which is not quite as irresponsible. While clearly the most notorious and best publicized of the radical right-wing groups on the American scene—it is only one of many new ones on the far right. Some 206 groups—from conservative to extremist right-wing—have sprung up in the United States, most of them within the last two years. Of the 206, there were 19 new ones in 1960, and 79 in 1961; more in the first ten months of this year than in any similar period in the last twenty years.

To sum up its strength—in less than three years the Birch Society has developed a gross annual income of about a million and a half dollars from dues, life memberships, special contributions, and the sale of literature. Although it will release no membership figures, experts in the field say that those who pay dues number about 60,000. Its paid staff consists of approximately 63 men and women. Thus, while substantial, the movement is obviously not quite as big as its press notices would indicate. The fact is that the Society earns extravagant amounts of publicity by Welch's outrageous charges of Communism against such Americans as former President Eisenhower, the late John Foster Dulles, or an unidentified group of several hundred Roman Catholic priests. (For instance, Monsignor Francis J. Lally, editor of "The Pilot" in Boston, was among the American editors who spoke up in an excellent editorial, published on October 14th, in defense of the Catholic clergy after Mr. Welch at Garden City in effect charged 273 Catholic priests with being Communists.)

Mr. Welch contends that the Communists are responsible for precipitating the press attack upon his organization—part of the conspiracy, of course. It was, he claims, triggered by a "signal" given in an article published on February 25, 1961 in the Communist "People's World" which circulates on the West Coast. He referred to that article as the "mother piece" for all that followed, adding that Time Magazine was the first in line.

But his charge does not square with the facts. The plain truth is that the "People's World" was a "Johnny-come-lately." Back in July 1960, newspapers in the Mid-West uncovered and published the details of Welch's accusations in his then-secret manuscript "The Politician."

The John Birch Society would never have received its nation-wide notoriety if its Founder had not written "The Politician"—the book he called a confidential letter—with its outlandish allegations of treason. However, under any circumstances, some of its leadership stands sufficiently high in the community power-structure to win the group a hearing from newspaper editors. Local leaders and members of the Society are, in many cases, people of financial responsibility and social status in their communities, often able to exert considerable influence and impact at the local level.

In affirmation of his hatred of democracy, Mr. Welch has structured his Society in an un-democratic fashion: The organization is centrally-controlled and tightly run by the Founder himself. Everything operates from the top down; Mr. Welch picks his national organizers for the Society; they report directly to him; chapter leaders report to national, regional or local organizers picked by Mr. Welch or his agents.

The Conspiratorial Outlook

If the authoritarian structure of the Birch organization is elementary, its basic premises are primitive: First, it believes in the conspiratorial theory of history and politics. Conspiracy is always the answer. Second, it believes that the Communist conspiracy has already captured control of most of the world—including the United States—and because it is already victorious here on our shores, battle must be done to recapture the country from the enemy.

That both premises are false is patent and demonstrable.

Perhaps not all Welch followers agree with everything he says. Some Birchites have gone to great lengths to disassociate themselves from his views about General George C. Marshall and other great American leaders he has smeared. They say these views are personal, not organizational. The contention is untenable—because, by his own statements, Welch has made it clear that *he is* the Society—that the Society *is* a monolithic organization in which *he is* the central moving spirit. Any attempt to separate the two fails.

If the Society's members are uneasy or embarrassed by his more sensational views, they nevertheless live in the same political fantasy-land with Mr. Welch. It is a world whose inhabitants assume that there must be solutions that will produce victories on the international scene and will resolve all our domestic problems. If no easy solutions are forthcoming, there must somewhere be a conspiracy preventing it. They see the world around them—the churches, the press, radio and television, the unions—almost all the established institutions in our free society—in the grip of Communist conspirators, or their sympathizers.

Those who disagree with this view are naturally a part of the conspiracy, for there can be no honest basic differences of opinion: you are a Bircher—or you are a Red, or a tool—and this applies to anyone from Republican to left-wing Socialist. Most ridiculous of all, the Birchers view the government itself—and its political leaders—as just another part of the same pack of Communist agents or dupes—few of them to be trusted.

The Communist Parallel

A most striking and significant feature of the Society is that many of its campaigns parallel those of the Soviet Communists. The Society would seek to destroy, among other things, NATO, the United Nations and the vital American system of economic and military aid to underdeveloped countries. These are also precisely the aims of the Soviet Union in its efforts to weaken the United States throughout the world. Let's look at the parallels:

1) NATO: The Soviet would smash NATO so that it could not protect against Communist intrusion upon Western Europe . . . Birch would take U.S. troops out of NATO, making it incapable of protecting against Communist intrusion upon Western Europe.
2) The United Nations: To capture control of it, the Soviet insists upon the right of veto, even in the administration of U.N. work . . . Birch would take the United States out of the U.N., leaving the Soviet in control of it, including administration.
3) Foreign Aid: The Soviet tries to persuade underdeveloped countries to reject American economic and military assistance . . . Birch would withdraw such American assistance from underdeveloped countries.
4) The Communist Menace: The Soviet argues that Communism is not an external threat to the United States . . . Birch argues that Communism is more an internal threat than an external one.
5) The Race Problem: The Soviet would convince Asian and African nations to turn their backs on the United States because of its alleged pro-racist policies . . . Birch would impeach Earl Warren for his anti-racist decisions.
6) Social Justice: The Soviet does not believe in it . . . Birch is oposed to civil rights and the religious gospel of social rights.
7) The Front Organization: The Soviet attempts to use "fronts" as an essential tool in the dissemination of its propaganda in the United States . . . Birch advocates the use of "fronts" as a technique for propaganda purposes.
8) The Communist Party: In the Soviet it is a monolithic, totalitarian movement with no dissent permitted to its followers from the principles laid down by its leader . . . Ditto for the Birch Society.

The reason for the recent appearance of many right-wing organizations on the American scene—and for the success (such as it is) of the Welch movement—is a complex of things: the frustrations of the American people; the troubles we are having with Russia; the problems in Berlin, Laos and Cuba; the American lag in rocketry, long-range missiles, the space race—in short, the cold war. And on the domestic front: high taxes, rising living costs, the integration struggle, and so on. For all these difficulties, the Birch movement offers a single, simple solution—tear down everything that's up.

Welch's organization has no future in America. Eventually, it will go the way of all know-nothing movements. Once its character is completely understood by the American people, the organization is doomed to failure. They will inevitably reject and repudiate it as an unwholesome political growth in American soil. In the nature of things, the United States will eventually evolve adequate and proper remedies for its international and domestic problems. At that point Americans will turn their backs on Robert Welch and his John Birch Society.

Appendix

LEADERSHIP AND STAFF OF THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

I. Incorporators

Robert Welch, Belmont, Mass.
—President and Treasurer
Marion Probert Welch, Belmont, Mass.
Elen M. Lovett, Cambridge, Mass.
—Clerk or Secretary
Ellen Douglas Snow, Belmont, Mass.
Philip L. Jenkins, Brockton, Mass.
Juliette D. Guild, Hingham, Mass.
Mary M. White, West Concord, Mass.

II. National Council

Dr. N. E. Adamson, Jr., Boston, Mass.
Thomas J. Anderson, Nashville, Tenn.
T. Coleman Andrews, Richmond, Va.
Spruille Braden, New York City
Col. Laurence E. Bunker, Wellesley, Mass.
F. Gano Chance, Centralia, Missouri
S. J. Conner, Chicago, Ill.
Ralph E. Davis, Los Angeles, Calif.
Dr. S. M. Draskovich, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Richard Ginder, Pittsburgh, Pa.
William J. Grede, Milwaukee, Wisc.
A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., Knoxville, Tenn.
Dr. Granville F. Knight,
Santa Barbara, Calif.
Fred C. Koch, Wichita, Kansas
Alfred Kohlberg, New York City (Deceased)
Dean Clarence Manion, South Bend, Indiana
Frank E. Masland, Jr., Carlisle, Pa.
N. Floyd McGowin, Chapman, Ala.
W. B. McMillan, St. Louis, Mo.
Dr. Revilo P. Oliver, Urbana, Illinois
Cola G. Parker, Menasha, Wisc.
Hon. M. T. Phelps, Phoenix, Arizona
Louis Ruthenburg, Evansville, Ind.
J. Nelson Shepherd, Sioux Falls, S. D.
James Simpson, Jr., Illinois (Deceased)
Robert W. Stoddard, Worcester, Mass.
Lt. Gen. Charles B. Stone, III
(U.S.A.F.Ret.), Calif.
Paul H. Talbert, Beverly Hills, Calif.

Former Members

John T. Beatty, Chicago, Ill.
E. P. Hamilton, Two Rivers, Wisc.
Adolphe Menjou, Calif.
Ernest Swigert, Portland, Oregon

III. Committee of Endorsers

Alabama
Lt. Gen. Edward M. Almond

Arizona
Frank Cullen Brophy
Clarence J. Duncan
Mrs. V. M. Haldiman
Edwin McDowell

Arkansas
O. D. Hadfield, Jr.
Mrs. Alfred Lippman, Jr.

California
Frank P. Adams
L. A. Alesen, M.D.
Mrs. Gertrude Derby Bale
Major Gen. Robert Blake
Andrew Brown
Hon. Kit Clardy (Deceased)
William B. Coberly, Jr.
William W. Cone
C. M. Crawford
Richard H. Creel, M.D.
Matt Cvetic
W. R. Fawcett
Mrs. Helen H. Garretson
Francis P. Graves
D. Hanson Grubb
J. H. Harris
Hon. Edgar W. Hiestand
Rev. Francis Kean
Max A. Koffman
D. B. Lewis
Doane M. Lowery
Mrs. Doris A. Parks
Sister M. Margaret Patricia, Ph.D.
Ray M. Spalding

Connecticut
Philip N. Dumbrille
Franklin Farrel, Jr.
Rev. Francis E. Fenton
A. Brooks Harlow
E. Merrill Root
E. L. Wiegand

District of Columbia
Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers
Mrs. John F. Gibson, Jr.
Rear Adm. Paulus P. Powell
Melchior F. R. Savarese, M.D.
Vice Adm. T. G. Settle

Florida
Mr. and Mrs. Frederick S. Ballweg
Mrs. A. Gray Boylston
Thomas Gaskins
Sydney Houston
Lt. Gen. Sumter L. Lowry
Mrs. Florence Post

Georgia
Hugh H. Armstrong
Paul K. McKenney, Jr.
R. Carter Pittman

Hawaii
Mrs. George P. Cooks

Idaho
J. H. Gipson, Sr.

Illinois
George J. Hess, M.D.
W. A. Kates
Theodore W. Miller
Max Pray
W. B. Taylor, Jr.
George H. Williamson

Indiana
James L. Doenges, M.D.
Hugh S. Ramsey, M.D.

Iowa
J. S. Kimmel, Sr.

Kansas
Robert D. Love
Hon. Wint Smith

Kentucky
R. S. Logan

Louisiana
John U. Barr (Deceased)
Dr. Medford Evans

Maryland
George O. Blome
Halsey McGovern

Massachusetts
Eugene H. Clapp
Miss Hope Gray
Hubert W. Kregeloh
Charles J. Lewin
Robert H. Montgomery
Col. W. Bruce Pirnie
Burton A. Prince
Miss Olive Simes
Joseph Sullivan
Rodney Washburn

Michigan
Mrs. Harmon L. Brown
Richard Durant
Irving E. Ingraham
Vernon P. Johnson, M.D.

Mississippi
Tullins Brady

Missouri
William R. Schneider

New Jersey
Mrs. Frederick Griswold, Jr.
Mark M. Jones
Ross Nichols
Louis S. Wegryn, M.D.

New Hampshire
C. B. Robinson

New Mexico
George S. Richardson, M.D.
Lt. Gen. James P. Riseley

New York
Mrs. Kenneth C. Crain
Frank de Ganahl
E. Ainsworth Eyre
Vice Adm. C. S. Freeman
Norman J. Gould
Earl Harding
Merwin K. Hart
Mrs. Seth Milliken
T. I. Parkinson, Jr.
Commodore Frederick G. Reinicke
Archibald E. Roosevelt
George M. Tisdale
Jesse C. Williams

North Carolina
Melick W. Blades
J. C. Peele, M.D.

Ohio
Harold Blacker
Charles W. Pavey, M.D.
Hon. Gordon H. Scherer

Oklahoma
Glenn O. Young

Pennsylvania
Frank W. Gaydosh
Mrs. T. E. Payne

Rhode Island
Robert B. Dresser
Norman D. MacLeod

South Carolina
Roger Milliken
Thomas Parker, M.D.

Tennessee
J. P. McCallie
T. Walker Lewis

Texas
John R. Anderson
Akard Beall
Mrs. W. L. Goldston (resigned)
W. H. Kellogg
Brig. Gen. W. L. Lee
Col. L. E. Limbert
Edward D. McKay, M.D.
J. Nye Ryman
Major Gen. W. G. Weaver
J. O. Webb
Brig. Gen. T. F. Wessels

Utah
Capt. and Mrs. Stephen Abbot
Hon. J. Bracken Lee

Vermont
William S. Schlamm

Virginia
E. S. Dillard
James G. Martin, IV
Matt McKeon
Capt. R. W. Orrell

Washington
P. C. Beezley
Fred M. Harris
Col. Tom R. Hutton
Harry M. Robbins

West Virginia
Luther O. Griffith

Wisconsin
Mrs. Walter K. Graham
Mrs. Robert A. Murray
Mrs. Norman Skogstad

Wyoming
Dan Hanson
A. E. Larson

IV. Headquarters Staff, Belmont, Mass.

Dr. Francis X. Gannon
—Head of Research Dept.
Miss Estelle Hotin
Secretary to head of Research Dept.
James J. Drummey—Research Dept.
Thomas N. Hill—Identified as full-time "correspondence" coordinator.
William Haviland—a coordinator.
Bernard Haffney—a coordinator.
David Breen—a coordinator.
Harold McKinney—Executive assistant to Welch (deals with state coordinators).

V. Field Coordinators

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Leonard Banowitz, Wichita, Kansas
Akard S. Beall, Houston, Texas
P. C. Beezley, Seattle, Wash.
Claude Boring, Florida
Jack Brogdan, Houston, Texas
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Lyle Cashion (Cashin), Houston, Texas
Mrs. Joseph Crosby, South Pasadena, Calif.
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Thomas J. Davis, Stamford, Conn.
Leslie Fleming, Portland, Oregon
Glenn Green, New York City
Joseph Grinnan, Dallas, Texas
David Harmon, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Richard Johnson, Green Bay, Wisc.
Edward Kelley, Michigan
Bob Koenig, Chicago, Ill.
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Brig. Gen. William L. (Jerry) Lee (U.S.A.F.Ret.), Amarillo, Texas
C. O. Mann (Buck McMann), Odessa, Tex.
Chet Merriam, Santa Barbara, Calif.
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Dr. Charles W. Pavey, Columbus, Ohio
H. J. Pierson, Indianapolis, Ind.
Wayd Poag, Memphis, Tenn.
James H. Pound, Tallahassee, Fla.
Don Rueber, Milwaukee, Wisc.
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Edmond F. Shoheen, Compton, Calif.
Donald W. Smith, Dallas, Texas
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Stuart Swenson, Dallas, Texas
Dallas Wales, Shreveport, La.
Tom Wunderlick, Dallas, Texas
Dr. Rob Yeargan, Birmingham, Alabama

Former Field Coordinators

Bryton Barron, Washington, D. C.
Orville Sherwood, Detroit, Mich.

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Black Muslims

When the Word Is Given:
a Report on Elijah Muhammad,
Malcolm X, and the B. M.
World, by Louis Lomax

World Pub. Co., N.Y., N.Y.

LIFE
Vol. 54, No. 22 May 31, 1963

PRAYER TO ALLAH. Black Muslim men, trim and husky, make traditional Islam gesture of readiness to receive what Allah gives.

BLACK MUSLIM'S CRY GROWS LOUDER

'The white devil's day is almost over'

In these days of bloody Birmingham and of jails in the South jammed with Negro demonstrators, these words above ring ominously, heralding an explosive and disturbing force in the Negro fight for civil rights. They are the prophecy of Elijah Muhammad (*opposite*), leader of a sect called Black Muslims, who cries out nakedly of the Negroes' deep rage at whites—"white devils," he calls them. Founded in 1930, but long obscure and ignored, the Muslims have been swept to prominence and significance by the erupting impatience of Negroes willing to risk violence to get equality. In this mood, Negroes who shrugged off the movement now feel a growing response to its angry credo. Negro politicians, sniffing the winds of popularity, are busily courting the Muslims.

Elijah Muhammad, who calls himself the messenger of a black Allah, preaches a confusing religion. But there is nothing confused about his secular doctrine: it is bitter, blunt, intractable. The black man and white man, he says, can never be brothers. Instead of hoping for love and peace from whites, the Negro must expect hate and violence—and be ready to return them. Instead of joining the white man's world, the Negro must separate from it and set up an all-black nation in the U.S.

Muslims—there may be as many as 100,000—live in a closed world, barring outsiders. LIFE Photographer Gordon Parks, a Negro and given unprecedented access to this world, found himself forced into an agonizing self-study (*page 31*).

THE TOUGH CORPS TRAINS FOR ACTION

In 30 Black Muslim mosques across the country, drill masters and judo experts train an elite guard called the Fruit of Islam. Many Negroes and whites, alarmed by overtones of hate and violence in Muslim doctrine, see the F.O.I. as a threatening instrument of racial rage. But the group has no weapons and Muslims insist it is only for defense against unprovoked white attacks, especially by police. "If anybody attacks us," says one leader, "may Allah have mercy on his soul." There have been many incidents between Muslims and police, and two F.O.I. men have been killed. Since they want nothing at all to do with whites, Muslims declare they are not likely to precipitate racial incidents. Any Muslim—some are reformed criminals and dope addicts—who breaks a U.S. law is suspended from the sect.

Discipline permeates the Muslim sect and all reins of power are pulled by Elijah Muhammad, now 66. His enforcer is his son-in-law, who bosses the F.O.I. Elijah himself manages the sect's multimillion dollar finances and two sons run businesses which include stores, laundries and restaurants where Black Muslims are encouraged to trade. Most Muslims pay staggering dues of $8 a week, plus extra assessments.

Elijah Muhammad himself did not found the cult. His career began in 1930 as disciple of an "Arab Savior" named D. W. Fard. Muhammad draws followers not with fiery oratory but by relentlessly repeating his simple solution for the Negro's complex problem. As Muslims, members find joy and security in a life of order, discipline, uniforms and tough mutual support.

DRILL CAPTAIN. Roaring a cadence, Brother Joseph puts Fruit of Islam class through its calisthenics course. Emphasis is on physical toughness and blind obedience. Laggards are humiliated or kicked out of the class.

DEFENSE DRILL. Snapping fists out in unison, F.O.I. members learn basic fighting skills. Ready to counter any aggressive action, the men guard leaders, Muslim schools and temples, and women when en masse in public.

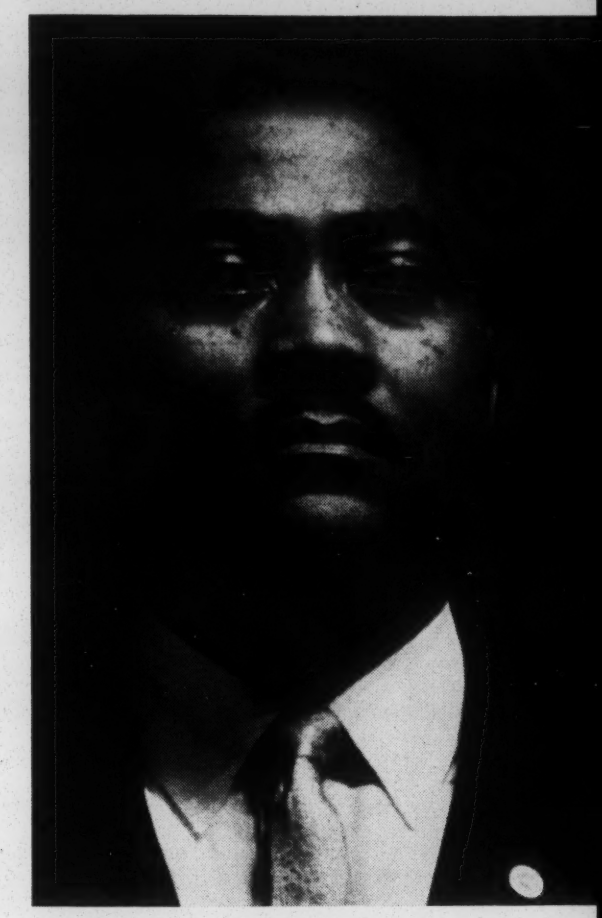
DEFENSE AGAINST DOGS. F.O.I. instructor shows how to deal with a live police dog like those used against demonstrating Negroes in Birmingham: grasp its leash, whirl it around in air, and the dog will surely strangle.

CONTINUED

ADULTS' TRAINING. Wearing $150 uniforms, Muslim wives get instruction in sewing from women's leader Ethel Sharrieff (*right*). At public affairs women must wear ankle-length white dresses, keep heads covered.

CHILDRENS' SCHOOLING. Christine Johnson quit public school job to run Muslim grade school in Chicago.

TOP WOMAN. Leader of women's corps, Ethel Sharrieff, Elijah's daughter, runs charges with unyielding hand.



STRONG MAN. Raymond Sharrieff, chief of the F.O.I. and Ethel's husband, handles all disciplinary jobs.

'WAKE UP, CLEAN UP, STAND UP'

Before the black man can become independent of whites, says Elijah Muhammad, he must "wake up, clean up, stand up." So the membership, many of whom never got through elementary school, attend weekly classes at the mosque. The women learn homemaking—sewing, cooking, how to set a table and serve dinner in a middle-class manner. The women's organization, the Muslim Girl Training and General Civilization Class, parallels the men's F.O.I. and the women's leader, Elijah's daughter, is married to its chief. Though both men and women study reading and mathematics, there is no coeducation. No men are allowed among the women at classes—or at religious services, where they sit on opposite sides of the hall.

In Chicago the Muslims also run a school for children, the Islam University Number 2, accredited by the state. Attendance is mandatory for the city's Muslim children. The school goes up through 9th grade, but 12 college scholarships are available. But so far there have been only two takers.

CONTINUED

STRICT PRAYERFUL WAYS GOVERN A MUSLIM HOME

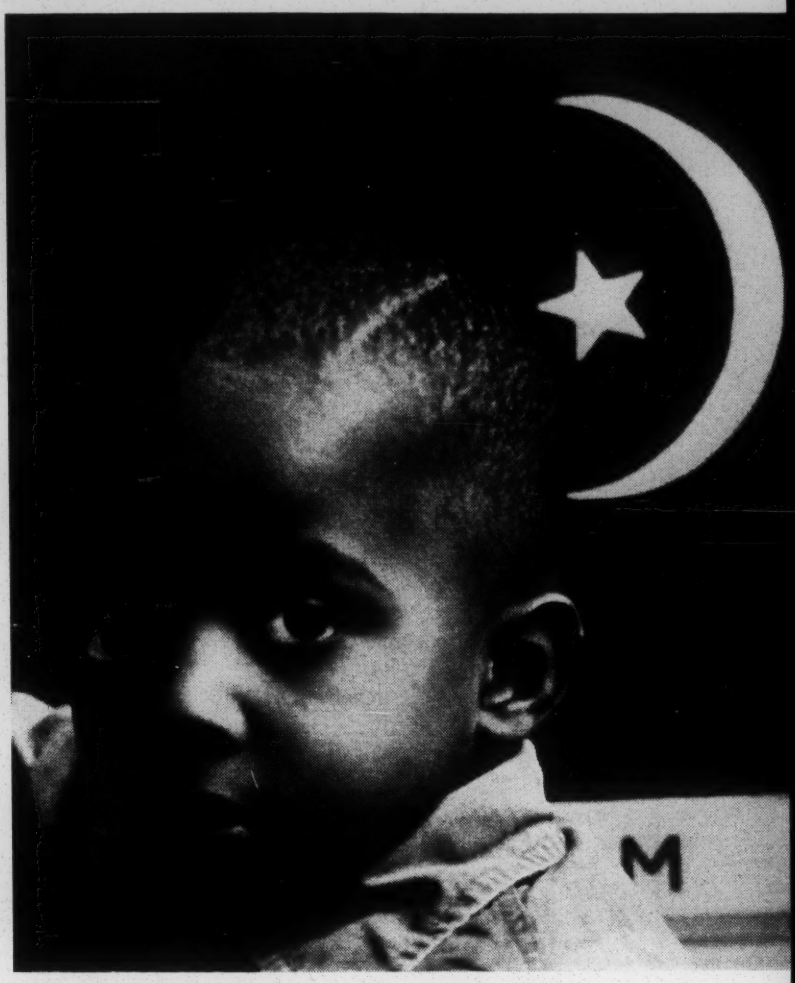
MUSLIM COUPLE. On Brooklyn home's porch, Jacob X and wife, Sister Dorothy X, are by Islamic symbol.

Muslimism lays a sternly puritanical hand on the Brooklyn home of Jacob X. He was once Jacob Gladden, but Muslims cast off their last names because they were originally given by slave owners. All Muslim last names now are simply X. On a door a sign reads, "No Smoking —Thank You." Liquor and profanity are forbidden, and sexual infidelity would bring banishment from the movement for up to five years. Because the white image of Negroes emphasizes music, singing and dancing, these are forbidden.

Equally stern on self-improvement, Muslimism has been a helpful household force. Dorothy X had little interest in cooking till taught it in classes at the mosque. In F.O.I. classes Jacob X has been drilled that Muslim holiness includes being a good husband and provider.

Foreman in an auto body repair shop, Jacob X works for a white boss without rancor. Though white-damning sermons are the core of Muslim services, their main effect is to reassure Jacob that he is superior to whites. Discarding all promises of happiness in heaven, the Muslims' creed guarantees rewards in this world. Its version of Islam, however, has strong, if twisted, Christian roots. It equates Jesus with Elijah Muhammad and turns the Bible into a book of prophecies describing his imminent creation of a black world. But Jacob X feels he is already rewarded for his piety. "You get the feeling," he says, "that if something happens you'll have somebody beside you—that you have a lot of big brothers."

DAILY PRAYER. Jacob X and family pray before evening meal—the only meal of the day that adult Black Muslims eat. They pray five other times each day—at sunrise (*right*) when they face east, at midmorning, noon, sunset and before retiring. Besides banning alcohol and tobacco, rules forbid all Muslims to eat pork.



THE YOUNGEST. Sixth of Jacob's children got his idea of African name: Montanya. Others, born before Jacob was Muslim, have American names.

WORKING FOR ISLAM. Neatly dressed, sons Orlando, 12 (*front*), Arnold, 14, sell Muslim biweekly newspaper *Muhammad Speaks* on streets.

CONTINUED

ANGRY SPOKESMAN MALCOLM X TELLS OFF WHITES

The front man and trouble shooter for the Black Muslims is 38-year-old Malcolm X, a spellbinding orator of bitter wit, power and impressive intellect. Minister of the big mosques in both New York and Washington, Malcolm is the man assigned to defend and explain Muslimism at television debates, rallies, press interviews and whenever Muslims are on trial. To prove the power of the faith, he freely admits he was an armed robber called "Big Red," converted in prison. Below are samples of Malcolm X's eloquence, delivered to Muslim cries of "Yes, that's right," and "You tell 'em like it is, Mr. Minister."

The white man doesn't want you to be good citizens. He wants you to get drunk so he'll have an excuse to put his club upside your head.

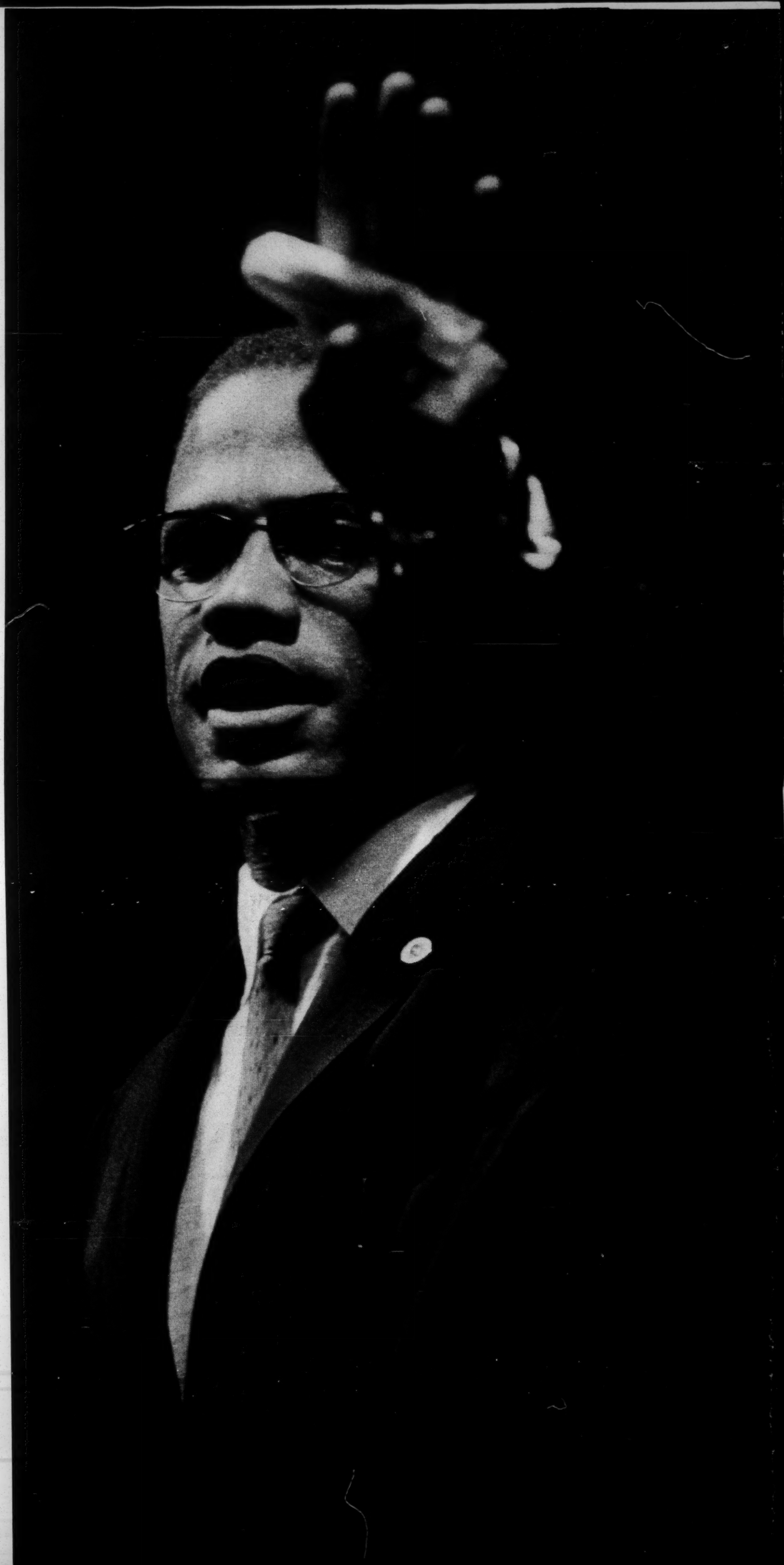
It's the white man that teaches hate. He taught you to hate yourself. Some of you hate your hair so much you put lye on it to get it straight.

The white man's afraid of truth. Truth takes off all his breath. Truth makes him lose all his strength. Just tell him a little truth—his face gets all red. Watch him, yes, yes, yes.

Hell is when you're dumb. Hell is when you're a slave. Hell is when you don't have freedom and when you don't have justice. And when you don't have equality, that's hell. . . . And the devil is the one who deprives you of justice . . . equality . . . civil rights. The devil is the one who robs you of your right to be a human being. I don't have to tell you who the devil is. You know who the devil is.

America wants the whole world to bow down to her. But the majority of people on this earth are dark people . . . and the yardstick by which they measure this white man is in his treatment and attitude toward the 20 million so-called Negroes in this country.

All that Muhammad is trying to do is clean up the mess the white man has made, and the white man should give him credit. He shouldn't run around here calling [Muhammad] a racist and hate-teacher. White man, call yourself a hate-teacher because you invented hate. Call yourself a racist because you invented the race problem.



'WHAT THEIR CRY MEANS TO ME' —A NEGRO'S OWN EVALUATION

Word and Picture Report by GORDON PARKS

As I flew back from Phoenix, across this white Christian nation, I tried to summarize my impressions of Elijah Muhammad, whom I had just met for the first time—and to guess what he thought of me. He had made his mission and prophecy clear: as "spiritual head of the Muslims in the Western world," he would lead the black man out of his hell on earth. Both his manner and speech were subdued but his condemnation of the "enemy" was ardent and incessant.

"The white devil's day is over," he said. "There is none a black man can trust. He was given 6,000 years to rule. His time was up in 1914. These are his years of grace—70 of them. He's already used up most of those years trapping and murdering the black nations by the hundreds of thousands. Now he's worried, worried about the black man getting his revenge."

Although I was a Black Man in White Man's clothing, sent by the very "devils" he criticized so much, he made no attempts to convert me. Once he warned, "Don't forget, young man. You've been living in the white Christians' world for a long time. Don't let them blind you. You don't need them."

But he seemed to regard me with neither favor nor scorn. He said neither yes nor no to my request for permission to do a report on the internal workings of the Movement. (In New York, Malcolm X had told me that only Elijah Muhammad could give me the necessary clearance—and that he sternly shunned publicity.) Muhammad had consented to see me and expose me to his doctrine; then, in a matter-of-fact way, he had let me know exactly where he stood. Now, as I flew back to New York to await his decision, somehow I felt scorched from the heat of his inner burning.

The pilot announced our position over Chicago and I looked down, thinking of the three years I had lived in the infamous Black Belt of that city. I remembered the filth, fear, poverty, evictions and bloodshed; the rackets, police brutality, store-front churches—voices within praying, singing, shouting for mercy. I remembered the rat-infested tenements, the cold nights of winter when the Hawk of misery spread his wings over the shivering black ghetto—and then the robberies and murders that followed, sometimes for food alone. Mostly I remembered the hopelessness that seeped into the black souls of that jungle. Now, from this height, Chicago shone clean in the afternoon sunlight. But I knew that, within the brightness below, torment and suffering filled the lives of thousands.

With my emotions oddly mixed of tenderness, pain and resentment, I wondered what Elijah Muhammad's words meant to those who had great reason to suffer. The soft-spoken, angry words kept coming back again and again. I wondered whether or not my achievements in the white world had cost me a certain objectivity. I could not deny that I had stepped a great distance from the mainstream of Negro life, not by intention but by circumstance. In fulfilling my artistic and professional ambitions in the White Man's world, I had had to become completely involved in it.

At the beginning of my career I missed the soft, easy laughter of Harlem and the security of black friends about me. Although en route to my home in Westchester I occasionally drove through Harlem in those days, there was hardly ever enough time to become a physical part of it again. Eventually I found myself on a plateau of loneliness, not knowing really where I belonged. In one world I was a social oddity. In the other I was almost a stranger.

Many times I wondered whether my achievement was worth the loneliness I experienced, but now I realize the price was small. This same experience has taught me that there is nothing ignoble about a black man climbing from the troubled darkness on a white man's ladder, providing he doesn't forsake the others who, subsequently, must escape that same darkness.

In time the word came from Phoenix: Elijah Muhammad had found me worthy of his confidence. I could start my report. For the next few months I was to melt into the Muslim organization and examine its aims, its laws and the legends surrounding it. I was to eat in its restaurants, attend its rallies and most secret ceremonies. I came to know entire families who were devout members. And all the while I attempted to assess its meaning to America and to the American Negro—and to myself.

What was Elijah Muhammad's real purpose? Was his movement indeed gaining countless unshakeable adherents? And why was his voice, barely audible in person, screaming loudest in the wilderness, often drowning out the more conservative voices of the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League and other highly respected Negro organizations?

I asked Malcolm X, who served as my guide through the intricacies of Islam, some of these same questions late one night as we drove along the noisy streets of Harlem. He replied, "The thinking American Negro realizes that only Elijah Muhammad offers him a solid, united front. He is tired of the unfulfilled promises of the lethargic, so-called Negro leaders who have been so thoroughly brainwashed by the American whites. 'Have patience,' they say, 'everything is going to be all right.'

"The black man in this country has been sitting on the hot stove for nearly 400 years. And no matter how fast the brainwashers and the brainwashed think they are helping him advance, it's still too slow for the man whose behind is burning on that hot stove!"

Malcolm's caustic reply was to take on more meaning, more truth, as I read the daily newspaper accounts of the black man's interminable suffering in the South. The "white devil" seemed determined to live up to Malcolm's predictions. I thought of my youngest son, who had just received a notice from the draft board, and I thought of the words of Malcolm X:

"The black man has died under the flag. His women have been raped under it. He has been oppressed, starved and beaten under it—and still after what happened in Mississippi they'll ask him to fight their enemies under it. I'll do my fighting right here at home, where the enemy looks me in the eye every day of my life. I'm not talking against the flag. I'm talking *about* it!"

Abruptly I checked the flow of corrosive thoughts. Was I becoming too receptive to the Muslim doctrine? I began prodding myself into a more argumentative mood,

CONTINUED

IN ANGER. With picture of Muslim killed by Los Angeles cop, Malcolm X tells story to foreign newsmen.

IN GRIEF. Wearing Muslim white, widow of Ronald Stokes—man killed by police—looks down at his coffin.

'The white man won't ever let you forget it'

BLACK MUSLIMS CONTINUED

re-examining my feelings so that I might honestly assess the moral convictions I had developed so painfully through the years. When I was young—penniless and obsessed with the ambition to become a photographer — Harvey Goldstein, a white man, gave me my first decent camera, along with invaluable guidance in using it. Later, William G. Haygood, a white Southerner, encouraged me and helped me win the first Julius Rosenwald Fellowship in photography. Julio de Diego, the Spanish painter, offered inspiration and advice. Jack Delano, a Jew, guided me toward the Farm Security Administration, where I fell under the influence of Roy Stryker, a Dutchman from Colorado, who taught me more about democracy and its almost infinite potential than any person I've met since.

In the course of a career that has thrust me into contact with virtually every kind of person and has taken me several times around the world, I have come to realize the universality of man.

No, I could no more dismiss the events that molded me than I could cast off the cloak of my skin —no matter how appealing Malcolm X was as an individual or as a minister of Muhammad.

Yet there must be, I concluded, some reason why the Muslims struck a responsive chord, not only in me but in so many Negroes moving in sophisticated circles who previously had held themselves aloof from the day-to-day aspects of "the problem." It came as a shock, one afternoon at a chic outdoor party, to hear well-to-do Negro women extolling black nationalism. One matron threatened to join the New York mosque of the Muslims. I heard another berate a blond woman for the Caucasians' treatment of "her people." "You mean, *our* people," retorted the fair-skinned lady. "I happen to be Negro too."

The hostess laughed and nudged me. "Neither she nor anyone in her family would have admitted that 10 years ago!"

The Muslims, with their sharp and unrelenting attack, their aggressive racial pride, have awakened Negroes long insulated by their middle-class possessions and aspirations. Behind the Islamic chanting and the semimilitary ritual there lies a cause—one which calls to Negro slum dwellers and suburbanites alike.

POLITICAL SUPPORT. Negro politicians, including Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (*second from left*), pay court to Malcolm X at Harlem street rally.

Particularly strong is the attraction for the Negro "lowest down on the totem pole," as labor leader A. Philip Randolph has described them. By their very nature the N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League cannot match the impact of the Black Muslims. Their leaders do not have the hour-by-hour contact with people who, like the Muslims, suffer the problems each and every day of their lives. While Roy Wilkins of the N.A.A.C.P. is attending an integrated social gathering, or is conferring with constitutional lawyers on vital civil rights issues, Malcolm X of the Muslims is visiting prisoners in jail or a destitute family or addressing a crowd of Negroes on a street corner:

"Justice now! Freedom now! Not when the white man feels he is finally ready to give it to us!"

Although Malcolm X is the most articulate spokesman in the movement, there are some areas of Muslim philosophy into which he does not venture. One day en route to the Temple No. 7 Restaurant in Harlem I asked him, "Exactly what are Mr. Muhammad's ultimate aims?"

He paused for a moment. "It's best that you ask him on your next visit," he replied. "He loves to explain this himself. But I will tell you that he intends to unite every American black man, whether he be a Muslim, a Methodist or a Catholic. Mr. Muhammad teaches that we cannot afford the luxury of economic, religious or political difference. We must sit in counsel if we are to attain our freedom.

"Remember," Malcolm X cautioned as I left the restaurant. "To try to go it alone is to doom yourself to failure. The black attorneys, students, writers, clergy, teachers and all the rest must unite as one and take the Muslim leadership for their own salvation. If I have a bowl of soup, then you have a bowl of soup. If you die fighting for what is right, then I must die beside you—for I am your brother. You are a black man. The white man won't let you forget it. So know yourself and be yourself. We are of the black nation and we must recapture our rightful heritage and culture and live accordingly."

I started to hail a cab but Gladstone X, a Muslim who is close to Malcolm X, was already in the street, his arm raised and signaling. A taxi screeched to a stop and Gladstone opened the door for me. "Good night, brother," he called as the car pulled off.

I had just settled back when the driver, a big, broad-shouldered Negro, turned and spoke. "That was Malcolm X, wasn't it?"

"Yes, it was," I said. "Do you know him?"

"Oh, not personal like, but I hear him speakin' sometimes on the corner with the rest of those nationalist people."

"What do you think of him?"

"Me? Oh, I dig him the most. He's got somethin' goin' for you and me. He's the only one that makes any sense for my money."

"Are you a Muslim?"

"Who, me? Naw. I'm too busy makin' a buck to join anything. But those Muslims or Moslems, 'ever what you call 'em, make more sense to me than the N.A.A.C.P. and Urban League and all the rest of 'em put together. They're down on the good earth with the brother. They're for their own people and that Malcolm ain't afraid to tell Mr. Charlie, the FBI or the cops or nobody where to get off. You don't see him pussyfootin' round the whites like he's scared of 'em."

"Have they got many followers here in Harlem?"

"I don't know how many followers he's got, but he's sure got a hell of a lot of well-wishers."

"Do you go for all their teachings—like not smoking or drinking or eating pork or fornicating?"

"Well, I don't smoke or drink much, but I like my barbecue and I do like my women. That's about the only place the Muslims and I part company. As far as the white man is concerned, if I could get along without his dollar, I could get along without him."

"Some people say the Muslims hate all white people."

"Well, I don't know about that. But if they don't, they should, 'cause they sure don't waste no love on us. That's for sure!"

"But the Negro is making progress in this country," I reminded him. "And there are some good whites."

"Aw, yeah. And there's some good dogs, too, but all of 'em'll bite you if you don't watch 'em."

"What about that new Negro Astronaut they have just selected for training?"

"Well, that's good . . . very good. But I wouldn't be surprised if they didn't put him and a Jew in one of those capsules together and blow it to hell and gone up to the moon—just to prove a white man's the only one can really make it!"

We were at my hotel now. I paid my fare and said, "How do you think we can solve the racial question?"

"Well, I'll tell you," the cabbie replied. "I used to live in Mobile and I lived in Memphis and I've lived in New York for 15 years. I've come to one conclusion. No matter where the white man is, he's the same—the only thing he respects is force. And the only thing's gonna change him is some lead in his belly."

He lifted a cigar box from the seat beside him and opened it. "I

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 78

MUSLIM MARTYR. William Rogers, paralyzed by police bullets in Los Angeles, and Malcolm X hawk Muslim papers featuring picture of the man police shot to death.

'Hoses, guns or mobs won't put down this rebellion'

BLACK MUSLIMS CONTINUED FROM PAGE 32

don't like to come downtown," he said. "See this? [A black revolver glistened in the street light]. I'm always afraid I'll use it. That's why I'm headin' back uptown 'fore I get in trouble."

As I left, two white men hailed the cab. The driver slammed the door, locked it and gunned the motor. "Goin' home!" he shouted back at them.

"The dirty black bastard!" one of the men mumbled as the cab roared off toward Central Park.

Recently I sat in a Los Angeles courtroom at the trial of 14 Muslims charged with assault and interfering with an officer. They had been involved in an altercation with the police, during which one young Muslim, Ronald Stokes, was shot to death. (I had read the detailed account of the tragedy in the Muslims' newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*. SEVEN UNARMED NEGROES SHOT IN COLD BLOOD BY LOS ANGELES POLICE! the red headline blared. The story charged that the police had entered the Muslims' temple during the fighting.) The courtroom was crowded to capacity with Negroes, not all of them Muslims.

I watched Malcolm X seated in the front row, directly across from the all-white jury. His face was sphinxlike and his eyes never left Officer Donald Weese, the killer of Stokes, from the moment the policeman took the stand until he got off. During the preliminary hearings it had been established that Weese, though he knew the Muslims were unarmed, shot at least four other men besides Stokes and beat another one down with the butt of his gun. The following questions by Attorney Earl Broady and answers from Officer Weese are from the court records of the trial:

Question—Mr. Weese, when you fired at Stokes, did you intend to hit him?

Answer—Yes, I did.

Q—Did you intend to hit him and kill him?

A—Yes. The fact that I shot to stop and the fact that I shot to kill is one and the same, sir. I am not Hopalong Cassidy. I cannot distinguish between hitting an arm and so forth, sir. I aimed dead center and I hoped I hit.

Q—You are saying, sir, to shoot to stop and to shoot to kill is one and the same thing in your mind?

A—That is correct.

Q—Did you feel to protect yourself and your partner it was necessary to kill these men?

A—That is correct, sir.

Leaving the courthouse that evening, I recognized a white reporter who was covering the trial for one of the Los Angeles dailies.

"The Muslims are going to be convicted," he said. I asked him if he thought they were guilty as charged.

"The State has no case, none whatsoever, but they can't afford to lose this one. They've got to get those cops off or the Muslims can sue them for millions," he replied.

That evening I relayed the reporter's beliefs to Malcolm X, who said, "Oh, he told you the truth, brother. He was an honest devil, because that's what will happen—but things won't end there. Believe me."

A few days later I accompanied Malcolm X to Phoenix where Elijah Muhammad discussed the trial with more emotional intensity than I had seen him show before. "Every one of the Muslims," he said, "should have died before they allowed an aggressor to come into their mosque. That's the last retreat they have. They were fearless, but they didn't trust Allah completely. If they had, it would have been a different story. A true Muslim must trust completely in Allah."

Mr. Muhammad was weak from one of his periodic fasts, which had gone on for three days, and every so often spasmodic coughing forced him to leave the room. After each attack he returned to deride the "white devil." Although fatigue slowed his voice, he talked on, about the turmoil in Birmingham and other parts of the South. "There is one thing good about what is happening down there," he said. "The black man at last can see what the white man is really like, what he really feels about him. Birmingham bears witness to the fact that a white man is a devil and can't do right, what with water hoses stripping dresses from our women and our youth being chased and bitten by vicious dogs. At last the black man realizes he must fight for his rights if he is to attain them. The white man is more vicious than the dogs he sets upon us. He is never satisfied with a black man no matter what his position. You can lie down and let your back be his doormat, but soon he'll get tired of that and start kicking you. 'Turn over, nigger! You're layin' on the same side too long,' he'll say."

Before leaving Mr. Muhammad, I asked two questions I had been saving: First, what is salvation for the black man?

"We must accept Islam," he said crisply. "We are the initial people."

"Why?" I asked.

"Because it is something universal, wherein man submits himself completely to God—a black God."

What is your over-all purpose—your goal?

"Universal peace and brotherly love—two things the white man will never be able to accept."

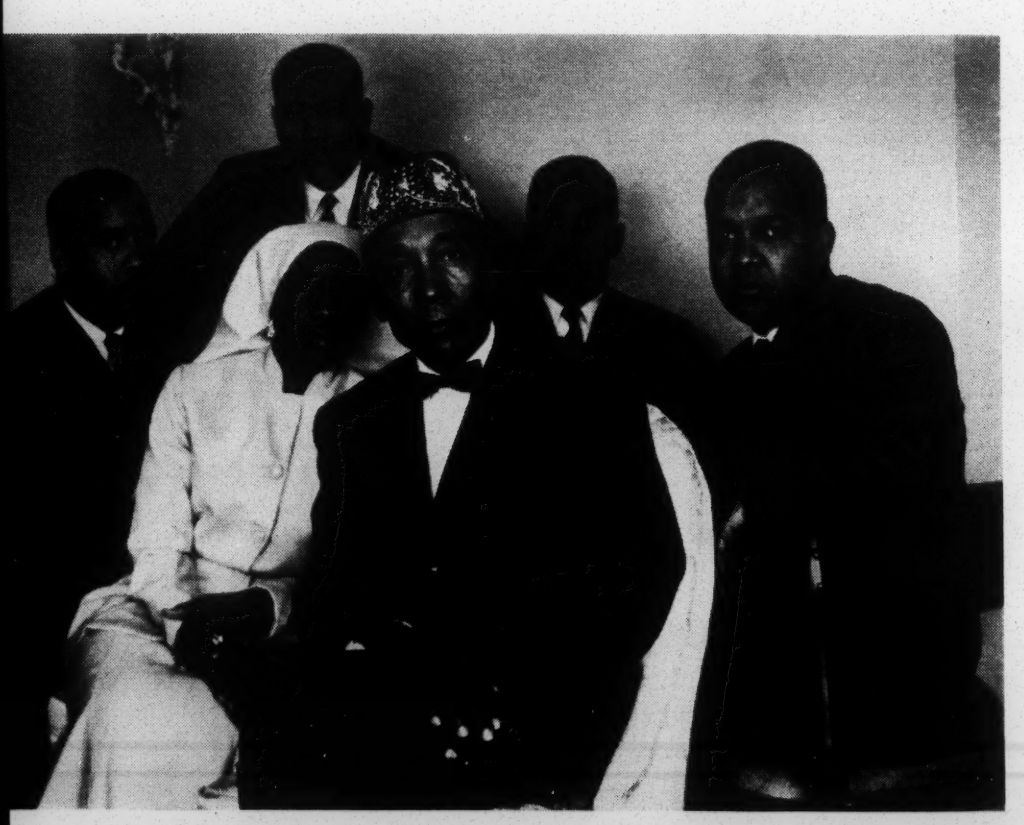
It was nearing plane time. A white-suited chauffeur ushered us out toward Muhammad's limousine. I got in, and through the rear window I could see him and Malcolm X warmly embracing, their cheeks touching as they bade farewell.

Not all of Elijah Muhammad's aims and motives are clear to me. Much of his religious philosophy appears naive and thoroughly confusing. It is obvious from which stratum of Negro society he hopes to draw support for his program: the indigent, unprivileged blacks, those still seeking a messiah to lead them into a promised land of "freedom, justice and equality."

The Muslims insist that only within a separate state can their ultimate goal be achieved. They deride the "passive resistance" preached by Martin Luther King. Malcolm X once said of King's attitude, "There is no philosophy more befitting the white man's tactics for keeping his foot on the black man's neck. If you tell someone he resembles Hannibal or Gandhi long enough, he starts believing it—even begins to act like it. But there is a big difference in the passiveness of King and the passiveness of Gandhi. Gandhi was a big dark elephant sitting on a little white mouse. King is a little black mouse sitting on top of a big white elephant."

But with the passiveness of King and the extremism of Muhammad, the Negro rebellion has come alive. Fire hoses, police dogs, mobs or guns can't put it down. The Muslims, the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, Black Nationalist groups, the sit-inners, sit-downers, Freedom Riders and what-have-you are all compelled into a vortex of common protest. Black people who only a few months ago spoke with polite moderation are suddenly clamoring for freedom.

The leaders have lost control; instead of leading the black people they are being pulled along after them, like leaves caught up in the wake of a speeding car. Even Mar-



MUHAMMAD'S FAMILY. Elijah Muhammad is still the focus of power, though asthma compels him to live in Arizona. With him here are aides: his wife Clara, sons Elijah Jr. (*far left*) and Herbert (*far right*), his son-in-law Raymond Sharrieff (*second from left*). Grandson Hasan Sharrieff, 20 (*second from right*), is already being given administrative assignments.

CONTINUED

'They are not my keeper— but I am their brother'

BLACK MUSLIMS CONTINUED

tin Luther King is seeing his nonviolence movement hopelessly swept into a long-fomenting universal revolt. As the Negro pushes on, the resistance of the Deep South will surely stiffen. Violence and chaos are inevitable. Anyone who can't sense it is either naive or afraid to face the uncomfortable fact. Racial strife is possible all over this land. Have we so very quickly forgotten the Harlem, Chicago, Tulsa and Detroit riots in the earlier days of our troubled generation?

"Even here in the North the 'enemy' is plentiful!" screams Malcolm X.

He is right. Because for all the civil rights laws and the absence of Jim Crow signs in the North, the black man is still living the last-hired, first-fired, ghetto existence of a second-class citizen. His children are idling into delinquency and crime; in too many places they attend schools as inferior and as neatly segregated as any in the deepest South. The revolt in Englewood, N.J. against segregated schools there is just as important to the cause as the revolt in Birmingham or Nashville. Truly, there has been no time like this in the U.S. since the Civil War.

Most of us are wondering about the "new" Negro—and how he got this way. But he isn't new, and he didn't get this way overnight. He has been stirring for a long time, while his country tucked the Emancipation Proclamation under her head for a pillow and went to sleep. The historic Supreme Court decision of 1954 disturbed her repose, but that was all. Now she has been jolted awake by a black militancy that will surely test her democratic conscience.

I remember once standing in a Paris bar with Todd Webb, a white man, trying to convince a Russian student that Todd and I were truly friends, that we had been so even in America. The Russian only laughed at both of us. "Ha! I read about America, you know. You are together here, but in America you stand far apart. Don't think you fool me."

And how pathetically torn I was trying to defend America against the criticisms of Europeans when papers all over the world carried the story of the lynching of the Negro boy, Emmett Till!

I also recall the time in Washington, D.C. when John Vachon, another white friend, and I walked into a Negro restaurant late one cold night. We were famished, but the owner became abusive and ordered us both out. I tried to get him to sell my friend some ribs. "Not even to take out," he said bitterly. "I'll go *his* people one better."

The times cry out for bold, principled leadership of a kind that has never really been attempted in this country before. After Attorney General Robert Kennedy ran head-on into the fanatical opposition of Alabama's Governor George Wallace on the desegregation issue, the President's brother was quoted as saying, "It's like a foreign country. There's no communication. What do you do?"

You keep trying, Mr. Kennedy. You keep going back for more, again and again, until you begin to realize what it is like for a black man to "go slow," to "take it easy" while under the bootheel of a racist like "Bull" Connor. Go down there sometime when the fire hoses are on full blast, when the dogs are snarling and tearing black flesh, when women, men and children are on their knees singing, crying and praying for deliverance from the agony of this brutal land. Then go back and tell the President that if it is greatness he seeks, this indeed is his chance for it.

I have had faith in America for as long as I can remember. But I have also been angry—even bitter. It is now time for America to justify this belief I have in her, to show me I have not believed in vain. I want my children and their children to keep this faith flowing through their veins. But in all honesty I cannot ask of them love for a country incapable of returning their love.

As for the Muslims, I dislike the fact that they exist, but I also feel this way about the N.A.A.C.P., CORE, the Urban League, B'nai B'rith, the Sons and Daughters of Erin or any such group. I deplore the conditions that necessitate their existence. If and when all such organizations feel they can safely fold their tents, I believe the Muslims will begin folding theirs.

Nobody can speed this day any quicker than the White American. He should remember that the main reason for the racial strife throughout the South and parts of the North is the Negro's black skin. The Negro can't change his color; the white man must change his attitude toward that black skin. And the Negro can't go around believing that every white man who does not invite him home to dinner is his enemy.

And I, for one, don't intend to join the Muslims. I sympathize with much of what they say, but I also disagree with much of what they say.

I wouldn't follow Elijah Muhammad or Malcolm X into a Black State—even if they achieve such a complete separation. I've worked too hard for a place in this present society. Furthermore, such a hostile frontier would only bristle even more with hatred and potential violence. Nor will I condemn all whites for the violent acts of their brothers against the Negro people. Not just yet, anyway.

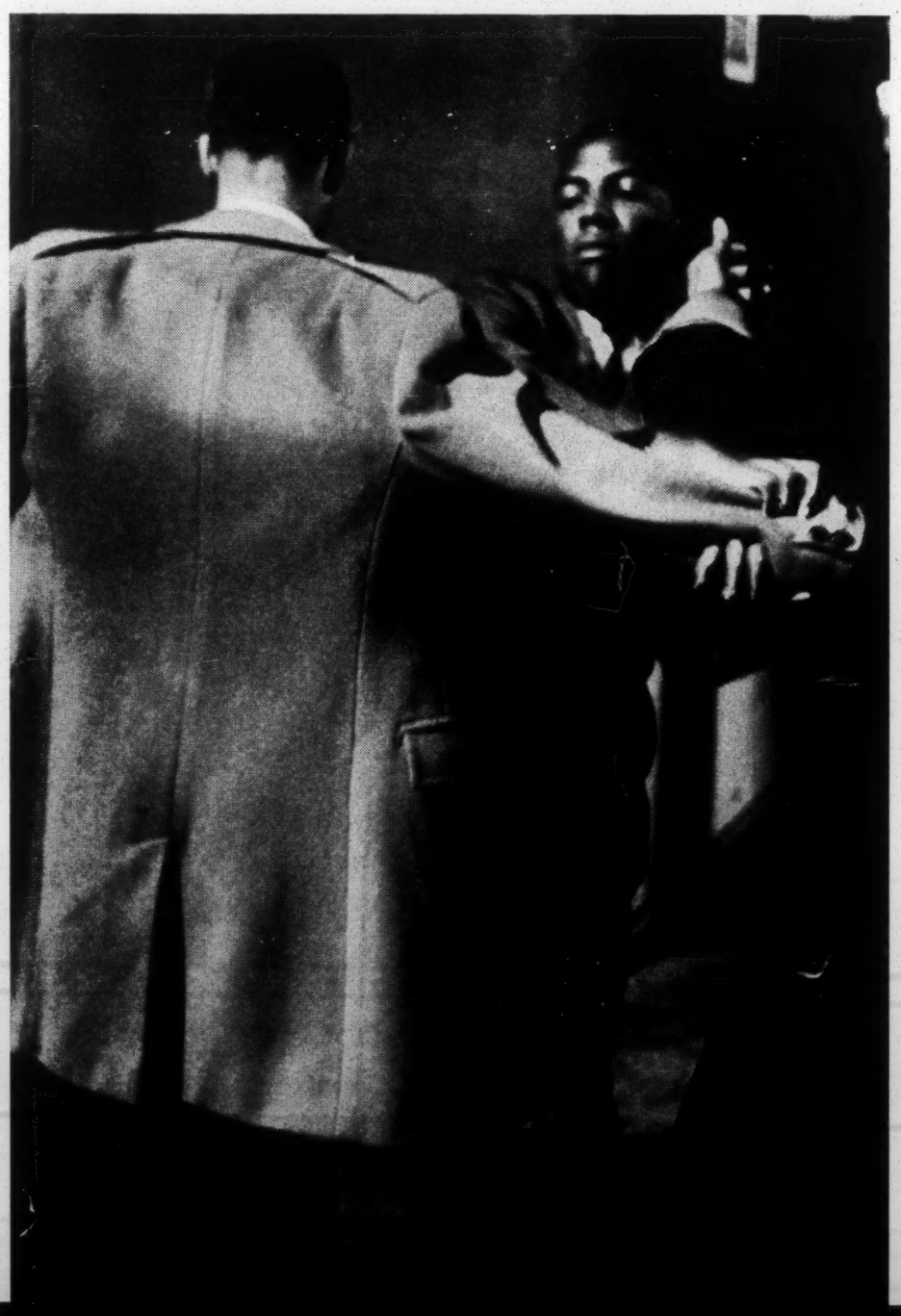
Nevertheless, to the Muslims I acknowledge that the circumstance of common struggle has willed us brothers. I know that if unholy violence should erupt—and I pray it won't—this same circumstance will place me, reluctantly, beside them. Although I won't allow them to be my keeper, I am, inherently, their brother.

Late one evening not long ago Malcolm X and I were driving into New York City from Brooklyn. We were talked out, and I drowsed as he fought the headlight glare of oncoming traffic. Unexpectedly he said, "We sent a little white college girl out of the restaurant in tears today." I listened uneasily, bracing myself for another diatribe against a presumptuous, if well-meaning, "devil."

But Malcolm, speaking with a gentleness he rarely exhibits when discussing whites, hastened to assure me that it was nothing any Muslim had said against her. "She had come in to see if there wasn't something she and her college friends could do to help Muslims and the whites get together," he explained.

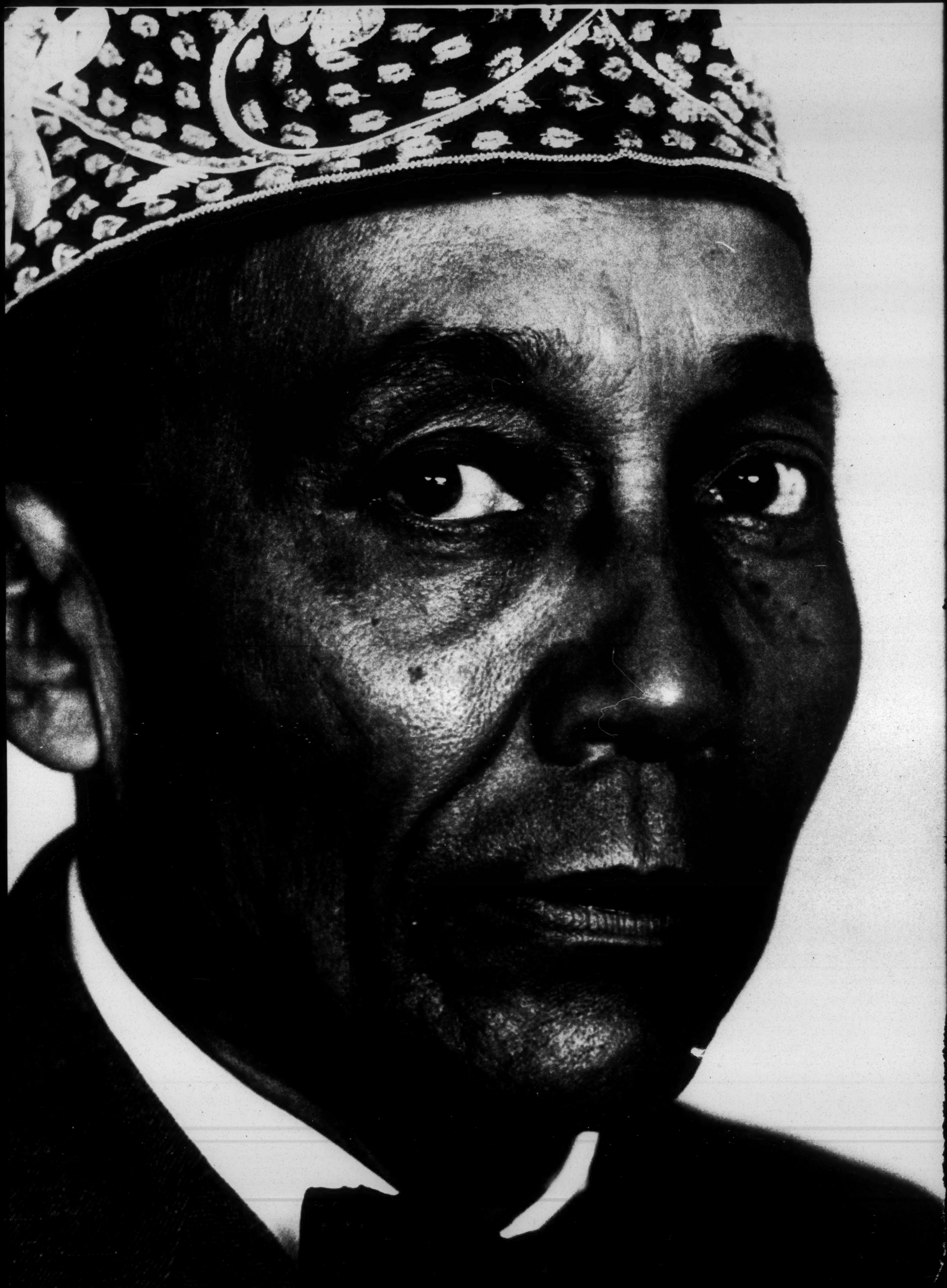
"That's nice," I said, pushing up in my seat. "What did you say?"

I am positive he was unaware of the trace of melancholy in his voice as he answered, "I told her that there was no chance—not the ghost of a chance. She started crying, then she turned and went out."



DISTRUST. A Muslim guard frisks a white reporter before letting him into a convention. At religious services F.O.I. searches everybody entering, Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

PAY $90,000 FOR "JUSTICE"
EXTRA
2.5c
NEGROES
BLOOD BY
POLICE
VICTIMS PAY $90,
EXT
SEVEN UNA
SHOT IN



MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson 3, Mississippi
December 20, 1955

Old

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Associate Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

The following is a listing of the new officers and committees of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations:

Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Chairman
Sherard, Mississippi

Mrs. C. E. Dishman, Vice Chairman
Piney Woods School
Piney Woods, Mississippi

Mr. Charles T. Morgan, Vice Chairman
Wood Junior College
Mathiston, Mississippi

Msgr. Joseph B. Brunini, Secretary-Treasurer
Post Office Box 57
Jackson, Mississippi

Executive Committee:

Mrs. W. H. Ratliff
Msgr. Joseph B. Brunini
Mr. S. W. Miller

Mrs. D. S. Wheatley
Post Office Box 307
Greenwood, Mississippi

Mrs. R. S. Lyells

Finance Committee:

Mr. S. W. Miller, Chairman
1120 West Pearl Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Msgr. Joseph B. Brunini
Mrs. W. H. Ratliff
Mrs. R. S. Lyells.

What to expect beyond Sepbember, 1956: The Finance Committee will make recommendations to a call meeting of the Board of Directors set, tentatively, for March 6, 10:30 a.m. at 1104 Lynch Street.

Sincerely yours,

Ruby

Mrs. R. S. Lyells
Executive Director

RSL:mfc

P. S.--January 17th which I suggested previously turns out to be Inauguration Day and is otherwise not a good choice for one, or two members of the Executive Committee. January 30th and January 6th are dates which the Committee suggested for a visit with Foundation representative. R. S. L.

Huntsville, Ala. Sunday 53 6-1526

34 18

Dec. 10, 1957

Alabama Council on Human Relations

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Alexander City, Ala.

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Box 31
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P. O. Box 1871
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Montgomery, Ala.

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Church of Ascension
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Talladega, Ala.

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Birmingham, Ala.

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Alabama State College
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Springhill College
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Rev. C. C. Brown
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Rev. J. E. Lowery
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December 5, 1958

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Box 6667 College Station
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* moving to Dunedin, Florida, 1st January

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Bennett College
Greensboro
North Carolina

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First Methodist Church
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Charlotte 4

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Mrs. E. M. Singleton
2504 McClintock Road
Charlotte

Bishop W. W. Slade
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Charlotte

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The Divinity School
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Durham

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North Carolina College
Durham

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Dr. Howard E. Jenson
Box GM, Duke Station
Durham

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North Carolina Life Insurance Co.
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Box 237
Guilford College

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120 Church Street
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318 - 8th Avenue, West
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Rev. and Mrs. Bruce LeFebre
The Church of the Holy Innocents
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Dr. and Mrs. Frederick R. Taylor
1113 Johnson Street
High Point

Rev. Ambrose F. Rohrbacher
Infant of Prague Church
Jacksonville

Miss Marianne R. Martin
The Library
Leaksville

Miss Patricia Rothrock
334 West Pine Street
Mount Airy

Mr. M. A. Wright (Pres. SRC)
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls

Dr. D. Swan Haworth
First Baptist Church
Lumberton

Mother M. Hildegarde
Box 352
Lumberton

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1009 William Street
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Miss Charlotte S. Rhone
512 Queen Street
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Pembroke

Marvin and Pansy Shore
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Mr. William A. Parsons
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121 East South Street
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115½ East Hargett Street
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Box 5428
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Mr. John R. Larkins
Consultant on Negro Work, N. C. State
Boardof Charities and Public Welfare
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Mr. Robert H. Mugge
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Dr. N. C. Newbold
129 West Park Drive
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Rev. W. L. Parker
Corner Hillsboro and Dawson Streets
Raleigh

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719 Blount Street (Shaw University)
Raleigh

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Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh

Mrs. Lillian Parker Wallace
Meredith College
Raleigh

Mr. S. E. Duncan
1010 Piedmont Street
Reidsville,

The Rev. Henry W. Havens, Jr.
Rector, Saint Thomas Church
310 Irwin Street
Reidsville

Dr. L. P. Armstrong
P. O. Box 608
Rocky Mount

The Rev. J. F. Herbert
803 Sycamore Street
Rocky Mount

Rev. Cletus J. Helfrich
Sacred Heart Church
128 North Fulton Street
Salisbury

Dr. Stanley Hugh Smith
Chairman, Dept. of Sociology
Livingston College
Salisbury

Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Palmer Memorial Institute
Sedalia

Mr. J. Allen Easley
409 North College Street
Wake Forrest

Dr. and Mrs. Edward A. McDowell
Box 1068
Wake Forest

Mr. John T. Wayland
Wake Forest

Dr. J. A. Tinsley
Kay Building
Weldon

Mrs. Cleopatra A. Tyner
Box 642
Williamston

Mr. C. H. Hamlin
Atlantic Christian College
Wilson

Mr. William Hines
615 East Green Street
Wilson

Mr. Ben A. Asbury
Zebulon Baptist Church
Zebulon

ala - Lists

June 22, 1960

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Mobile, Alabama

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Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

2nd Vice-Pres. - Rev. Carl Landes
Southern Union College
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3rd Vice-Pres. - Dr. A. D. Gray
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Alabama State College
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Treasurer - Rev. J. C. Wilson
1500 - 6th Avenue North
Birmingham, Alabama

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(Elected By Membership For Three Year Terms)

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Florence, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '59)

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2100 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '58)

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Office of the President
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
(Elected Feb. '58)

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(Elected Feb. '59)

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(Elected Oct. '59)

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P. O. Box 871
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(Elected Feb. '60)

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342 Hare Avenue
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Reelected Feb. '60)

Mr. Paul Robinson
Box 198
Decatur, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '57
Reelected Feb. '60)

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Alabama A & M College
Normal, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '60)

Mrs. Robert Elly
1509 29th Street West
Birmingham, Alabama
(Elected Feb. '60)

NOTE: Vacancies exist for three members at large. These will be filled by interim election by the Board at its fall meeting. Send any suggestions to Mr. David Vann (above), Nominating Committee chairman.

DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVES

(Elected annually by districts)

West Tenn. Valley

Mr. S. C. Watkins
503 S. Washington St.
Tuscumbia, Alabama

East Tenn. Valley

Rev. T. H. Houston
228 N. Jefferson St.
Huntsville, Alabama

West Piedmont

Rev. Davis Yeuell
Stillman College
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Miss Martha O'Rourke
807 15th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

* Rev. J. G. Short
2713 Holliday Drive
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Rev. Carl Landes
Southern Union College
Wadley, Alabama

Mr. Robert Strickland
431 W. Battle St.
Talladega, Alabama

Birmingham

Rev. C. Herbert Oliver
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Birmingham, Alabama

Rev. Joseph Ellwanger
128 6th Avenue South
Birmingham, Alabama

* Dr. Frederick Kraus
114 Stratford Road
Birmingham 9, Alabama

* Mr. Arthur D. Shores
1630 - 4th Avenue N.
Birmingham, Alabama

West Black Belt

Rev. Claude Brown
625 Jeff Davis Ave.
Selma, Alabama

Rev. George Hrbek
Rt. 5, Box 317
Selma, Alabama

East Black Belt

Rev. Powers McLeod
129 Burton Street
Auburn, Alabama

Mr. Frank J. Toland
Box 873
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

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Dr. R. D. Crockett
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Mrs. Frank Anderson
632 W. Patton Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

* Dr. A. F. Nixon
1264 Cleveland Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

* Mrs. Moreland G. Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Wiregrass

Mobile

Father A. S. Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Mrs. E. B. Goode
20 South Hallett St.
Mobile, Alabama

* Alternate district representative

NOTE: Each district is requested to elect two alternate representatives to substitute for the regular members in the event of their inability to attend meetings. Notify the State Office immediately so we can send them memos also. Space is left below so you can add their names as we pass them on.

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Board of Directors
August 1, 1960

Representatives

Beaufort Council on Human Relations	Rev. Mack Sharpe 509 Scott Street Beaufort, S.C.
Jasper- Hampton Council	Mr. Joe Orr Box 531 Ridgeland, S.C.
Greenville Council	Dr. E.L. McPherson 118 N. Calhoun St. Greenville, S.C.
	Mrs. W.M. Burnett 216 E. Park Ave. Greenville, S.C.
Rock Hill Council	Rev. J.D. MacArthur 630 Taylor Street Rock Hill, S.C.
	Miss Christine White 414 Saluda Street Rock Hill, S.C.
Sumter Council	Rev. J.H. Nelson P.O. Box 264 Sumter, S.C.
	Mrs. J.M. Dabbs Route 1 Mayesville, S.C.

Contacts

Aiken		Mrs. Josie Hazel 322 Fairfield, Aiken, S.C.
Camden	Rev. P.R. Tiller DeKalb St., Camden, S.C.	Rev. Stiles Lines The Rectory, Camden, S.C.
Charleston		Rev. J.J. Abney 23 Morris St., Charleston, SC
Columbia		Mrs. Martin Young 1810 Enoree St., Columbia, SC
Spartanburg		T.Ezell Tindall Rte. 5, Box 315 Spartanburg, S.C.
		J.E. Williams 327 N. Dean St. Spartanburg, S.C.

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Board of Directors
August 1, 1960

Officers:

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Mrs. Marian B. Paul, II Vice chairman, 2324 Washington St., Columbia, S.C.
Miss Rebecca Reid, Secretary, 29 E. Calhoun St., Sumter, S.C.
Miss Jane McDonald, Treasurer, 2406 Blossom St., Columbia, S.C.

****

Mrs. J.R. Allison, 1537 Haynesworth Rd., Columbia, S.C.
J.C. Artemus, 2500 Laurel St., Columbia, S.C.
Dr. J.A. Bacoats, President, Benedict College, Columbia, S.C.
J.Arthur Brown, 270½ Ashley Ave., Charleston, S.C.
Mrs. St. Julien Childs, 73 King St., Charleston, S.C.
James M. Dabbs, Route 1, Mayesville, S.C.
G.W. Daniels, P.O. Box 147, Orangeburg, S.C.
S.C. Disher, Associate Farm Agent, Darlington, S.C.
Miss Mary E. Frayser. 229 Johnston St., Rock Hill, S.C.
Dr. Wil Lou Gray, ;851 Devine St., Columbia, S.C.
Rabbi David Gruber, 2717 Heyward St., Columbia, S.C.
John A. Harris, 3 Bogard St., Charleston, S.C.
Mrs. H.H. Hickman, 4114 McGregor St., Columbia, S.C.
Miss Mary Eva Hite, Peachstree St., Batesburg, S.C.
L.P. Hollis, P.O. Box 1440, Greenville, S.C.
Dr. D.K. Jenkins, 1107½ Washington St., Columbia, S.C.
Esau Jenkins, 244 Spring St., Charleston, S.C.
Emmett Jerome, 323 Charlotte Ave., Rock Hill, S.C.
Dr. E.C. Jones, P.O. Box 1264, Sumter, S.C.
Mrs. Iola Jones, 711 Oakland St., Florence, S.C.
Mrs. J. Roy Jones, 5618 Colonial Dr., Columbia, S.C.
Dr. W.W. Jones, 186 Coming St., Charleston, S.C.
Mrs. T.J. Ledeen, 603 Henderson, St., Columbia, S.C.
Mrs. M.E. Fields, 5 President Place, Charleston, S.C.
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Rev. M.D. McCollom, 191Boulevard, N.E. , Orangeburg, S.C.
Earl Middleton, 197 Middleton St., Orangeburg, S.C.
J.T.W. Mims, 232 S. Livingston St., Clinton, S.C.
Miss A.A. Nelson, 2202 Gervais St., Columbia, S.C.
Dr. J.C. Parler, P.O. Box 282, Orangeburg, S.C.
Dr. John F. Potts, Voorhees Junior College, Denmark, S.C.
Rev. J.P. Reeder, 805 Washington St., Columbia, S.C.
Rev. Fred M. Reese, P.O. Box 186, Central, S.C.
Rev. Odell Reuben, President, Morris College, Sumter, S.C,
Rev. E.E. Riley, 1228 Harden St., Columbia, S.C.
A.M. Secrest, Editor, The Cheraw Chronicle, Cheraw, S.C.
Walker E. Soloman, 1719 Taylor St., Columbia, S.C.
Mrs. T.B. Stackhouse, 1513 Laurel St., Columbia, S.C.
Rev. Z. Townsend, 1112 Newberry St., Aiken, S.C.
Paul Webber, S.C. State College, Orangeburg, S.C.
Rev. Neal Wyndham, 1401 Pickens St., Columbia, S.C.
Mrs. Morris S. Young, 520 Salem St., Anderson, S.C.

RALEIGH COUNCIL ROLL

as of Jan. 1, 1961

Steering Committee

Mr. R. Mayne Albright
Insurance Building

Dr. John Brown
West Side Presbyterian Church

Mr. Bruce Brundage
1005 Powell Drive

Rev. Arthur Calloway
501 S. Wilmington Street

Mr. F. J. Carnage
115½ East Hargett Street

Mr. John K. Culbertson
Insurance Building

Dr. Carl DeVane
Shaw University

Dr. W. L. Greene
N. C. T. A.

Dr. N. H. Harris
918 New Bern Avenue

Dr. Nell Hirschberg
1500 Park Avenue

Dr. John M. Lewis
First Baptist Church

Dr. Howard Miller
State College

Mrs. Virginia Newell
Shaw University

Dr. Prezell Robinson
St. Augustine's College

Dr. Leslie Syron
Meredith College

Miss Ruth Wilson
1121 Harvey Street

CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

OFFICERS and MEMBERS of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
(as of May 24, 1960)

OFFICERS

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Mrs. Martin L. Cannon, Jr., Vice-Chairman	1511 Queens Road	ED4-6226
Rev. Moses S. Belton, Secretary	Johnson C. Smith University	ED3-7529
A. E. Spears, Treasurer	2032 Oaklawn Avenue	ED2-3975

MEMBERS

Fred Alexander	P. O. Box 273	FR6-4905
Mrs. D. P. Allen	1600 Welch Place	ED3-2951
Mrs. Leslie Barnhardt	5830 Creola Road	EM6-1980
Rev. Thom W. Blair	Christ Church, 1412 Providence Road	ED3-0378
Rev. W. M. Boyce, Jr.	St. Paul Pres. Church 2300 McClintock Rd.	FR6-4319
~~Mrs. Addison Brenizer, Jr.~~	1301 Providence Road	FR5-4945
Mrs. U. S. Brooks	305 Beatties Ford Road	ED2-8316
Mrs. Francis Ol Clarkson	1124 Bolling Road	ED2-8449
Dr. Stuart D. Currie	3900 Conway Avenue (formerly Belton st)	JA3-5527
Ernest Delaney, Jr.	Wachovia Bank Building	ED3-1191
~~Rev. Carl Edwards~~	532 Winston Street	FR5-5380
Rev. Sidney L. Freeman	Unitarian Church, 1626 East Boulevard	ED3-2103
Rev. H. W. Givens	401 Palmer Street	ED2-6069
Harry Golden	1312 Elizabeth Avenue	FR5-6624
~~Mrs. Drayton T. Graham~~	2527 LaSalle Street	EX9-7920
Rev. J. B. Humphrey	First Baptist Ch., 1024 S. Church St.	FR5-2627
Charles M. Lowe	Major Appliance Distr., 1213 W. Morehead	ED3-3792
Dr. J. Dwight Martin	417½ East 2nd Street	ED4-3010
Gorman Mattison	Ketchum, Inc., 518 Johnston Bldg.	FR6-5616
Mrs. Robert E. Miller	1043 Bolling Road	ED4-1207
Dr. Rufus P. Perry	Johnson C. Smith University	ED3-7529
Rev. J. F. Wertz	St. Paul Baptist Ch., 515 S. McDowell	ED4-4330
Rev. W. A. Wilkins	St. Michael's Episcopal, 316 W. Hill St.	ED3-6271
~~Mrs. Marrett Wheeler~~	1919 Cassamia Place	EM6-4009
Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler	Charlotte Medical Clinic, 1012 Kings Dr.	FR5-1795
Harry S. Jones	121 East 3rd Street, Room 301	FR6-6833

SC Lists

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Board of Directors
January 19, 1961

Officers:

Chairman, Rev. Fred M. Reese	P.O. Box 186	Central, S. C.
Vice-Chairman, Earl M. Middleton	197 Amelia Street	Orangeburg, S. C.
II Vice-Chairman, Dr. B. T. Williams	314 W. Bartlette Street	Sumter, S. C.
Secretary, Mrs. R. B. Cunningham	27 Heathwood Circle	Columbia, S. C.
Treasurer, I. P. Stanback	Box 778	Columbia, S. C.

Expiration Date			
1961	Mrs. J. R. Allison	1537 Haynesworth Road	Columbia, S. C.
	*Mrs. William D. Baasel	9B Daniel Drive	Clemson, S. C.
1963	Mr. J. Arthur Brown	270½ Ashley Avenue	Charleston, S. C.
1961	Mr. J. M. Dabbs	Route 1	Mayesville, S. C.
1961	Mr. G. W. Daniels	P.O. Box 147	Orangeburg, S. C.
1963	Mr. John DeLoach	Route 1, Box 239	Pineland, S. C.
1961	Mr. S. C. Disher	P. O. Box-Associate Farm Agent	Dillon, S.C.
1962	Mrs. M. E. Fields	5 President Place	Charleston, S. C.
1963	Mrs. Amy Gathings	459 S. Trade Street	Rock Hill, S. C.
1963	Mr. J. H. Goudlock, Pres.	Friendship Junior Col.	Rock Hill, S. C.
1961	Dr. Wil Lou Gray	1851 Devine Street	Columbia, S. C.
1961	Rabbi David Gruber	2717 Heyward Street	Columbia, S. C.
1962	Rev. J. S. Hall	602 E. McAbee Avenue	Greenville, S. C.
1962	Miss Mary Eva Hite	Peachtree Street	Batesburg, S. C.
1961	Mr. L. P. Hollis	P.O. Box 1440	Greenville, S. C.
1963	The Rev. F. C. James	215 W. Bartlette Street	Sumter, S. C.
1961	Dr. D. H. Jenkins	1416 Pine Street	Columbia, S. C.
1962	Mr. Esau Jenkins	244 Spring Street	Charleston, S. C.
1963	Dr. Fred Jenkins	1107½ Washington St.	Columbia, S. C.
1961	Mrs. Iola Jones	711 Oakland Street	Florence, S. C.
	*Mr. Charles Joyner	Box 2241-U.S.C.	Columbia, S. C.
	*The Rev. John Kilby	909 Carter Street	Columbia, S. C.
1962	The Rev. M. D. McCollum	191 Boulevard N. E.	Orangeburg, S. C.
	*Mr. James McGonagle	Box 515, 315 Amelia N.E.	Orangeburg, S. C.
1962	Miss Jane McDonald	2406 Blossom Street	Columbia, S. C.
	*Miss Elsye McKeown	1608 Maple Street	Columbia, S. C.
1962	Mr. J. T. W. Mims	232 S. Livingston St.	Clinton, S. C.
	*Mr. John Montgomery	Editor, THE RECORD	Columbia, S. C.
1962	Miss A. A. Nelson	2202 Gervais Street	Columbia, S. C.
1963	The Rev. I. DeQ. Newman	2227 College Street	Columbia, S. C.
1961	Mrs. Marion B. Paul	2324 Washington Street	Columbia, S. C.
1961	Miss Rebecca Reid	29 East Calhoun Street	Sumter, S. C.
1961	Mr. Odell Reuben	Pres., Morris College	Sumter, S. C.
1962	Miss Julia Reynolds	302 West Calhoun Street	Sumter, S. C.
1961	The Rev. E. E. Riley	1228 Harden Street	Columbia, S. C.
1963	Mr. Courtney Siceloff	St. Helena Island	Frogmore, S. C.
1963	Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse	1513 Laurel Street	Columbia, S. C.
	*Miss Charlotte Stevenson	309 Wateree Avenue	Columbia, S. C.
1963	The Rev. Eben Taylor	1244 N Avenue	Cayce, S. C.
1963	Mrs. George Townes	Star Route	Cleveland, S. C.
1962	The Rev. Z. Townsend	1112 Newberry Street	Aiken, S. C.
1962	Mrs. Mabel Price Washington	-----	Frogmore, S. C.
1963	Miss Christine White	414 Saluda Street	Rock Hill, S. C.
1961	The Rev. Neal Wyndham	1401 Pickens Street	Columbia, S. C.

* - Elected to fill vacancies until next annual meeting.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS- Florida Council on Human Relations

February, 1961

President- Mrs. Mabel Reese
Box 431
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Vice Pres- Mr. I.H. Burney
Box 660
Jacksonville, Fla.

Secretary- Mrs. Sidney Gluckman
1000 Cordova Dr.
Orlando, Fla.

Treasurer- Miss Eulalie Ginn
Box 8225 Univ. Branch
Coral Gables, Fla.

Dr. Hal G. Lewis
College of Education
University of Florida
Gainesville. Fla

Mrs Mabel N Reese
Box 431
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Mrs W C White
Box 87
Webster, Fla.

Bishop H I Louttit
458 Virginia Dr
Winter Park, Fla.

Mrs. Ellen F. Roberts
Box 213
Bonifay, Fla.

Dr H Franklin Williams
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Fla.

Canon Rbt. McCloskey
325 Market St.
Jacksonville, Fla.

Mr [redacted] Jas Shaw
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Tallahassee, Fla.

Mrs. Hayme Williams
1200 N W 6th Ave
Miami, Fla.

[redacted] Mrs. S. Hilledge
1119 Sea Gull Lane South
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Dr. Ludd Spivey
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Palm Beach, Fla.

Mrs. Harold J. Wilson
504 - 14th St.
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Miami, Fla

Dr R V Moore
Bethune Cookman Coll.
Daytona Beach, Fla.

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Tallahassee, Fla.

Mr [redacted] E D Swafford
3021 SW 37 Ave
West Hollywood, Fla.

Mrs. Lilburn Moseley
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Rev Walter Rutland
Pasadena Community Church
2 Ave So & 70 St
St Petersburg, Fla.

Rev E C Tillman
562 South St
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Rev. J.B. Nichols
914 Baylin St
Pensacola, Fla.

Rabbi J M Taxa y
20 So. Betty Lane
Clearwater, Fla.

Mr Jesse E Buggs
516 Lipscomb St
Melbourne, Fla.

Dr. Gilbert L. Porter
Box 351
Tallahassee, Fla.

Mr. W.C. Taylor
Box 484
Belle Glade, Fla.

Miss Marie Roberts
2501 N W 46 St
Miami, Fla.

Rev. [redacted]. P. J. Wagner
4021 Corona Ave.,
Tampa, Fla.

Mrs. Henrine Banks
Bethune Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dr [redacted] Dudley DeGroot
1765 Huron Trail
Maitland, Fla.

[redacted] Mrs. I.S. Hankins
219 Lime Street
Orlando, Fla.

Dr. Helena Bailie
1701 New River Lane
Ft Lauderdale, Fla.

Rev. Caxton Doggett
P O Box 825
Winter Park, Fla.

Mr. David Herman
Hotel Employees Union
211-23rd St.,
Miami Beach, Fla.

Rev. James L. Bartlett
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Cocoa, Fla.

Dr. Ralph Dreger
2867 Justina Rd
Jacksonville 11, Fla.

Rev. James M Howard
2606 Sunrise Boulevard
Ft. Pierce, Fla.

Rev H.F. Brockington
Box 63
Cocoa, Fla.

Mr I.H. Burney
Box 660
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dr. Paul Finner
930 W Park Ave
Tallahassee, Fla.

Prof. A.L. Kidd
Box 252 Fla. A & M Univ.
Tallahassee, Fla.

Mrs. R.J. Burnup
928 Hollywood Place
West Palm Beach, Fla.

Rev. John Fuller
1815 E Robinson Ave
Orlando, Fla.

MRS. AUSTIN L. KIMBALL
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Gainesville, Fla.

Dr. W. H. Collie
501 Third St
West Palm Beach, Fla.

Miss Eulalie Ginn
Box 8225 Univ. Branch
Miami 46, Fla .

[redacted] Mrs David Eddy
1329 Essex Rd
Winter Park, Fla.

Rev E T Graham
356 N W 9 St
Miami, Fla.

Mr Herbert Davidson
Box 431
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Mrs. Sidney C. Gluckman
1000 Cordova Drive
Orlando, Fla.

Local Council Presidents

Florida Council on Human Relations - April, 1961

Ft Lauderdale- Mr. Tom Swafford
3021 SW 37 Ave
West Hollywood, Fla.

West Palm Beach- Mrs. Billie Wilson
504 14th St
West Palm Beach, Fla.

Melbourne- Mr. Jesse Buggs
515 Lipscomb St
Melbourne, Fla.

Cocoa- Rev. H.F. Brockington
Box 63
Cocoa, Fla.

Daytona Beach- Mrs. Francis Moseley
Box 5065
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Jacksonville- Mr. I.H. Burney
Box 660
Jacksonville, Fla.

Gainesville- Dr. Ralph Thompson
1209 N W 43 St
Gainesville, Fla.

Tallahassee- Dr. Chas. U. Smith
Florida A & M Univ.
Tallahassee, Fla.

Pensacola- Rev J.B. Nichols
914 Baylin St
Pensacola

Orlando- Dr. Dudley DeGroot
Rollins College
Winter Park, Fla.

NON-AFFILIATED- St Petersburg Interracial Committee
Rev. Al Brock, Pres.
4515 38th Ave No.
St Petersburg, Fla.

May 61

KNOXVILLE

Knoxville Area Human Relations Council — 701 Empire Building

Chairman	Charles L. Cleland	Dept. of Agr. Economics-UT
Vice Chairman	Robert L. Harvey	1704 Wilder Place, S. E.
Secretary	Rev. C. M. Proudfoot	Knoxville College
Treasurer	Mrs. Cecil Miles	1504 Nolan
Office Secretary	Mrs. John N. Hitch	1124 Montrose Place

MEMPHIS

Memphis Chapter, TCOHR

President	Rev. Eugene Luening	4443 Sequoia
Secretary	Miss Margaret McCulloch	858 Whitford Place
Treasurer	Mrs. Stanley Ish, Jr.	1483 So. Parkway East
Other Leader	Rev. John Charles Mickle	762 Walker Avenue

CHATTANOOGA

Chattanooga Community Relations Fonference

President	Rev. Arnold Slater	1800 Crestwood Drive
Secretary	Miss Claire Andreae	717½ Battery Lane
Treasurer		
Other Leader	Neil McDade	110 Island Avenue

NASHVILLE

Nashville Community Relations Conference

President	George Barrett	~~216 3rd Avenue North~~
Secretary	Mrs. Nelson Fuson	1815 Morena Street
Treasurer	Mrs. Jack Yulman	837 Kendall Drive
Vice President	Dr. Vivian Henderson	1619 Phillips Street

JACKSON

No formal organization

Leaders are:	Mrs. Ray Allen	6 Sunset Avenue
	Mr. Albert Porter	Lane College
Pres. ~~Ho~~	Henry O. Forgy, Jr.	1010 Prospect
V. Pres.	M. D. Merriweather	
Sec.	Mrs. Mattie Merry	
Treas.	Mr. Sam Wahl	

May 16, 1961

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1961-1962

OFFICERS

*Mrs. E. P. Shaw, President	8402 N. Bayou Blvd. (17)	MI5-2954
*Leleand G. Marsters, Jr., Vice-Pres.	Richmong Road, Box 288 Route #4, Houston	GY4-1919
*Mrs. Charles W. Pemberton, Rec. Sec.	2306 Rosedale (4)	JA8-2304
*Rev. Ted Klein, Treasurer	2345 Wroxton (5)	JA3-1207

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R. W. Askanase	Niels Esperson Bldg.(2)	CA5-6646
Mrs. Howard Barnstone	1720 North Blvd.	JA8-0397
Everett O. Bell	2021 Ruth (JA3-9736)	JA9-8911
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Mrs. James S. Crate	8510 Ferris	MO5-8733
Ben Canales	709 Scanlan Bldg.	FA3-4781
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Raymond Duncan	3217 Ewing	JA9-3051
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Dr. Arthur Gallaher	Univ. of Houston,3801 Cullen	CA4-1681(281)
*Irwin L. Glatstein	2020 Hermann Drive	JA2-5127
Mrs. Clark Goodman	12511 Old Oak Drive(24)	HO8-5960
Henry Groppe	12907 Butterfly Lane Tennessee Bldg.	CA4-7709
John J. Herrera	708 Scanlan Bldg.	CA8-4341
Bishop John E. Hines (The Rt. Rev.)	Diocese of Texas 520 San Jacinto	CA7-1193
James Hippard	Thompson,Hippard, Gibson 1226 Americana Bldg.	CA7-7288
Miss Barbara Jordan	4910 Campbell (20)	OR3-5322
Mrs. Armen Jorjorian	3630 Bluebonnet	MO7-3935
Rev. Charles Kelly	406 E. Rittenhouse (9)	ME5-9243
Miss Elizabeth Kimmel	3911 Caroline	JA8-5291
Rev. John Moore	3547 Rosedale	JA4-2504
*Rev. James R. Noland	#9 Chelsea Place	JA6-2247
Mrs. Joseph F. Reilly	2708 Robinhood	MA3-7710
Mrs. J. Milton Richardson	14 Shadowlawn Circle	JA2-5494
*Dr. Wm. P. Robinson	TSU, 3201 Wheeler	JA8-0611
*Charles Shaw	P.O. Box 2097	CA8-6363
Miss Betty Sherwood	%Magnolia Y.W.C.A. 7109 Navigation	WA6-2601
*Mrs. Adolph O. Susholtz	8833 Memorial Drive	OV6-6245
Mrs. A. L. Ullrich	4124 Anita	CA5-6381
Mrs. A. S. Vandervoort, Jr.	23 S. Wynden	SU2-5839
Carl Walker, Jr.	1514 Laurentide St(FA3-0152)	OR4-4141
Mrs. Carter Wesley	The Texas Informer 2418 Leeland	FA3-8347
*Walter Whitson	2336 North Blvd.	JA8-6413

STAFF

Mrs. George Dumbauld, Exec.Secretary	3605 Fannin (4)(MO4-0017)	JA4-5084

*Executive Committee

9/29/61
ecd

Virginia Council on Human Relations
3-B Broad-Grace Arcade
Richmond 19, Virginia

November 28, 1961

Listed below are the State Officers for 1962, and also a complete listing of the Board of Directors by classes. Any errors in spelling of names or in addresses should be brought to the immediate attention of our office.

VCHR Officers for 1962:

President: Dr. Thomas H. Henderson, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

1st. V-Pres. Dr. Frank Daniel, Box 136, Charlottesville, Va.

2nd. V-Pres. Mrs. George A. Eddy, 5151 Polk Avenue, Alexandria, Va.

Secretary: Dr. Harry Roberts, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

Treasurer: Dr. J. Rupert Picott, 316 East Clay Street, Richmond, Va.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Class of 1962

Mr. C. Douglas Adams, Jr., 106 Sipes Lane, Annandale, Va.
Mrs. Theodore Adams, 5407 Matoaka Road, Richmond, Va.
Mr. Carl Auvil, 1113 Nicholson Road, Falls Church, Va.
Dr. Walter Russell Bowie, 119 Windsor Road, Alexandria, Va.
Rev. W. Carroll Brooke, P. O. Box 208, Staunton, Va.
Dr. Aubrey N. Brown, The Presbyterian Outlook, 512 E. Main St., Richmond, Va.
Mr. Wilson M. Brown, 1820 Hanover Avenue, Richmond, Va.
Rev. William Cale, 113 Hylton Avenue, Woodbridge, Va.
Dr. Edna M. Colson, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.
Rev. Beverly Cosby, 4415 Boonsboro Road, Lynchburg, Va.
Rev. Roscoe Roy Cosby, St. John Vianney Seminary, Richmond 29, Va.
Mr. Roland D. Ealey, 420 North 1st. Street, Richmond 19, Va,
Miss Susie Peach Foster, 1213 Dandridge Street, Fredericksburg, Va.
Mrs. Elsie Green, 1215 Cloncurry Road, Norfolk 5, Va.
Dr. E. B. Henderson, 307 W. Fairfax Street, Falls Church, Va.
Mrs. J. A. Jackson, Box 197, Charlottesville, Va.
Dr. J. Kenneth Morland, 1511 Arrow Street, Lynchburg, Va.
Dr. Harry T. Penn, Allied Arts Building, Roanoke, Va.
Dr. Harry W. Roberts, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.
Mr. William Sanders, Law Building, Princeton, West Va.
Rev. Virgil A. Wood, 1419 Grace Street, Lynchburg, Va.

Class of 1963

Mr. Edward A. Alfriend, 909 Vicar Lane, Alexandria, Va.
Dr. L. B. Allen, Bluefield State College, Bluefield, West Va.
Rev. Hubert S. Beckwith, Box 288, Annandale, Va.
Rev. Benjamin F. Bunn, 800 Anderson Street, Charlottesville, Va.
Dr. Frank D. Daniel, Box 136, Charlottesville, Va.

class of 1963, continued

Mrs. George A. Eddy, 5151 Polk Avenue, Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Jo K. Higdon, 3305 West Franklin Street, Richmond, Va.
Rev. H. G. (Woody) Knight, 1320 DuBois Avenue, Richmond, Va.
Rev. Sidney Lovett, 5000 Little Falls Road, Arlington, Va.
Mrs. B. A. Makielski, 955 Locust Avenue, Charlottesville, Va.
Mr. M. C. Martin, President, 1st. State Bank, Danville, Va.
Dr. Earl H. McClenney, President, St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute, Lawerenceville, Va.
Dr. Reuben R. McDaniel, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.
Dr. Lambert Molyneaux, 400 Alderman Road, Charlottesville, Va.
Mr. Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.
Mr. Bert Seidman, 1617 Poplar Drive, Falls Church, Va.
Mr. J. B. Woodson, P. O. Box 692, Fredericksburg, Va.
Mr. Thomas W. Young, 1660 Carprew Avenue, Norfolk 12, Va.

Class of 1964

Mr. Robert W. Ames, 1290 Chandler Court, Williamsburg, Va.
Rev. Alvor M. Beardslee, Chaplain, Hollins College, Hollins College, Va.
Rev. William J. Cumbie, First Baptist Church, Alexandria, Va.
Dr. J. L. Blair Buck, 310 Hillwood Road, Richmond, Va.
Father Richard Burke, St. Joseph's Villa, Richmond, Va.
Mr. Harold O. DeWitt, 426 Burbank Street, Williamsburg, Va.
Dr. John M. Ellison, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.
Rabbi Emmet A. Frank, 3830 Seminary Road, Alexandria, Va.
Dr. Paul Gaston, 138 Mimosa Drive, Charlottesville, Va.
Mrs. I. G. Gladden, 29 Pembroke, Hampton, Va.
Rev. Emmett Green, Jefferson St. & Gilmer Ave., Roanoke, Va.
Mr. Nelson E. Greene, 814 Franklin Street, Alexandria, Va.
Dr. Rachel Henderlite, 3505 Brook Road, Richmond 27, Va.
Mrs. Wilson J. Hodgin, 408 West Braddock Road, Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Jack J. Jolly, Jr., 504 Brandon Avenue, Charlottesville, Va.
Dr. Ed C. Kollman, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
Mr. George Lawrence, 101 Gilmer Avenue, N. W., Roanoke, Va.
Rev. William H. Marmion, Bishop, Southwestern Episcopal Diocese, Roanoke, Va.
Mrs. George E. Mattus, 1502 South Main Street, Blacksburg, Va.
Dr. G. Gordon Moss, Dean, Longwood College, Farmville, Va.
Dr. J. Rupert Picott, 316 East Clay Street, Richmond, Va.
Dr. C. Waldo Scott, 1003 - 28th. Street, Newport-News, Va.
Mr. David H. Scull, P. O. Box 218, Annandale, Va.
Mrs. Samuel Z. Troy, 4610 West Grace Street, Richmond, Va.
Mr. W. R. Walker, Jr., 72 Shoe Lane, Warwick, Va.

Staff

Secretary: Mrs. Laura Lee, 8213 Shannon Hill Road, Richmond 29, Va.
Executive Director: Rev. Heslip M. Lee, 3-B Broad-Grace Arcade, Richmond 19, Va.
Telephone MIlton 9-0872

North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street, Charlotte, N. C.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS
(as of Dec. 6, 1961)

OFFICERS

Chairman: Rev. Henry G. Ruark, First Methodist Church, Rocky Mount
1st Vice-Chairman: Dr. S. E. Duncan, Livingstone College, Salisbury
2nd Vice-Chairman: Rev. William Boyce, Jr., 2232 Bay Street, Charlotte
Secretary: Mrs. Chase H. Benson, 505 Woodvale Drive, Greensboro
Treasurer: Rev. Moses S. Belton, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte
Executive Secretary: Harry S. Jones, 121 East Third Street, Charlotte

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Term expiring in 1964:
- Mrs. Ellen S. Alston, 222 Smithfield Street, Raleigh
- Dr. C. E. Boulware, 405 Lawson Street, Durham
- Irving Carlyle, Wachovia Bank Building, Winston-Salem
- Dr. Edward A. McDowell, Box 1068, Wake Forest
- Rev. Robert A. Massey, 513 Albany Street, Fayetteville
- Dr. Emery L. Rann, M.D., 1001 Beatties Ford Road, Charlotte
- Rev. Thomas Thrasher, The Chapel of The Cross, Chapel Hill
- John H. Wheeler, Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham

Term expiring in 1963:
- Mrs. Guy B. Delafield, 305 East Hendrix Street, Greensboro
- Rev. Julius T. Douglas, 908 Salem Street, Greensboro
- Rev. Carl N. Edwards, 1102 Virginia Avenue, Durham
- Rev. William Finlator, Pullen Memorial Baptist Church, Hillsboro at Cox Avenue, Raleigh
- Harry Golden, P. O. Box 2505, Charlotte
- Rev. Neal Hughley, North Carolina College, Durham
- Roy D. McLaurin, West Boulevard, Laurinburg
- Dr. Rufus P. Perry, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte

Term expiring in 1962:
- Dr. Wayne A. Bowers, 714 East Franklin Street, Chapel Hill
- Carl Dockery, 605 Buffalo Street, Shelby
- Dr. Luther Kelly, Jr., M.D., 1350 South Kings Drive, Charlotte
- Rev. C. P. Morris, Methodist Board of Education, Box 6667, College Station, Durham
- A. E. Spears, 2032 Oaklawn Avenue, Charlotte
- Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, M.D., Doctors Building, 1012 Kings Drive, Charlotte
- Dr. T. Franklin Williams, 405 Whitehead Circle, Chapel Hill

Tenn Feb. 9, 1962
Lists

CHAPTER OFFICERS

Memphis Chapter, Tennessee Council on Human Relations

President:	Mr. Hunter Lane, Jr.	Lane & Lane, Commerce Title Bldg. (3)
Vice President:	Dr. Walter Gibson	870 East McLemore (6)
Treasurer:	Mrs. James Byas	1358 South Parkway, East
Secretary:	Miss Ethel Niermeyer	1759 Vinton Avenue (4)

Oak Ridge Community Relations Council

Chairman:	William Ramsay	142 Manhattan Avenue	
Co-Chairman:	Miss Georgia Guinn	135 Bethune Circle	
Secretary-Treasurer:	Mrs. Sigfried Lindenbaum	103 Edgehill Lane	
Board:	Mrs. Ernest Silver	201 E. Vanderbilt Dr.	3 yrs.
	Mrs. Joe Gray	234 S. Fisk Avenue	3 yrs.
	Washington Butler	108 Bennett Lane	2 yrs.
	Mrs. Mendel Maskewitz	113 Potomac Circle	2 yrs.
	Robert R. Coveyou	93 Outer Drive	1 yr.
	David Krieg	316 Virginia Road	1 yr.

Jackson Community Relations Council

President:	H. O. Forgy, Jr.	1010 Prospect Street- Bus. Box 792
Vice President:	M. D. Meriweather	808 Hays Street
Secretary:	Mrs. Joe Merry	412 South Church Street
Treasurer:	Sam Wahl	Wahl's Slipper Shop

Chattanooga Community Relations Council

President:	Rev. Charles Moore	710 Woodmore Lane
Vice President:		
Secretary:	Miss Claire Andreae	717½ Battery Place

Nashville Community Relations Council

President:	Dr. Gideon Fryer	897 Battery Lane
Vice President:	Dr. Vivian Henderson	Fisk University
Recording Secretary:	Mrs. Nelson Fuson	1815 Morena Street
Corresponding Secretary:	Mrs. Burton Pogell	2817 Blair Blvd.
Treasurer:	Mrs. Stephen Wright	1803 Morena Street

Knoxville Area Human Relations Council

(Mail address: 602 Empire Bldg., P. O. Box 1011, Tel. 524-0357)

Chairman: Dr. Charles L. Cleland --Office U.T. 524-2981- Home 588-8757
13 Brookvale Drive

Secretary: Dr. C. M. Proudfoot -- On leave from U. T., in New York

Treasurer: Mrs. Cecil Miles
1504 Nolan

Executive Secretary: Miss Louise Blackwell Tel. 523-9287
1907 Lake Avenue, Knoxville 16

February 9, 1962

Georgia

Oct. 1962

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REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Reverend John A. Middleton — Chairman
Dr. F. D. Funderburg
Mrs. Joseph Masuck

OFFICERS

Chairman	The Reverend Charles C. Demere
Vice-Chairman	Mr. A. J. McClung
Vice-Chairman	Dr. Lionel Newson
Treasurer	Mr. Johnny Glustron
Secretary	Mrs. Harry V. Richardson

BOARD of DIRECTORS

Term to Expire 1965

Mr. Harry Adley	Atlanta
Mr. C. W. Aycock	Rome
Mrs. C. E. Blythe	Albany
Miss Franziska Boas	Rome
Mrs. Dan Hollums	Atlanta
Mr. Frank Hutchings	Macon
Mrs. Fischer Mosley	Macon
Mrs. Addie Powell	Augusta
Mrs. John Shields	Glynn County
Captain Frank Spencer	Savannah
Mrs. LaConstance Taylor	Macon
Mr. Albert W. Thompson	Columbus
Mrs. J. C. Wilkes	Glynn County
Dr. R. B. Young	Milldegeville
Mrs. Sujette Crank	Atlanta

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee is composed of the Officers and the Chairman of Standing Committees and five of the elected Board Members.

Mr. C. W. Aycock — Dr. Richard Hocking
Miss Rosetta Gardner — Attorney Albert L. Thompson
Mrs. Fred Robin

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Mrs. P. Q. Yancey, Chairman — Mrs. Sujette Crank
Miss Ruth Gogel — Mr. Robert Thompson

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BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Terms to Expire in 1963

Dr. Thomas Altizer, Atlanta
Reverend Austin Ford, Atlanta
Mr. R. L. Foreman, Sr., Atlanta
Miss Rosetta Gardner, Atlanta
Dr. W. L. Graham, Augusta
Mr. Donald Hollowell, Atlanta
Mr. Sinclair Jacobs, Atlanta
Mr. Gordon Kitchen, Columbus
Mrs. Stephen May, Atlanta
Mr. A. J. McClung, Columbus
Mrs. Fred Patterson, Atlanta
Dr. J. McDowell Richards, Decatur
Reverend Lester Rumble, Atlanta
Dr. Lynette Saine, Atlanta
Dr. Edward K. Weaver, Atlanta
Reverend Samuel W. Williams, Atlanta
Mrs. Prentiss Q. Yancey, Atlanta

Terms to Expire in 1964

Dr. E. Clayton Calhoun, Augusta
Dr. George E. Clary, Atlanta
Reverend Walter Cowart, Atlanta
Dr. Tilman Cothran, Atlanta
Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon, Columbus
Mr. E. H. Gadsen, Savannah
Dr. Richard Hocking, Atlanta
Mrs. Benjamin E. Mays, Atlanta
Dr. E. A. Manley, Atlanta
Mr. L. D. Milton, Atlanta
Reverend John A. Middleton, Atlanta
Mr. Lester H. Persells, Atlanta
Mr. William Randall, Macon
Mrs. Frederick Robin, Atlanta
Mr. William Shields, Atlanta
Mr. Q. V. Williamson, Atlanta
Dr. Guy Wells, Statesboro

CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL COUNCILS - EX-OFFICIO BOARD MEMBERS

Mrs. Clifton Hoffman, Atlanta
Dr. Victor C. Vaughan, Augusta
Mr. Albert Thompson, Columbus
Mrs. Arnett Waters, Savannah
Reverend T. P. Martin, Brunswick
Dr. E. D. Hamilton, Albany
Dr. Joseph Hendricks, Macon
Reverend J. A. Holman, Macon
Miss Franziska Boas, Rome
Reverend Clarence Tuggle, Rome
Mrs. Emnett Johnson, Brunswick
Mr. Philip A. Payne, Albany
Mr. John Ralston, Savannah

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North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street, Charlotte, N. C.

mm

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS
(as of Dec. 13, 1962)

OFFICERS

Chairman: Dr. T. Franklin Williams, 405 Whitehead Circle, Chapel Hill
1st Vice-Chairman: Dr. S. E. Duncan, Livingstone College Salisbury
2nd Vice-Chairman: Dr. C. E. Boulware, 405 Lawson Street, Durham
Secretary: Mrs. Chase H. Benson, 505 Woodvale Drive, Greensboro
Treasurer: Rev. Moses S. Belton, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte
Assistant Treasurer: Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, 1900 Brunswick Avenue, Charlotte
Executive Secretary: Harry S. Jones, 121 East Third Street, Charlotte

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Term expiring in 1965:
Dr. Wayne A. Bowers, 714 East Franklin Street, Chapel Hill
Ruben J. Dailey, 13½ Eagle Street, Asheville
Dr. Nelson H. Harris, Shaw University, Raleigh
Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Box 652, Chapel Hill
Dr. Howard Miller, 3421 Churchill Road, Raleigh
William S. Page, P. O. Box 871, Kinston
Rev. Vernon C. Tyson, 401 West Main Street, Sanford

Term expiring in 1964:
Mrs. Ellen S. Alston, 222 Smithfield Street, Raleigh
Irving Carlyle, Wachovia Bank Building, Winston-Salem
Dr. Edward A. McDowell, Box 1068, Wake Forest
Rev. Robert A. Massey, 513 Albany Street, Fayetteville
Dr. Emery L. Rann, M.D., 1001 Beatties Ford Road, Charlotte
Rev. Thomas Thrasher, The Chapel of the Cross, Chapel Hill
John H. Wheeler, Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham

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Mrs. Guy B. Delafield, 305 East Hendrix Street, Greensboro
Rev. Julius T. Douglas, 908 Salem Street, Greensboro
Rev. Carl N. Edwards, 406 Morehead Avenue, Durham
Rev. William Finlator, Pullen Memorial Baptist Church, Hillsboro at Cox Avenue, Raleigh
Harry Golden, P. O. Box 2505, Charlotte
Rev. J. Neal Hughley, North Carolina College, Durham
Roy D. McLaurin, West Boulevard, Laurinburg
Dr. Rufus P. Perry, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

BOARD OF DIRECTORS 1961 - 62

OFFICERS

George E. Barrett, Nashville
President
Mrs. Bernard Schweid, Nashville
Secretary
John H. Cheek, Jr., Nashville
Treasurer

Vice-Presidents
Mrs. Ben Russell, Greeneville
The Rev. Major J. Jones, Chattanooga
Mrs. G. Stanley Ish, Memphis

BOARD MEMBERS

TERM ENDING 1962

Lucius E. Burch, Jr., Memphis
John J. Compton, Nashville
Miss Ellen Correll, Memphis
Rev. W. T. Crutcher, Knoxville
Rev. Sam R. Dodson, Jr., Nashville
Mrs. Bernard Fensterwald, Nashville
Mrs. Raymond T. Ferris, Nashville
C. A. Kirkendoll, Jackson
Hugh J. Morgan, M. D., Nashville
Mrs. John C. Oscinach, Memphis,
William G. Pollard, Oak Ridge
Walter Sharp, Nashville
Seamour Shavin, Chattanooga
Mrs. Margaret Valiant, Memphis
Mrs. H. Olin Troy, Knoxville
Mrs. Matthew Walker, Nashville
Harold D. West, M. D., Nashville
Miss Louise Young, Nashville

TERM ENDING 1963

Washington Butler, Jr., Oak Ridge
Rev. Will D. Campbell, Nashville
Mrs. Lawrence Coe, Memphis
Maclin P. Davis, Nashville
Rev. William A. Dennis, Chattanooga
Mrs. John Gregory, Chattanooga
W. D. Hawkins, Jr., Nashville
Mrs. W. B. Hembree, Knoxville
Rev. Blair T. Hunt, Memphis
Mrs. John T. McCall, Nashville
Rev. S. A. Owen, Memphis
Horace W. Raper, Cookeville
Rev. John Rustin, Kingsport
Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, Nashville
Neal B. Spahr, Knoxville
Roscoe L. Strickland, Jr., Murfreesboro
Mrs. James M. Todd, Nashville
Herman H. Long, Nashville

TERM ENDING 1964

Mrs. Ray Allen, Jackson
Rev. William G. Brockman, Chattanooga
Dwight L. Freshley, Nashville
LeRoy Graf, Knoxville
Ernest Hooper, Murfreesboro
Mrs. Robert Harwell, Franklin
Miss Leah James, Chattanooga
Matt Lynch, Nashville
Mrs. Ernest Silver, Oak Ridge

Mrs. Robert M. Metcalfe, Crossville
Rev. John Charles Mickle, Memphis
Mrs. Robert W. Peelle, Oak Ridge
Albert Porter, Jackson
Hollis F. Price, Memphis
Mrs. Tom Ragland, Nashville
Clifford Seeber, Knoxville
Lewis Sinclair, Knoxville
Rabbi James Wax, Memphis

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

John J. Compton, Nashville
Miss Clare Andreae, Chattanooga
Miss Ellen Correll, Memphis

North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street, Charlotte, N. C.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS
(as of Dec. 4, 1963)

OFFICERS

Chairman: Dr. T. Franklin Williams, M.D., 405 Whitehead Circle, Chapel Hill
1st Vice-Chairman: Dr. S. E. Duncan, Livingstone College, Salisbury
2nd Vice-Chairman: Dr. C. E. Boulware, 405 Lawson Street, Durham,
Secretary: Mrs. Chase H. Benson, 505 Woodvale Drive, Greensboro
Treasurer: Rev. Moses S. Belton, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte
Assistant Treasurer: Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, M.D., 1900 Brunswick Ave., Charlotte

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Term expiring in 1966:
Dr. McLeod Bryan, Department of Religion, Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem
Harry Golden, Post Office Box 2505, Charlotte
Dr. Luther W. Kelly, Jr., M.D., 1315 South Kings Drive, Charlotte
Dr. Samuel D. Proctor, The Agricultural & Technical College of N. C., Greensboro
Mrs. Mary D. B. Semans, 1415 Bivins Street, Durham
John R. Taylor, P. O. Drawer T-3, Greensboro
Dr. Daniel Tosteson, Department of Physiology, Duke University, Durham
Dr. C. D. Watts, M.D., 512 Simmons Street, Durham
Nathaniel B. White, 504 E. Pettigrew Street, Durham

Term expiring in 1965:
W. M. Barbee, Post Office Box 10805, Raleigh, N. C.
Ruben J. Dailey, 13½ Eagle Street, Asheville
Dr. Nelson H. Harris, Shaw University, Raleigh
Dr. Nell Hirschberg, North Carolina College, Durham
Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Box 652, Chapel Hill
Dr. Howard G. Miller, 3421 Churchill Road, Raleigh
William S. Page, P. O. Box 871, Kinston
Rev. Vernon C. Tyson, 401 West Main Street, Sanford
Father Robert L. Wilken, 218 Pittsboro Street, Chapel Hill

Term expiring in 1964:
Mrs. Ellen S. Alston, 222 Smithfield Street, Raleigh
Irving Carlyle, Wachovia Bank Building, Winston-Salem
Dr. Edward A. McDowell, Box 1068, Wake Forest
Rev. Robert A. Massey, 513 Albany Street, Fayetteville
Dr. Emery L. Rann, M.D., 1001 Beatties Ford Road, Charlotte
Rev. Thomas Thrasher, The Chapel of the Cross, Chapel Hill
John H. Wheeler, Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham

Houston

PROPOSED
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
1962-1963

OFFICERS

*The Rev. Charles R. Kelly
President

*G. E. Dodd, M. D.
Vice-President

*Miss Barbara Jordan
Recording Secretary

*Leland G. Marsters, Jr.
Treasurer

MEMBERS

R. W. Askanase
*Mrs. Howard Barnstone
Everett O. Bell
Henry A. Bullock, Phd.
Benjamin Canales
Miss Nina Cullinan
Mrs. Charles Dillingham
Mrs. A. E. Dukler
Raymond Duncan
Frederic A. Fleming, Jr.
Mrs. Frank Freed
Mrs. Street Fulton
*Irwin L. Glatstein
*Mary Ellen Goodman, Phd.
Henry Groppe
John J. Herrera
The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines
Mrs. Armen Jorjorian
The Rev. Ted Klein
*The Rev. James R. Noland
Mrs. Kenneth Dale Owen
Mrs. Warren Peret
*Mrs. Charles W. Pemberton
Mrs. Joseph F. Reilly
Mrs. J. Milton Richardson
Mrs. J. Newton Rayzor
Woodrow Seals
*Charles Shaw
*Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw
Miss Betty Sherwood
Mrs. Adolph O. Susholtz
Mrs. A. L. Ullrich
Mrs. A. S. Vandervoort, Jr.
Carl Walker, Jr.
Walter Whitson

STAFF

Mrs. George K. Dumbauld
Executive Secretary

Submitted by Nominating Committee:

Mrs. Adolph O. Susholtz, Chairman
Mrs. Frank Freed
Mr. James R. Noland
Mr. Charles Shaw

*Executive Committee
11/1/62

Elected 10/1/62

Houston

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
1962-1963

OFFICERS

*The Rev. Charles R. Kelly President	406 E. Rittenhouse (9)	OX7-3764	OX5-9243
*G. E. Dodd, M. D. Vice-President	5012 Travis (2)	JA4-1122	
*Miss Barbara Jordan Recording Secretary	4910 Campbell (20)	OR3-5322	OR2-0525
*Leland G. Marsters, Jr. Treasurer	2030 Banks	JA3-4656	RI8-1400(Bldg. Serv)

BOARD MEMBERS

R. W. Askanase	Niels Esperson Bldg.(2)	CA5-6646	
*Mrs. Howard Barnstone	1720 North Blvd.	JA8-0397	
Everett O. Bell	TSU,3201 Wheeler (4)	JA8-0611	JA3-9736
Henry A. Bullock,Phd.	TSU,3201 Wheeler (4)	JA8-0611	
Ben Canales	709 Scanlan Bldg.	CA3-4781	
Miss Nina Cullinan	3694 Willowick Drive (19)	JA3-2110	
Mrs. Charles Dillingham	4 Waverly Court (5)	JA4-4359	
Raymond Duncan	3217 Ewing	WA3-6569	
Mrs. A. E. Dukler	4823 Creekbend (35)	PA3-2543	
Fredric A. Fleming, Jr.	Rt. #8,Box 417-C,Houston	PR4-2242(Barker)	
Mrs. Street Fulton	Will Rice House,(Rice	JA4-3530	
Mrs. Frank Freed	11310 Smithdale Univ.)	HO5-2872	
Henry Groppe	12907 Butterfly Lane	HO5-0363	
*Irwin L. Glatstein	2020 Hermann Drive	JA2-5127	
*Mary Ellen Goodman, Phd.	12511 Old Oak Drive (24)	HO8-5960	
John J. Herrera	708 Scanlan Bldg.	CA4-7709	
The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines	520 San Jacinto (Diocese of Texas)	CA7-1193	
Mrs. Armen Jorjorian	3630 Bluebonnet	MO7-3935	
The Rev. Ted Klein	2345 Wroxton (5)	JA3-1207	
*The Rev. James R. Noland	# 9 Chelsea Place	JA6-2247	
Mrs. Kenneth Dale Owen	300 Pinewold (27)	SU2-2602	
Mrs. Warren S. Peret	10954 Bienhorn (24)	HO8-4502	
*Mrs. Charles W. Pemberton	2306 Rosedale (4)	JA8-2304	
Mrs. Joseph F. Reilly	2708 Robinhood	MA3-7710	
Mrs. J. Milton Richardson	14 Shadowlawn Circle	JA2-5494	
Mrs. J. Newton Rayzor	3207 Groveland Lane	JA8-7367	
Miss Betty Sherwood	c/o Magnolia Y.W.C.A. 7109 Navigation	WA6-2601	
Mrs. Adolph O. Susholtz	8833 Memorial Drive	OV6-6245	
*Charles Shaw	P. O. Box 2097	CA8-6363	
*Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw	8402 N. Bayou Blvd. (17)	MI5-2954	
Woodrow Seals	P. O. Box 61129	CA8-0611	EXT. 765
Carl Walker, Jr.	1514 Laurentide Street	OR4-4141	CA8-0611
Walter Whitson	2336 North Blvd.	JA8-6413	
Mrs. A. S. Vandervoort, Jr.	23 S. Wynden	SU2-5839	
Mrs. A. L. Ullrich	4124 Anita	CA5-6381	

STAFF

Mrs. George K. Dumbauld Executive Secretary	3605 Fannin (4)(MO4-0017)	JA4-5084	

*Executive Committee

/lmh

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

BOARD OF DIRECTORS 1962 - 63

OFFICERS

George E. Barrett, Nashville
President

Mrs. Bernard Schweid, Nashville
Secretary

Dr. G. J. Tarleton, Nashville
Treasurer

Vice-Presidents

Lewis S. Sinclair, Knoxville
Mrs. G. Stanley Ish, Memphis
William R. Willis, Nashville
President Elect

BOARD MEMBERS

TERM ENDING 1963

Washington Butler, Jr., Oak Ridge
Rev. Will D. Campbell, Nashville
Mrs. Lawrence Coe, Memphis
Maclin P. Davis, Nashville
Rev. William A. Dennis, Chattanooga
Mrs. John Gregory, Chattanooga
W. D. Hawkins, Jr., Nashville
Mrs. W. B. Hembree, Knoxville
Rev. Blair T. Hunt, Memphis
Herman H. Long, Nashville
Mrs. John T. McCall, Nashville
Rev. S. A. Owen, Memphis
Horace W. Raper, Cookeville
Rev. John Rustin, Kingsport
Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, Nashville
Neal B. Spahr, Knoxville
Roscoe L. Strickland, Jr., Murfreesboro
Mrs. James M. Todd, Nashville

TERM ENDING 1964

Mrs. Ray Allen, Jackson
Dwight L. Freshley, Nashville
LeRoy Graf, Knoxville
Ernest Hooper, Murfreesboro
Mrs. Robert Harwell, Franklin
Matt Lynch, Nashville
Joseph L. May, Nashville
Mrs. Ernest Silver, Oak Ridge
Mrs. Robert M. Metcalfe, Crossville
Rev. John Charles Mickle, Memphis
Mrs. Robert W. Peelle, Oak Ridge
Albert Porter, Jackson
Hollis F. Price, Memphis
Mrs. Tom Ragland, Nashville
Clifford Seeber, Knoxville
Rabbi James Wax, Memphis

TERM ENDING 1965

Carl Carson, Memphis
John J. Compton, Nashville
David Crane, Jackson
Rev. W. T. Crutcher, Knoxville
Mrs. Bernard Fensterwald, Nashville
Mrs. John C. Hull, Nashville
Rev. Major J. Jones, Chattanooga
Hunter Lane, Jr., Memphis
M. D. Merriwether, Jackson
Mrs. Hugh Morgan, Nashville
Mrs. Fred Muhleman, Chattanooga
William G. Pollard, Oak Ridge
Ewell Reagin, Knoxville
Mrs. Earl L. Sasser, Nashville
Dr. Vasco Smith, Memphis
Miss Martelle Trigg, Memphis
Miss Louise Young, Nashville

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Mrs. W. R. Donigan, Memphis
Miss Elizabeth Edwards, Chattanooga
Mrs. James Todd, Nashville

REPORT OF NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Ga.
(all approved?)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Chairman---------- The Rev. Charles Demere
Vice Chairman---------- Dr. Lionel Newsome
Vice Chairman---------- The Rev. Oliver W. Holmes
Secretary---------- Mrs. Dan H. Hollums
Treasurer---------- Mr. Johnny Glustrom

BOARD MEMBERS---Terms expire 1964

*The Rev. Travis Barnes, Atlanta
Dr. E. Clayton Calhoun, Augusta
Dr. George E. Clary, Atlanta
The Rev. Walter Cowart, Atlanta
Dr. Tillman Cothran, Atlanta
Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon, Columbus
Mr. E. H. Gadsden, Savannah
*Dr. Richard Hocking, Atlanta
Mrs. Benjamin Mays, Atlanta
Dr. A. E. Manley, Atlanta
Mr. L. D. Milton, Atlanta
*The Rev. John Middleton, Atlanta
*Mr. Lester H. Persells, Atlanta
Mr. William Randall, Macon
*Mrs. Frederick Robin, Atlanta
*Mr. William Shields, Atlanta
*Mr. Q.V.Williamson, Atlanta
Dr. Guy Wells, Statesboro

*Executive Committee & officers

Terms to expire in 1962

Mr. J. D. Anderson, Americus
Father James C. Boyce, Atlanta
*Rev. Lamar Clements, Atlanta
Rev. Jesse Cook, Atlanta
*Mrs. SueJette Crank, Atlanta
*Mr. Frank Hutchings, Macon
*Rev. Judson G. Jackson
Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick, Atlanta
Mrs. Fischer Mosley, Macon
Mrs. Hugh C. Owen, Atlanta
*Rev. C. Leon Smith, Atlanta
Mr. Albert W. Thompson, Columbus

Terms to expire in 1963

Dr. Thomas Altizer, Atlanta
Mr. Kenneth Cauthen, Macon
Rev. Austen Ford, Atlanta
*Mr. R. L. Foreman, Sr., Atlanta
Miss Rosetta Gardner, Atlanta
Dr. W. L. Graham, Augusta
*Mr. Don Hollowell, Atlanta
Mr. Sinclair Jacobs, Atlanta
Mr. Gordon Kitchen, Columbus
Mrs. Stephen May
Mr. A. J. McClung, Columbus
Rev. John A. Middleton, Atlanta
Mrs. Fred Patterson, Atlanta
*Dr. J. McDowell Richards, Decatur
*Rev. Lester Rumble, Atlanta
Dr. Lynette Saine, Atlanta
Dr. Edward K. Weaver, Atlanta
Rev. Samuel Williams, Atlanta
Mrs. Prentiss Q. Yancey, Atlanta

CHAIRMAN OF LOCAL COUNCILS----------EX-OFFICIO BOARD MEMBERS

Dr. Victor C. Vaughan, Augusta
Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon, Columbus
Mr. Joseph Hendricks, Macon
Rev. Elisha B. Paschal, Macon
Rev. Samuel W. Williams, Atlanta
Rev. Oliver W. Holmes, Savannah

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
TELEPHONE: 525-6469

MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE BOARD, DECEMBER, 1962

TELEPHONE	NAME AND ADDRESS
DR. 3-7498	CHAIRMAN, MRS. CLIFTON G. HOFFMAN 470 CHELSEA CIRCLE, N. E., ATLANTA 7, GEORGIA
JA. 2-5895 (O) SY. 4-2510 (H)	FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN, MR. Q. V. WILLIAMSON 855 HUNTER STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 14, GA.
TR. 3-1731	SECOND VICE-CHAIRMAN, RABBI JACOB ROTHSCHILD 1589 PEACHTREE ROAD, N. E., ATLANTA 9, GA.
378-3075	SECRETARY, MRS. CHARLES PERKINS, JR. 1126 CLIFTON ROAD, N. W., ATLANTA 18, GA.
TR. 6-3311 EXT. 5293 (O) SY. 4-6129 (H)	TREASURER, MR. HUBERT JACKSON 723 WATERFORD ROAD, N . W., ATLANTA 18, GA.

DIRECTORS, TERMS EXPIRE IN NOVEMBER, 1964

TR. 6-4933	MR. SINCLAIR JACOBS, 200 MONTGOMERY FERRY DRIVE, N. E., ATLANTA 9, GEORGIA
CE. 7-4648	MRS. DEJONGH FRANKLIN, 1585 WEST PACES FERRY ROAD, N. W., ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA
JA. 5-6372	MR. DONALD HOLLOWELL, 859½ HUNTER STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA
JA. 3-6431	DR. TILMAN COTHRAN, ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, 223 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W., ATLANTA 14, GA.
JA. 5-7831	DR. MARGARET ROWLEY, MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE, 643 HUNTER STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 14, GA.
SY. 4-8911 (O) SY. 4-9829 (H)	DR. CLINTON WARNER, LEW-ARNER PROFESSIONAL BUILDING, 319 W. LAKE AVENUE, N.W., (14)
DR. 3-5357	MRS. JOHN W. STANLEY, 525 AVERY STREET, DECATUR, GEORGIA
DR. 3-2571 (O) 377-6298 (H)	DR. JOHN TUMBLIN, AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE DECATUR, GEORGIA
TR. 5-5351	MR. CHARLES MATHIAS, 1776 PEACHTREE STREET, N .W., ATLANTA 9, GEORGIA
	MR. CARL HOLMAN, COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

DIRECTORS, TERMS EXPIRE IN NOVEMBER, 1963

ME. 4-3094	MRS. T. EMORY DANIEL, JR., 791 MICHAEL DRIVE, N. E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA
JA. 3-0543	MRS. SUJETTE F. CRANK, PHYLLIS WHEATLEY YWCA, 599 TATNALL STREET, S. W., ATLANTA 14, GA.
TR. 6-3311 EXT. 5205 (O) 794-1424 (H)	MR. MARTIN HANDRICK, BOX 7344, STATION "C" ATLANTA 9, GEORGIA
JA. 1-0513	MR. JESSE HILL, ATLANTA LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, 148 AUBURN AVENUE, N .E., ATLANTA 3

BOARD OF DIRECTORS - GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

DIRECTORS, TERMS EXPIRE IN NOVEMBER, 1963

TELEPHONE	NAME AND ADDRESS
CE. 3-8103	MRS. J. B. PENDERGRAST, 1700 WEST PACES FERRY ROAD, N. W., ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA
GR. 6-2135	MRS. W. H. TURNER, BOX 13, DULUTH, GEORGIA
JA. 2-3671 (O) PL. 5-2352 (H)	REV. SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS, 863½ FAIR STREET, S. W., ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA
SY. 4-2149	MRS. P. Q. YANCEY, 1740 SIMPSON ROAD, N. W., ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA
DR. 3-7986 (O) DR. 3-5357 (H)	REV. JOHN YUNGBLUT, 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N .E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA
JA. 3-6431	DEAN WILLIAM S. JACKSON, SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK, ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, 223 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W., ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

NOMINATING COMMITTEE:

CHAIRMAN, MRS. ED ALBRIGHT
MR. ROBERT THOMPSON

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:

MRS. ELIZA PASCHALL

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR:

THOMAS MCPHERSON, JR.

* (H) HOME
* (O) OFFICE

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
P. O. Box 8292
Jacksonville 11, Fla.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
1963

(* Indicates member of Executive Committee)

Class of 1964
(terms expire January, 1964)

*Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Fla.
(Vice-President)

Mrs. R. J. Burnup
928 Hollywood Pl.
West Palm Beach, Fla.

The Rev. S. A. Cousin
Greater Bethel A.M.E. Church
245 N. W. 8th St.
Miami, Fla.

*Mr. Herbert Davidson
News-Journal Building
Daytona Beach, Fla.
(Treasurer)

*Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
2867 Justina Rd.
Jacksonville 11, Fla.
(President)

Mrs. David Eddy
1329 Essex Rd.
Winter Park, Fla.

Dr. John Griffin
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

Prof. A. L. Kidd
Box 252, Fla. A & M Univ.
Tallahassee, Fla.

Mrs. Austin Kimball
3131 S. W. 1st Ave.
Gainesville, Fla.

Dr. Hal G. Lewis
1230 S. W. 9th Rd.
Gainesville, Fla.

The Rt. Rev. Henry I. Louttit
P. O. Box 597
Winter Park, Fla.

(Class of 1964, continued)

The Rev. Walter Rutland
~~901 Park St., N.~~ 7020 2nd Ave., S.
St. Petersburg, Fla.

The Rev. E. C. Tillman
562 South St.
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Class of 1965
(terms expire January, 1965)

The Rev. H. F. Brockington
Box 63
Cocoa, Fla.

*Mrs. Harrison Chesley
523 Frances Terrace
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dr. Warren H. Collie
501 Third St.
West Palm Beach, Fla.

*The Rev. Caxton Doggett
Box 825
Winter Park, Fla.

*Dr. Paul F. Finner
930 W. Park Ave.
Tallahassee, Fla.
(President Emeritus)

Mrs. I. S. Hankins
219 Lime St.
Orlando, Fla.

*Dr. Richard V. Moore
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dr. Gilbert L. Porter
Box 351
Tallahassee, Fla.

Mrs. Daisy H. Stocking
682 2nd Ave.
Daytona Beach, Fla.

(Class of 1965, continued)

*Dr. J. Marshall Taxay
20 S. Betty Lane
Clearwater, Fla.

Mr. W. C. Taylor
900 S. W. Ave. E.
Belle Glade, Fla.

The Rev. Paul Wagner
4021 Corona Ave.
Tampa, Fla.

Mrs. W. C. White
1817 Pine St.
Zephyrhills, Fla.

Mrs. Charles L. Williams
1200 N. W. 6th Ave.
Miami 36, Fla.

Class of 1966
(terms expire January, 1966)

Mr. I. H. Burney
1187 W. 10th St.
Jacksonville, Fla.

Mrs. Patricia Chesley
3204 34th Court, S. W.
Gainesville, Fla.

The Rev. Edward T. Graham
301 N. W. 9th St.
Miami, Fla.

*Dr. James Howard
2606 Sunrise Blvd.
Ft. Pierce, Fla.

Mr. V. C. Johnson
Rte 1, Box 115
Dinsmore, Fla.

Mrs. George Lewis, III

Tallahassee, Fla.

The Rev. Robert J. McCloskey
St. Marks Episcopal Church
Cocoa, Fla.

(Class of 1966, continued)

*Mrs. Pierre Miles
12 Azalea Dr.
Ormond Beach, Fla.

*Mrs. Lilburn B. Moseley
P. O. Box 5066
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Miss Marie Roberts
2501 N. W. 46th St.
Miami, Fla.

Mrs. John E. Rutledge
425 W. 19th St.
Jacksonville, Fla.

Mr. James Shaw
2807 Thomasville Rd.
Tallahassee, Fla.

Mr. Willis T. Spivey
150 Harbor Bluff Dr.
Largo, Fla.

Dr. Ralph Thompson
1209 N. W. 43rd St.
Gainesville, Fla.

*Dr. H. Franklin Williams
223 San Sebastian
Miami 34, Fla.
(Secretary)

Recd 11/30/64

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Board of Directors as of
November 27, 1964

Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr., President, Box 266, Oxford, Mississippi
Dr. D. I. Horn, Vice President, Box 545, West Point, Mississippi
Rev. James S. Conner, Vice President, 105 Hawkins Street, Vicksburg, Mississippi
Rev. E. A. Mays, Vice President, 616 E. 12th Street, Laurel, Mississippi
Rev. Donald A. Thompson, Secretary-Treasurer, Box 10482, Westland Sta., Jackson, Miss.

Mrs. S. E. Ashmore, 524 Patton Avenue, Jackson, Mississippi
Dr. A. D. Beittel, 1666 Leila Drive, Jackson, Mississippi
Mrs. Jesse E. Brent, Drawer 8, Greenville, Mississippi
Rev. T. B. Brown, 300 E. Church Street, Jackson, Mississippi
Rev. Henry C. Clay, Jr., 517 Jefferson Street, Laurel, Mississippi
Mr. Powell Hall, Jr., Rt. 3, Box 38 B, Natchez, Mississippi
Mr. Power Hearn, 451 Dunbar Street, Jackson, Mississippi
Dr. Aaron E. Henry, 213 Fourth Street, Clarksdale, Mississippi
Rev. Bernard Law, Box 155, Jackson, Mississippi
The Very Rev. James McGough, Box 2248, Jackson, Mississippi
Dr. Perry E. Nussbaum, Box 4766, Fondren Station, Jackson, Mississippi
Rev. C. P. Payne, 725 Watson Street, Jackson, Mississippi
Mr. John B. Pettus, 443½ E. Division Street, Biloxi, Mississippi, Associate, Gulf Coast
Mr. Francis B. Stevens, 4772 Kings Highway, Jackson, Mississippi
Mr. I. S. Sanders, 715 Rose Street, Jackson, Mississippi
Mrs. Wallis I. Schutt, Ex-Officio, Southern Regional Council, 955 Pecan Blvd., Jackson
Rev. Jim Waits, 930 Davis Street, Biloxi, Mississippi
Rev. John Aregood, Jr., Associate, Gulf Coast Region, 424 Chartres Street, Biloxi, Miss.

Dr. Matthew Page (Nominated), 1659 E. Union Avenue, Greenville, Mississippi

NOMINATIONS FOR THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

OFFICERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

For 1965

President

Mr. David H. Scull
Turnpike Press
Box 170
Annandale, Virginia

1st Vice-President

Mr. Harold O. DeWitt
426 Burbank Street
Williamsburg, Virginia

Vice President

Professor John A. Lapp
Eastern Mennonite College
897 College Avenue
Harrisonburg, Virginia

Vice President

Mrs. George E. Mattus
1502 South Main Street
Blacksburg, Virginia 24060

Vice President

Mr. M. C. Martin, President
First State Bank
Danville, Virginia

Secretary

Dr. Edna M. Colson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Treasurer

Dr. J. Rupert Picott, Executive Secretary
Virginia Teachers Association
316 East Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

NOMINATIONS FOR THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
February 13, 1965

Board of Directors
Term Expires 1966

Mrs. Bertram Benedict
White Stone, 22578

Dr. M. F. Robinson, Minister
First Baptist Church
110 E. Cherry St., Covington

Board of Directors
Term Expires 1967

Rev. Alvord M. Beardslee
Chaplain, Hollins College

Mr. Henry Berne, Associate Dir.
Airlie Foundation, Warrington

Mr. M. I. Binswanger, President
Binswanger Glass Company
3300 W. Leigh Street, Richmond

Rev. C. M. Cofield, II, Minister
First Baptist Church
212 Massie St., Lexington

Mr. Harold O. DeWitt
426 Burbank St.,Williamsburg

Dr. John M. Ellison
Virginia Union Univ., Richmond

Rabbi Emmet A. Frank
3830 Seminary Rd., Alexandria

Mr. Nelson E. Green
814 Franklin St., Alexandria

Mr. Abraham Hecht, Vice Pres.
Wards T. V. 1806 W. Broad, Richmond

Mrs. Wilson J. Hodgin
408 W. Braddock Rd., Alexandria

Mr. Henry E. Howell, Jr., Member
House of Delegates
808 Maritime Tower, Norfolk

1967 Board cont'd

Dr. Edward C. Kollman
Box 6017 Hampton Institute, Hampton

Mr. George Lawrence
101 Gilmer Ave., N. W. Roanoke

Mr. Edwin Lynch
Real Estate Executive
Springlake Farm, Burke

Rt. Rev. William Marmion, Bishop
Southwestern Episcopal Diocese
Box 2068, Roanoke

Mrs. George E. Mattus
1502 So. Main St., Blacksburg

Dr. C. Gordon Moss
Longwood College, Farmville

Dr. J. Rupert Picott, Exec. Sec'y
Va. Teachers Association
316 E. Clay St., Richmond

Most Rev. John J. Russell, D.D.
Bishop Chancery Office
Catholic Diocese of Richmond
807 So. Cathedral Pl., Richmond

Mr. David H. Scull
Box 170, Annandale

Mrs. Sam Troy
4610 West Grace, Richmond

Mr. W. R. Walker, Jr
554-25th St., Newport News

Dr. Philip Y. Wyatt, Dentist
P.O. Box 393
Fredericksburg

NOMINATIONS FOR THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
February 13, 1965

Board of Directors
Term Expires 1966

Mrs. Bertram Benedict
White Stone, 22578

Dr. M. F. Robinson, Minister
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110 E. Cherry St., Covington

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Rabbi Emmet A. Frank
3830 Seminary Rd., Alexandria

Mr. Nelson E. Green
814 Franklin St., Alexandria

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Wards T. V. 1806 W. Broad, Richmond

Mrs. Wilson J. Hodgin
408 W. Braddock Rd., Alexandria

Mr. Henry E. Howell, Jr., Member
House of Delegates
808 Maritime Tower, Norfolk

1967 Board cont'd

Dr. Edward C. Kollman
Box 6017 Hampton Institute, Hampton

Mr. George Lawrence
101 Gilmer Ave., N. W. Roanoke

Mr. Edwin Lynch
Real Estate Executive
Springlake Farm, Burke

Rt. Rev. William Marmion, Bishop
Southwestern Episcopal Diocese
Box 2068, Roanoke

Mrs. George E. Mattus
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Box 170, Annandale

Mrs. Sam Troy
4610 West Grace, Richmond

Mr. W. R. Walker, Jr
554-25th St., Newport News

Dr. Philip Y. Wyatt, Dentist
P.O. Box 393
Fredericksburg

MCHR Board - ret. mm after copying for mJ

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mrs. Paul Arrington, 1705 Piedmont St., Jackson (resignation because of ill health not yet acted upon)

Mrs. S.E.Ashmore, 524 Patton Avenue, Jackson

~~Dr. A.D.Beittel, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo,~~

Mrs. Jesse E. Brent, P.O.Drawer 8, Greenwood

Rev. T.B.Brown, 310 E. Church St., Jackson

Rev. Henry C. Clay, Jr., 517 Jefferson St., Laurel

Rev. James S. Conner, 10 S. Hawkins St., Vicksburg

Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr., St. Peter Episcopal Church, Oxford

Mr. Aaron E. Henry, 213 Fourth St., Clarksdale

Dr. D.I.Horn, Jr., President, Mary Holmes Junior College, Box 545, West Point

Mrs. Lillian Rogers Johnson, P.O.Box 94, Clarksdale

Rev. Bernard Law, Box 155, Jackson 5, Miss.

~~Rev. McGough~~ Very Rev. James McGough, 237 E. Amite, Jackson

Rev. E.A.Mays, 616 E. 12 St., Laurel

Dr. Perry E. Nussbaum, Box 4766, Fondren Station, Jackson

Rev. Charlemagne P. Payne, 725 Watson St., Jackson

Mr. I.S.Sanders, 715 Rose Street, Jackson

Mrs. Wallis I. Schutt, 955 Pecan Blvd., Jackson 3

Mr. Francis B. Stevens, 4772 Kings Highway, Jackson.

Rev. Donald A. Thompson, P.O.Box 10482, Westland Station, Jackson

Camp PD

See new officers - last page

OFFICERS

President:	Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger;	Psychologist, University of Jacksonville
Vice-President:	Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks;	Dean of Women Bethune-Cookman College
Treasurer:	Mr. Herbert Davidson;	Publisher Daytona Beach News-Journal
Secretary:	Dr. H. Franklin Williams;	Vice-President University of Miami

Executive Director: Mr. Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.

Associate Director: The Rev. Irvin Cheney

The Executive Committee

Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger, Chairman
Jacksonville

Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks
Daytona Beach

Mrs. Harrison Chesley
Daytona Beach

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson
Daytona Beach

The Rev. Caxton Doggett
Lakeland

Dr. Paul E. Finner
Tallahassee

Dr. James Howard
Ft. Pierce

Dr. Hal G. Lewis
Gainesville

Mrs. Pierre L. Miles
Daytona Beach 12 Azalea Drive Ormond Beach.

Dr. Richard V. Moore
Daytona Beach

Mrs. L. B. Moseley
Daytona Beach

Dr. Marshall Taxay
Clearwater

Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Miami

Board of Directors

Class of 1964

Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks
Daytona Beach

Mrs. R. J. Burnup
West Palm Beach

The Rev. S.A. Cousin
Miami

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson
Daytona Beach

Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
Jacksonville

Mrs. David Eddy
Winter Park

Mrs. Austin Kimball
Gainesville

Dr. A. L. Kidd
Tallahassee

Dr. Hal G. Lewis
Gainesville

The Rt. Rev. H. I. Louttit
Winter Park

The Rev. Walter Rutland
St. Petersburg

The Rev. E. C. Tillman
West Palm Beach

Class of 1965

The Rev. H. F. Brockington
Cocoa

Mrs. Harrison Chesley
Daytona Beach

Dr. Warren H. Collie
West Palm Beach

The Rev. Caxton Doggett
Lakeland

Mrs. I. S. Hankins
Orlando

Dr. James Howard
Ft. Pierce

Dr. Paul F. Finner
Tallahassee

Dr. Richard V. Moore
Daytona Beach

Dr. Gilbert L. Porter
Tallahassee

Mrs. Daisy H. Stocking
Daytona Beach

Dr. J. Marshall Taxay
Clearwater

Mr. W. C. Taylor
Belle Glade

The Rev. Paul Wagner
Tampa

Mrs. W. C. White
Zephyrhills

Mrs. Charles Williams
Miami

Board of Directors (Continued)

Class of 1966

Mr. I. H. Burney
Jacksonville

Mrs. Patricia Chesley
Gainesville

The Rev. Edward Graham
Miami

Mr. V. C. Johnson
Dinsmore

Mrs. George Lewis II
Tallahassee

Mrs. Pierre Miles
Daytona Beach

Mrs. L. B. Moseley
Daytona Beach

Miss Marie D. Roberts
Miami

Mrs. John W. Rutledge
Miami

Mr. James Shaw
Tallahassee

Mr. Willis T. Spivey
Largo

Dr. Ralph Thompson
Gainesville

Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Miami

Presidents of Local Councils

Tallahassee:	Dr. Edgar G. Epps
Jacksonville:	Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
Gainesville:	Mr. Thomas Coward
Halifax Area:	The Rev. Irvin Cheney
Central Brevard:	The Rev. Hugh Brockington
Melbourne:	The Rev. William Reece
Ft. Pierce:	The Rev. R. J. Cliffin
Palm Beach County:	Mrs. H.F. Wilson Mrs. R. W. Glasner (President-elect)
Broward County:	Mr. E. D. Swafford
Miami:	Mr. Edwyn E. Lewis
Ft. Myers:	Colonel Kenneth W. Dalton
Tampa:	Mr. Claude Neyman
St. Petersburg:	Mr. Charles McLennon
Upper Pinellas:	Dr. J. Marshall Taxay

NOMINEES FOR THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, CLASS OF 1967

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Ft. Myers, Fla.

Mr. James M. Reid
Miami, Fla.

Mr. Ted Nichols
Melbourne, Fla.

Mr. James Piowaty
Ft. Pierce, Fla.

Dr. Henry Gilmore
Ft. Myers, Fla.

Mr. Raiford A. Brown
Jacksonville, Fla.

Mr. Edward L. Smith
Tampa, Fla.

Mrs. Marvin Olsen
Merritt Island, Fla.

The Rev. Charles W. McGehee
Jacksonville, Fla.

Mr. Henry Lehmann
Ormond Beach, Fla.

Mr. Edwyn E. Lewis, Jr.
Miami, Fla.

Mr. Harold N. Reddick
Tampa, Fla.

THE FOLLOWING OLD BOARD MEMBERS WERE ASKED TO SERVE ANOTHER TERM:

Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks
Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
Dr. A. L. Kidd
Dr. Hal G. Lewis
Mrs. R. J. Burnup
Mr. Herbert Davidson
Mrs. David Eddy
Mrs. Austin Kimball
The Rt. Rev. H.I Louttit
The Rev. E. C. Tillman

OFFICERS NOMINATED FOR 1964

President: Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Vice-President: Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks
Treasurer: Mr. Herbert Davidson
Secretary: Mrs. Pierre L. Miles